Tampere University

Kieran Doyle

BODIES IN EVERYDAY AND VIRTUAL WORLDS

An analysis of “Peace-VR” and Everyday Embodied Peace

Thesis supervisor: Eeva Puumala

Master’s Thesis in Peace, Mediation and Conflict Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences

May 2024

Abstract

Kieran Doyle: Bodies in everyday and virtual worlds: An analysis of “Peace-VR” and Everyday Embodied Peace
Master’s Thesis
Tampere University
Master's programme in Peace, mediation and conflict research
Faculty of social sciences
May 2024

In recent years, Virtual Reality has been increasingly integrated into scientific research across countless fields. Notably, the technology is presently being used to study peace-related topics, such as marginalization, intergroup hatred and discrimination, and conflict-affected societies. However, this research does not typically involve voices from peace studies concerned with these same topics.

The aim of this thesis is to put peace-related research involving Virtual Reality, which I refer to as Peace-VR, and peace studies into conversation with one another. Specifically, I examine how these literatures conceptualize and operationalize embodiment. Within the diversity of peace studies, I specifically examine everyday peace literature, as it places an emphasis not just on mundanity, but also corporeality, providing a rich theoretical basis for comparison. Through comparative qualitative/thematic conceptual analysis, I use different analytical tools to understand how the corpora approach the theme of embodiment. Within everyday peace literature, I performed a thematic analysis of cornerstone texts which deeply explore embodiment. I refer to this subsection of texts as Everyday Embodied Peace. For Peace-VR, I performed a conceptual analysis, selecting a broad swathe of Peace-VR literature. This approach was chosen since few scholars within Peace-VR explore embodiment from a theoretical perspective, focusing instead on its applications in experimentation.

After identifying themes of embodiment using these curated analytical approaches, I used these themes to explore how the corpora understand embodiment differently. I found that Peace-VR tends to understand embodiment as a mechanistic psychological process, which is malleable enough to redirect one’s feeling of “owning” one’s body, creating embodiment illusions. Everyday Embodied Peace literature, meanwhile, understands embodiment, intertwined with the everyday, in a phenomenological way as a fundamental aspect of the human experience, and a site for resilience and resistance.

The research concludes that Peace-VR and Embodied Everyday Peace literatures understand embodiment in markedly different ways. However, these understandings are not necessarily contradictory, and it is possible to imagine research that integrates both corpora’s understandings of embodiment to different degrees. Because work in this space seems like to continue expanding, I conclude this thesis by hypothesizing how future research might integrate these two fields.

Keywords: Virtual embodiment, everyday peace, embodiment, Virtual Reality, qualitative research, conceptual analysis, thematic analysis

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service

Acknowledgements

I began this thesis during the COVID-19 pandemic and completed it with slow, incremental steps, sometimes with long gaps between them, as I simultaneously began my career in peace-related work. For her thoughtful and reflective feedback, for being so patient with the trudging pace of my progress, and for giving me a glimpse into her own research, I must first and foremost thank Eeva for putting up with and encouraging me. I would also like to acknowledge my classmates in the Peace Studies programme who formed an academic and social community despite the pandemic, and despite me completing most of my academic work while living outside of Tampere. Knowing others were experiencing the same thing I was made me feel sane and capable in moments of doubt. Lastly, I thank my girlfriend Anni for supporting me throughout this process, encouraging me to approach the problem from different angles and listening carefully to esoteric thoughts when I needed to think aloud.

List of Abbreviations

AR: Augmented Reality

BOI: Body Ownership Illusion

CAVE: Cave Automated Virtual Environment

MR: Mixed Reality

HMD: Head-Mounted Display

Virtual Embodiment: VE

VR: Virtual Reality

UN: United Nations

XR: Extended Reality

Table of Contents

Abstract....ii

Acknowledgements....i

List of Abbreviations....i

Table of Contents....ii

1. Introduction....1

2. Mapping embodiment in VR and Peace Research....6

Everyday Peace....6

The Everyday....8

Virtual Reality in Social Science Research....9

Engendering Empathy in VR with Virtual Bodies....12

Body Ownership Illusions in VR....15

Embodiment in the Corpora....18

3. Comparative Qualitative/Thematic Conceptual Analysis....20

Selections from Everyday Peace Literature for Qualitative Thematic Analysis....21

Thematic Analysis of Everyday Peace Literature....28

Selection from Virtual Embodiment Literature for Conceptual Analysis....29

Ethical Considerations....34

4. Analysis....36

Conceptual Analysis....36

Embodiment proofs of concept....37

Empathy Building....40

Virtual embodiment of a (vulnerable) outgroup....42

Thematic Analysis of Everyday Embodied Peace Literature....46

Theme one: A focus on embodiment is an effort to move from entrenched frameworks to those that are more grounded and inclusive....46

Theme two: Embodiment and the everyday are essential for understanding peace and violence 56

Theme three: Embodiment allows for re-evaluation and opens the door to potential transformations 69

Visualising results 81

5. Comparing typologies 84

Everyday Embodiment 84

Relationship between Mind and Body 87

Importance of marginalized bodies 91

Mutual Constitution 94

Agency 97

Transformation 100

Summary of findings 103

6. Conclusion 105

7. References 108

1. Introduction

Virtual Reality (VR) has become increasingly widespread in recent years, spurred by advances in technological capabilities, which have made it more attractive, accessible, and commercially feasible. The commercial outgrowth of VR devices, especially since around 2014, has been referred to as a "consumer revolution" in VR (Foxman et al., 2021, p. 7). Today, tens of millions of VR units are used in gaming, in corporate training scenarios spanning various industries, as well as in classrooms, hospitals, and homes (Luna-Nevarez & McGovern, 2021). To borrow the words of one researcher, "VR is being produced, published, and consumed more than ever" and has therefore begun to saturate numerous different domains (Aitamurto et al., 2021). Beyond its practical and commercial uses, the technology has captured countless imaginations, notably within academia and the arts. Its advocates regard VR as having loftier possibilities than games and training programmes alone. The most well-known proponent of this view is perhaps American filmmaker Chris Milk (Foxman et al., 2021). In 2015, Milk gave a TED talk discussing his 360 video film *Cloud Over Sidra* (2015), developed in collaboration with the United Nations (UN). The film follows a 12-year-old girl named Sidra through her life as a refugee in Jordan. In his talk, Milk claims that the immersive qualities of the film which leverage VR for immersion purposes – for instance, viewers' ability to adjust their view and look around by turning their head – allow audiences to "feel [Sidra's] humanity in a deeper way [and] empathize with her in a deeper way" because "when you look down, you're sitting on the same ground that she's sitting on." Whether or not this is true, Milk's talk proved influential, in part due to his catchy application of Roger Ebert's notion of film as an "empathy machine," to VR. In Milk's view, immersive technology has the potential to truly allow people to enter others' perspectives, making it the "ultimate empathy machine" (Robertson, 2017).

The idea of the ultimate empathy machine has become something of a fulcrum around which much VR discussion revolves (Foxman et al., 2021). This is especially true in immersive filmmaking, in which filmmakers regularly operate with Milk's concept in mind, both by pursuing its ideals to improve the world in some way and by criticizing and reconfiguring it (Robertson, 2017). The ultimate empathy machine debate influences and is reflected in other fields interested in VR applications, from journalism (Mabrook & Singer, 2019; Sánchez Laws, 2020) to pornography (Dekker et al., 2021). It has also been referenced directly by the World Economic Forum's Global Futures Council (Lopez & Bailenson, 2019). Most relevant to this thesis is the field of peace studies, which has also begun to examine VR's potential applications in the "normative project" (Richmond,

2011, p. 96) of peacebuilding. From private peacekeeping organizations (CMI, 2020) to academic research (Bujić et al., 2020; Hasler et al., 2014; Hasson et al., 2019) to the United Nations (DPPA, 2021), VR is presently regarded as having promising potential uses for peacebuilding and other pro-social outcomes (Foxman et al., 2021). Work in these spaces is already being done, and indeed seems likely to increase in scope as VR technologies continue to disseminate and decrease in cost. Foxman et al.'s 2021 literature review of a related topic, empathy research using VR, helps to get a sense of the scope of this work – it found more than 600 journalistic articles, as well as 53 academic articles, had been published on the subject. The vast majority of both kinds of articles viewed the link between VR and empathy research as constructive; in other words, they purported the belief that VR has the potential to enhance or engender empathy in research participants, leading to 'pro-social' change (Foxman et al., 2021). This sentiment is encapsulated by the words of one prominent practitioner, who claims that VR "feels more compelling than any other technology previously devised, with a particular emphasis on the positive applications" (Bailenson, 2018).

Despite strong positive sentiment for VR's potential, much of the basis for VR technology's usage in peace studies remains underexplored and undefined. VR researchers have published scholarship on the impact of VR experiences on societies in conflict, including human rights attitudes, ingroup and outgroup dynamics in Israel/Palestine, and racism in the United States (Banakou et al., 2016; Bujić et al., 2020; Hasler et al., 2014). However, this work rarely incorporates existing scholarship from peace studies, even in areas of apparent overlap (such as Hostetter, 2022; Hvidsten & Skarstad, 2018; Scott, 2019). Some VR practitioners have noted that their research has often failed to communicate its features to the public while taking into account the other fields it draws from, leading to risks that the technology may be seen "as a gimmick… [jeopardizing] its legitimization, adoption, and use" (Foxman et al., 2021). It is therefore relevant, and indeed critically important, for peace researchers to develop an understanding of VR research, in order to better analyse its methodologies and reported results. The goal of this thesis is to provide a compass for peace researchers by which to navigate VR research, to examine the ways in which existing VR theoretical frameworks relate to peace studies literature, and to what extent and in what ways they are compatible. More specifically, this thesis seeks to focus on notions of bodies and embodiment in VR and peace literature.

I specifically chose to investigate the topic of embodiment – the experience that we own our bodies and are located within them – because much "peace-related research" which uses VR technologies relies on some version of Milk's promise of "sitting on the same ground" as someone else in its

research design (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013, p. 767). Within peace studies, the body is viewed as a rich and vital site for research, especially because violence, though not experienced solely by the body, takes place on an embodied level (Berents, 2018, p. 124; Väyrynen, 2018, p. 26). The concept of embodiment is therefore treated as significant in both fields (a useful parallel) and thus the different ways in which they may operationalize and understand it provide intriguing possibilities for comparison. However, this point of convergence also provides a challenge. Since VR-related work is grounded in a much different understanding of embodiment than peace studies, there is no straightforward way of exploring the application of VR within peace research. This thesis addresses this metatheoretical problem, allowing for stronger points of comparison between the disciplines.

As evidence for embodiment as an instructive point of comparison, consider that an explicit notion of embodying an avatar or 'Virtual Body' in VR has been termed "Virtual Embodiment" (VE) by the practitioners who employ it in their research (e.g., Banakou et al., 2016; Davis & Chansiri, 2019; Slater, 2020). Virtual Embodiment is worthy of some special attention, as it is often used as the basis for peace-related research (e.g., Hasler et al., 2014; Hasson et al., 2019). However, notions of embodiment abound in VR-related work, including peace-related VR research, outside of scholarship that explicitly references virtual embodiment. Therefore, despite these apparent conceptual parallels between virtual embodiment and the 'real-world' embodiment which often interests peace studies, virtual embodiment will not be treated as the sole basis for understanding embodiment in VR. Instead, the question of embodiment in VR will be examined across several different strands of research, with a common thread being a focus on inhabiting a virtual body or experiencing heightened 'presence' in virtual reality. A specific understanding of embodiment in VR work which relates to topics similar to those researched in peace studies will then be compared to how embodiment is understood within peace studies. For the purposes of brevity, this general category of peace-related VR research will be referred to as "Peace-VR" in this thesis. Peace-VR includes work which centres communities in conflict, conflict resolution, reducing bias towards outgroups, and other related concepts.

So how do understandings of embodiment in Peace-VR compare to understandings of the concept in peace and conflict studies? Before attempting to address this question, it is useful to highlight that peace and conflict studies is a field with countless divergent research strains, drawing inspiration from anthropology, sociology, and political science. This inevitably means that research regarding embodiment is diverse, taking different forms in different strands of research. In order to constructively examine embodiment in Peace-VR with regard to peace literature, I have therefore

narrowed the focus of this thesis to selected works concerned with the concept of everyday peace. Everyday peace scholarship is particularly relevant to Peace-VR because it researches the "everyday intergroup contact and civility that can be found in deeply divided societies" (Mac Ginty, 2014, p. 549) and is frequently most interested in the subtle, unspoken, and 'ordinary' dynamics which define daily life in such societies (Mac Ginty, 2014, p. 558; Väyrynen, 2018, p. 7). These are precisely those interactions that Peace-VR is often most interested in studying. Partly because peace studies is foundationally a critical field, several peace scholars have made the embodied nature of 'the everyday' their explicit focus. The work of these embodiment-centring peace researchers therefore provides a basis for comparison between the two fields.

In summary, Peace-VR often seeks to investigate the same elusive dynamics which concern everyday peace researchers. However, Peace-VR's conception of these dynamics and its attempts to measure them differ dramatically. Therefore, investigating the extent to which Peace-VR's conception is coherent with everyday peace literature will provide further points of comparison, which may reveal insights about how each field understands embodiment, and may also provide nascent indications for the compatibility of the fields' epistemologies. VR technologies offer fascinating opportunities when used as research tools and will therefore likely continue to be applied widely in scholarship. My hope is that this thesis will prompt reflection about the development of Peace-VR and uncover points for deepened integration between VR's theoretical foundations and peace literature.

Consequently, the research questions of this thesis are: *To what extent are the notions of embodiment and the conception of bodies congruent in everyday peace literature and Peace-VR literature? What consequences does this congruence, or lack thereof, pose for the potential peace-building applications of VR technologies?*

Scholars working with embodiment in Peace-VR and with everyday peace theory are mutually concerned with bodies, yet their interest in them stems from different sources, and the two fields approach bodies in different ways. Nonetheless, each also seeks to investigate the contexts which lead to discrimination and violence, and even to normatively shed light on possible pathways to a more peaceful world. Herein lies the basis of this thesis.

In the chapters that follow, I will first delve deeper into the theoretical basis of embodiment in Peace-VR literature, highlighting experiment-driven and phenomenological explanations for embodiment

in VR which underpin much Peace-VR research. I will then elaborate on everyday peace theory, tracing its roots within peace studies to explicate its view of peace and violence, and of course embodiment. Next, I will explain the method of comparative qualitative/thematic conceptual analysis and how it is employed in this thesis. In brief, the method involves the construction of a typology of embodiment within Peace-VR literature based on a sampling of works from different conceptual categories, which is then compared to a sister typology derived from purposefully selected representative and influential works concerning embodiment everyday peace literature. These typologies will then be presented, with a systematic comparison of the two forming the analysis sections of the thesis. Within the analysis, I seek to define how the body is understood and operationalized by both fields and to draw conclusions about the implications of where these understandings overlap or diverge. Finally, I draw conclusions about the compatibility of the two literatures in terms of their conceptions of embodiment, finishing by proposing future work to develop a theoretical framework for further comparison and integration between them.

2. Mapping embodiment in VR and Peace Research

This literature-focused section examines the foundations of embodiment theory in each field, providing scholarly context for a comparison between the two. Because this thesis attempts to bridge a gap between two relatively disparate corpora, it also provides a basic overview of their epistemological bases. This background provides some essential context for each field, with the aim of making this thesis more legible for practitioners with roots in different disciplines. We begin with everyday peace.

Everyday Peace

The diversity of peace studies provides numerous potential avenues through which embodiment could be examined and conceptualized, and indeed future analysis using more of these perspectives would be intriguing and constructive. For the sake of focus, however, this thesis will analyse embodiment through the specific lens of its conception within everyday peace theory. Everyday Peace theory is well-suited to exploring the research questions of this thesis because it is an influential and expanding framework within peace studies, because the everyday's emphasis on a phenomenological approach mirrors embodiment theory, and because several of the prevalent works of everyday peace provide rich theoretical explorations of embodiment theory. This, in turn, provides sufficient data for comparative analysis.

In brief, everyday peace theory seeks to understand how a greater focus on everyday life may contribute to the normative goal of peace (Mac Ginty, 2014, p. 549). This outlook was initially articulated by Mac Ginty in his seminal work *Everyday peace: Bottom-up and local agency in conflict-affected societies* as "the routinized practices used by individuals and collectives as they navigate their way through life in a deeply divided society" (Mac Ginty, 2014, p. 549). The scope of what practices pertain to Everyday Peace is quite broad, from those focused on self-preservation to more activist 'everyday diplomacy' action (Mac Ginty, 2014, p. 560). Though research using everyday peace theory can also take on a multiplicity of different forms, in general the field is informed by a rejection of failures in the liberal peacebuilding order. In response to these shortcomings, it centres contextualized lived experience through on the notions of 'the everyday' and 'the local' (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013, p. 767). Scholarship on 'the everyday' and 'the local' within everyday peace shares many similarities with scholarship on embodiment in this theoretical space. The two following subsections will therefore explore these notions in some depth, as they influence how embodiment is operationalized within everyday peace research.

The Local

The idea of the 'local' is central to embodiment in everyday peace theory. Informed by the 'local turn' in anthropology, it defines culture as a phenomenological dimension which "attends to situated and *embodied* difference" (emphasis added) (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 12–13). This emphasis on context and phenomenological grounding implied by the 'local' pervades peace studies' understanding of embodiment and the everyday, largely in response to perceived issues of abstraction in liberal or positivist worldviews. The 'local turn' in peace studies and international relations seeks to reconceptualize dominant discourses in development and peacebuilding. This has become a prevalent discourse in peace studies, influenced in particular by critical, post-structuralist, and postcolonial scholarship. These views are echoed and built upon in the works of the scholars who pioneered everyday peace theory, most prevalently Oliver Richmond (2009, 2011) and Roger Mac Ginty (2013, 2014), who see the 'local turn' as part of a wider movement of critical voices coming to the forefront in peacebuilding (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013, p. 763). Indeed, the wider field of peace studies emerged from critical scholarship on the perceived failures of a set of institutional approaches to peacebuilding in the post-World War II era termed the 'liberal peace order' (Berents, 2018, p. 27). Liberal peace projects have been framed variously as exclusionary, hierarchical and hegemonic (Randazzo, 2016, p. 1351) or as conditional, acultural, unconcerned with social welfare, and unfeeling and insensitive towards its subjects (Richmond, 2009, p. 558). Criticisms of liberal projects are significant because they hint at comparisons to VR-related work, as this is often closely aligned with positivist frameworks.

Chief among peace studies' criticisms of the liberal peace order is its overemphasis on 'top-down' efforts led by governments, elites, and national and international institutions. These entities are seen as stemming from a colonial rationality and therefore being Western-centric, imposed from above, 'one-size-fits-all,' and overly concerned with legal and technical issues. By contrast, critics charge that the liberal peace order underutilizes 'bottom-up' methods which emphasize local agency and are more rooted in specific contexts (Jabri, 2013, p. 3; Lundy & McGovern, 2008; Randazzo, 2016, p. 1352; Richmond, 2009, pp. 557–558). The exact nature of these 'local' networks and agencies is highly dependent on specific context – critical scholars therefore call for increased attention to be paid to these particularities, as different local conditions cannot be abstracted based on a more general model (Mac Ginty, 2014, p. 549). Some argue that liberal peacebuilding, and beyond this most

institutionalized understandings of international relations, lack contextualization in terms of how they are socially and politically situated (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 21).

This is not to present an uncomplicated picture of the 'local.' Peacebuilding efforts on any scale do not exist in a vacuum. Indeed, the boundaries between local, national, and international efforts are blurred for countless reasons, such as globalization and the overlapping of networks at all levels (Appadurai, 1996, p. 11). To further complicate things, a focus on the everyday can even challenge the very notion that politics can be divided by scale, implying a "distinct mode of opening the question of politics that cannot be reduced" (Guillaume & Huysmans, 2019, p. 279). Building on this observation, Richmond rejects what he casts as a particularly neoliberal conception of the 'local,' which he describes as a 'romanticized' civil society which is, in fact, constituted by international forces, or alternatively as a not-yet-liberalized sphere of society, at odds with democratic and market demands (2011, pp. 25; 27). In response, Mac Ginty and Richmond argue that liberal issues with the 'local' stem in large part from a 'naturalization' of Western-led peacebuilding efforts which are predicated on capability and power politics rather than the validity of particular liberal interventions – they therefore contend that a 'decolonization' of knowledge related to peacebuilding is both needed and already taking place (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013, p. 765). This theme of decolonizing liberal structures and liberal ways of knowing is present throughout peace studies. Following the local turn, scholars within the field have increasingly studied embodiment and the everyday, as these centre contextualized lived experiences of peace and violence, rather than top-down abstractions or generalizations.

The Everyday

The 'everyday turn,' stemming from critical sociology, anthropology, and history scholarship, shares many similarities with the 'local turn' (Björkdahl et al., 2019, p. 129). Scholars of 'the everyday' investigate individual agency, community, and quotidian life as vital and emancipatory sites of research (Richmond, 2009, pp. 562, 565). Richmond describes the everyday as the "essential zone of the political," highlighting its radical potential for understanding peace and violence at their nexus (2011, p. 143). Other scholars concur that intimate, mundane life is not distinct from formal political processes, although it has often been overlooked by liberal projects (Berents, 2018, p. 29). Although peace studies' foundational works on 'the everyday' do not generally prioritize embodiment, embodiment and 'the everyday' share a phenomenological and emancipatory epistemological logic (Berents, 2018, p. 27).

Later scholarship has explored this connection in order to tie together multiple approaches that centre lived experience. Within this strand of research, it is generally agreed that the body is significant because it is the site where peace and violence physically happen and are experienced (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 2). An emphasis on embodiment can focus everyday peace theory on a more precise set of embodied information. For instance, Helen Berents' framework of Everyday-Embodied-Peace-Amidst Violence analyses peace through the lens of corporeal experiences in a setting where violence is an essential part of everyday life (Berents, 2018). Emphasizing embodiment can also stem from a desire to reconceptualize the politics of liberal peacebuilding projects. Mirroring criticisms of 'the local turn,' Väyrynen argues that liberal approaches abstract bodies and fundamentally frame them as "non-living" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 2). In order to correct for this, Väyrynen argues that "it is possible to claim that people experience political processes as felt, corporeal" (2018, p. 40). This strand of everyday peace literature reformulates peace and violence through a local, everyday, and embodied lens of lived experience.

Virtual Reality in Social Science Research

VR traces its lineage to the first flight simulator, devised in 1929 (Lopez & Bailenson, 2019). Today, VR devices are used for training in medicine, customer service, insurance adjusting, and countless other fields. VR also provides numerous advantages for social science researchers. For instance, it has been used in exposure therapy, since re-creating situations that users find stressful within a virtual world is safer, cheaper, and easier to observe and collect data on that real-world alternatives (Fox et al., 2009, pp. 101–102). This "reverse engineering" approach has been applied to countless other areas of social science, as researchers attempt to simulate situations which would allow them to explore and test social science theories. A growing subset of peace-related VR research focuses on how manipulating bodily self-representation may alter subsequent attitudes and perceptions. This approach forms on part of the technology's usage in 'training' users in "pro-social" behaviour (Aitamurto et al., 2021).

VR applications and devices

Since the goal of this thesis is to provide a comparison across fields that are rarely put in conversation with one another, I will provide a baseline explanation of how VR is defined to make this conversation more approachable and accessible. For this same reason, I have endeavoured to keep VR-related acronyms to a minimum and to avoid more esoteric terminology except when necessary. This thesis is mainly concerned with VR as a method (rather than as an object or medium), as my research

questions concern how Peace-VR researchers employ VR to study real-world violence (Fox et al., 2009, p. 98).

Since this thesis is concerned with embodiment in Virtual Reality, it is necessary explore how embodiment is operationalized in relation to VR devices. Crucially, embodiment in a virtual space is premised on, and more importantly driven by, technological capabilities and possibilities. Indeed, VR's capacity to be employed in a wide range of research has been greatly influenced by technological advancements which have allowed for expanded technical prowess, lower costs, and wider accessibility (Aitamurto et al., 2021, p. 2139). Peace-VR's conception of embodiment is therefore inextricably linked to the evolution of the technical capabilities of VR devices. Despite some common conceptions, Virtual Reality is a relatively expansive concept covering technologies which function in wildly different ways. No single definition of Virtual Reality exists, largely because of the range of techniques and devices used to create immersive and/or interactive digital spaces. It is therefore important to outline what exactly is meant by VR in the context of this thesis.

Though classifications are contested, VR most often refers to using computers to simulate immersive and usually interactive three-dimensional objects or environments for users (Dionisio et al., 2013). VR, Augmented Reality, and other related phenomena are achieved via a variety of different devices, which provide an assortment of features and approach forming virtual worlds in different ways. VR's increasingly familiar wearable headsets, such as those commercially offered by Valve, HTC, and Meta, can also be used for viewing 360 videos. These situate a viewer in a virtual environment and allow them to choose in what direction to look in a given virtual space, but lack other interactive features, such as tracking limbs or other body parts. 360 videos are often used for Peace-VR work, including in the aforementioned *Clouds Over Sidra* film (Milk, 2015). Given their relative (compared to devices with full-body or hand tracking) lack of *interactivity* – one of Muhanna's key "elements of VR" (2015, p. 350) – some debate exists as to whether 360 video should be thought of as a Virtual Reality technology. Those who argue in favour of some kind of VR classification for 360 videos often point to the creation of spatial presence as a distinguishing feature of 360 videos, which sets them apart from other film-making techniques (Mabrook & Singer, 2019, pp. 2097–2098). In other words, 360 videos allow users to perceive that they are *located* in a given environment (Laarni et al., 2015, p. 116).

Thus, for the purposes of this thesis, 360 videos will be considered under the wider umbrella of VR devices, especially because the perception of spatial presence is clearly related to concepts of embodiment, which is central to the research questions of this thesis. Unless otherwise stated, the term 'VR' will therefore be used in a generic sense to encompass 360 videos and other immersive, technology-driven experiences, most commonly wearable VR headsets. Though this idea is congruent with concept of *XR* (extended reality), this thesis will instead use *VR* for purposes of familiarity and readability. Because the goal of this thesis is to discuss Peace-VR's understanding of embodiment in a virtual space, it will examine VR as a concept in a broad sense.

Key VR concepts

Some specific concepts require explanation in order to discuss Peace-VR work related to embodiment. VR principally approaches embodiment by mapping users' actions onto virtual representations called *avatars*. An avatar (or "*virtual body*") is defined as a virtual object which is a representative of a person (though they need not be human in their appearance; for instance, a user could be represented as an anthropomorphized dog, or as a robot, or as a purple cube) (Fox et al., 2009, p. 97). Researchers are often interested in studying how users react when they manipulate avatars to appear physically different from their real-world bodies. Avatars can be placed within virtual spaces known as *Virtual Environments* (VEs), which refers to digital spaces with two characteristics: first, an environment which is rendered and displayed to sensors (usually some kind of a visual display or screen), and second, a system to track the movements of a user and to display these movements within the digital environment (Fox et al., 2009, pp. 95–96). In this regard, VR is understood to be more interactive than, for instance, watching television, because one's actions can have an impact on the virtual environment.

Virtual Environments can produce feelings of *immersion*. In the context of VR, immersion refers to the psychological experience of 'tuning out' the physical world and more fully engaging, even 'losing oneself,' in a Virtual Environment (Fox et al., 2009, p. 96). Some researchers have referred to these immersive capabilities as "what makes VR special" (Lopez & Bailenson, 2019). A concept closely related to immersion is *presence*, which mainly refers to users' perceptions of the fidelity of a Virtual Environment and to what degree it responds to their actions (Fox et al., 2009, p. 98). In other words, presence refers to the extent to which users feel that they are *in* a Virtual Environment. The more granular idea of *self-presence* refers to "the experience of a virtual self-representation as an extension of the self," which connects all of these notions directly to embodiment (Fox et al., 2009, p. 99).

Underscoring this connection, self-presence is also referred to as "*body ownership*" in Peace-VR experimental design which seeks to induce strong feelings that a user is the "owner" of a given avatar (for instance, see Banakou et al., 2013; Hoort et al., 2011; Kilteni et al., 2015; Maister et al., 2015, etc.).

Technological Capacity

Of course, the extent of VR's ability to recreate real-world social situations is a crucial question underpinning the validity of VR-driven research in social science. The perceived strength of immersion and self-presence in VR is contingent on a multitude of different variables, from responsiveness and multisensory feedback to comfort to social realism (Fox et al., 2009, p. 98). Therefore, researchers' ability to create experiences which engage people in believable, captivating, and responsive experiences – especially when it comes to producing the sensation of embodiment in a virtual space – is highly dependent on technological capacities. Sophisticated hardware and software are necessary to provide features like directional sound, smooth motion tracking, high-fidelity graphics, etc. This means that Peace-VR is mediated by developing technological capabilities.

Engendering Empathy in VR with Virtual Bodies

Within Peace-VR research, users are often 'trained' to have increased empathy for other people, particularly members of outgroups as defined by race, religion, nationality, gender, etc. The goal of this research is to enhance empathy using VR to "[create] experiences that are psychologically real, technologically smooth, and experientially meaningful" (Foxman et al., 2021, p. 2169). Foxman et al. argue that academic work on VR links Virtual Reality and empathy, since "Like VR itself, the idea of empathy is embedded in an aspirational language of potentiality" (2021, p. 2180). Despite the prevalence of empathy-related research, this work does not share a unified definition of empathy, nor a common way to measure it (Foxman et al., 2021, p. 2183). For this reason, the connection between VR and empathy has been described as "subtle and complicated" despite "public enthusiasm" (Foxman et al., 2021, p. 2181). Thus, empathy-related work in Peace-VR should be understood as quite varied.

Despite this diversity in measuring and defining empathy, much empathy-related work in Peace-VR shares a common methodological approach: using immersion to induce the sensation of bodily ownership of virtual bodies. This is known as *virtual embodiment*, which has the intriguing promise

of allowing VR users to truly feel that they are inhabiting a virtual body which may be very different than their own. This idea is central to how embodiment is operationalized in Peace-VR.

According virtual embodiment research within Peace-VR, research subjects might apply socially- and culturally-derived expectations to different virtual bodies based on the characteristics of those bodies, including implicit attitudes and behaviours (Banakou et al., 2013, p. 12850). This, in turn, allows researchers to study implicit attitudes and behaviours in a variety of different ways. Some research contends that feeling bodily ownership of a virtual body with a certain set of characteristics (for instance, people of a certain race) may increase empathy for people with those characteristics (Maister et al., 2015, p. 8). Thus, positive associations of self can be linked to a virtual body, and therefore an outgroup, by 'virtually embodying' an avatar representing that outgroup. Though the exact mechanisms by which this process takes place are debated, a consistent methodological approach of inducing body ownership illusions is employed by a wide range of practitioners.

Body Ownership Illusions

Body ownership illusions' theoretical basis in VR predates contemporary VR technology, drawing on evidence which shows that people can be made to viscerally experience a false appendage – for instance, a 1937 study involving an artificial finger – as a part of their own body (Slater, 2020). This is known as a body ownership illusion. Research regarding body ownership illusions is regarded as classical in psychology, as it helps to reveal information about the fundamental processes governing everyday perception. It is also used in cognitive neuroscience to investigate how humans perceive our bodies as distinct from the external world (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008, p. 1). As these body illusions constitute the theoretical underpinnings of embodiment as it is understood in VR, it is helpful to discuss how they function. It is also revealing to explore how potent and flexible body ownership illusions using physical prosthetics can be, especially because VR provides further technological avenues for manipulating perception.

> *If we want to understand why our centre of awareness, or sense of 'self,' is located inside our body, illusions of bodily self-perception could be invaluable* (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008, p. 1).

Perhaps the most recognized experimental example of a body illusion is the rubber hand illusion. In the illusion, subjects are positioned with their right hand hidden in a box on a table. A facsimile rubber hand and arm are then positioned so that they align with the subject's right shoulder. These are then covered with a cloth, which obscures the rubber arm but leaves the rubber hand visible. At the same

time, the subject's actual arm is obscured from sight with the use of a dividing wall, the same cloth used to obscure the rubber arm, or another method. Once this configuration has been set up, a researcher uses two brushes to simultaneously stroke a finger on the rubber hand and the subject's real hand, which is termed 'synchronous touching.'

Image 1: *A diagram of the rubber hand illusion. The research participant's actual arms are shown in brown, while the rubber arm is in blue. The researcher touches the research participant's actual hand and the rubber hand synchronously* (Kilteni et al., 2015, p. 3)

After a few minutes of synchronous touching, many people report that they feel as though the rubber hand is their own hand, meaning they perceive the touch of the ruler to be taking place "through" the rubber hand, rather than through their actual hand, still obscured from view. Some even report being able to feel stimulation on the rubber hand without synchronous touching of their actual hand. The illusion is often strong enough that research subjects' autonomic responses can be triggered: when the rubber hand is "threatened" (which is sometimes done theatrically, depending on the replication of the experiment, for instance using a hammer or a knife to strike suddenly at the rubber hand), participants attempt to pull their real hand quickly away (Kilteni et al., 2015, p. 4; Slater, 2020). Participants' brain activity has also been shown to react as if their real body was under threat when the artificial hand is 'attacked,' as areas of the brain associated with anxiety and interoceptive awareness selectively activate (Kilteni et al., 2015, p. 4). Beyond these reactions, participants in the rubber hand illusion subjectively report that the artificial hand is experienced as part of their real body. When asked to indicate where their hand is, they point closer to the artificial hand, demonstrating a shift in their ability to perceive the location of their hand – this is known as proprioceptive drift (Kilteni et al., 2015, p. 3).

The rubber hand experiment, though widely known and frequently replicated, is far from the only example of a body illusion experiment, nor is the hand the only body part for which body ownership illusions can be induced. Importantly, induced illusions of embodiment related to a single limb or body part (e.g., a hand, nose, abdomen) have been shown to be sufficient for inducing body-wide embodiment illusions, even to non-stimulated body parts; this is known as 'whole-body ownership' (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008, p. 6). Researchers have not yet reached a full explanation of why it is possible to induce body ownership illusions, despite the fact that the procedures for doing so have been described as "straightforward" (Banakou et al., 2013, p. 12846). Some seemingly necessary 'ingredients' for producing robust body ownership illusions have been identified (including semantic information related to synchronicity, spatiotemporal congruence, or the superimposition of an artificial body part onto its real counterpart) which indicate that multiple sets of stimuli can induce stronger feelings of bodily ownership (Kilteni et al., 2015, p. 15; Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008, p. 1).

This is not to say that artificial bodies need to be similar to a research subject's body to make bodily ownership illusions possible, and indeed the constraints for anatomical configurations appear to be quite flexible. Bodily ownership illusions have been successfully tested with artificial bodies that are larger, smaller, have longer limbs, or even a larger number of limbs than research participants' actual bodies (Kilteni et al., 2015, p. 12). These malleable limits mean that research participants can experience illusions of inhabiting a wide range of bodies, including those with different proportions and appearances, as well as (more saliently for peace studies) bodies of different ages, genders, and races (Banakou et al., 2013, p. 12846).

Body Ownership Illusions in VR

VR allows researchers to create body ownership illusions more fluidly. One striking experiment, the "body-swap illusion," reveals how potent these VR-driven illusions can be. This illusion involves the redirection of a research participant's perspective to another person's real body using a VR headset, a camera mounted on the other person's head, and synchronous touching (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008, p. 1). Perhaps most fascinatingly, the illusion of body ownership of another person persists even when research subjects shake hands with *themselves* (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008, p. 1). This illusion underscores the potential research applications of body ownership illusions unlocked by VR technology, as research participants were able to undergo an 'out-of-body experience' even while interacting with their own bodies.

Image 2: *The experimental design of Petkova & Ehrsson's body swap illusion* (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008, p. 1)

Though this is not the only experimental design using cameras or pre-recorded video to redirect perception in the physical world continues (for example, see Hasson et al., 2019; Hoort et al., 2011), most VR-based body ownership illusions map research subjects onto virtual bodies, tracking and mirroring their movements with wearable devices. These VR-based body ownership illusions over virtual bodies can be referred to as virtual embodiment.

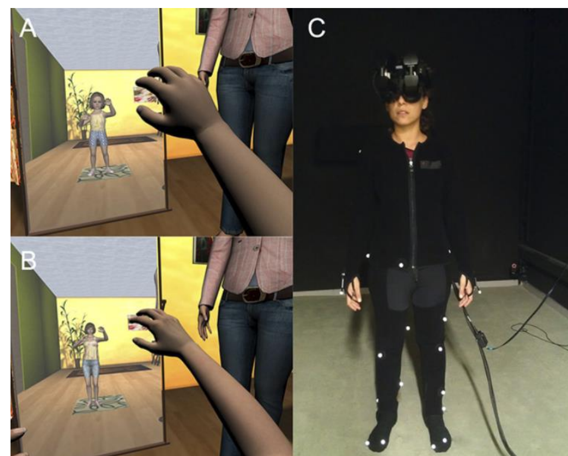

Image 3: *An example of virtual embodiment of adult and child virtual bodies (left), with movement tracked via wearable sensors (right)* (Banakou et al., 2013, p. 12847)

Self-Perception Theory

Much of virtual embodiment research seeks to examine how inducing ownership illusions of different kinds of virtual bodies may affect their behaviour and self-perception. Multiple explanations for how these illusions function have been proposed. Petkova and Ehrsson reference the manipulation of

neurological 'shortcuts,' as one possibility, while Yee and Bailenson express interest in behavioural assimilation, which is similar to the idea of 'priming,' as a plausible alternative (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008, p. 7; Yee & Bailenson, 2009, p. 198)**.** However, Yee et al.'s influential 2009 study *The Proteus Effect* seminal in laying out the basis for these kinds of experiments (Yee et al., 2009). The Proteus Effect posits that people infer their expected behaviours and attitudes from observing a virtual avatar's appearance (Yee et al., 2009, p. 285). This outlook is founded upon research related to self-perception theory, which suggests that people infer their attitudes and beliefs by observing themselves as though from the third person. For instance, in one experiment research subjects were shown a series of photographs of other people, and were told that their heart rate increased when looking at certain people (though this was not necessarily the case) – they later rated those people as more attractive (Yee et al., 2009, p. 290).

Thus, self-perception theory sees our thoughts and experiences as 'working backwards' from available information. It supports this outlook with studies which show that changing someone's self-representation can lead to a subsequent change in their behaviour and beliefs. VR-based experimentation has found evidence for self-perception theory. For example, using a 'virtual dating website,' researchers found that research participants who experienced body ownership illusions of virtual bodies rated as attractive in a pre-screening test later chose more attractive partners from a mock dating website (Yee & Bailenson, 2009, pp. 200–205). In variations on this experiment, research participants embodying more attractive avatars shared more personal information with a confederate, and those embodying taller avatars awarded themselves a greater share of a 100 dollar split (Yee et al., 2009, p. 294).

The Proteus Effect therefore provides the theoretical basis for a large swathe of virtual embodiment research, including Peace-VR research. Banakou et al. used virtual embodiment to immerse adult research participants in virtual bodies that resembled either adults or children, then asked them to evaluate the size of objects in the virtual environment (Banakou et al., 2013, p. 12846). Despite their different appearances, the virtual bodies were scaled to be the same size within the virtual environment. However, research participants embodying the child avatars consistently estimated that virtual cubes were larger than participants with adult avatars (Banakou et al., 2013, p. 12847). Researchers concluded thar research participants saw objects as larger because they inferred information about their environment from the form of their Virtual Bodies in terms of how they indicated age (Banakou et al., 2013, p. 12849). Though Peace-VR work is often more concerned with

outcomes than mechanisms, the Proteus Effect's self-associative explanation is commonly referenced within the corpus.

Embodiment in the Corpora

In peace studies, centring embodiment has emerged from other critical social science research, which is frequently paired with 'the local' and 'the everyday' as ways to ground peace and conflict research in contextual, phenomenological lived experience. Work with VR, meanwhile, derives its understanding of embodiment from neuropsychology. Its framing of embodiment is much more mechanistic, focusing on technical capability and implementation to induce potent body ownership illusions. In this respect, social science VR work, including Peace-VR, diverges substantially from peace studies and everyday peace theory.

Another challenge for a clean comparison is the diversity of how embodiment is tackled within each corpus. For instance, everyday peace literature is nearly as multifarious as the subject it is primarily interested in, everyday life. Everyday peace literature's focus ranges from everyday interactions with post-war memorialization in Nepal (Lundqvist, 2019) to the ways in which peace education teachers navigate relationships with members of their communities in Cyprus (Zembylas & Loukaides, 2021) to the impact of a nationalist rock musician on the micropolitics of young people in Croatia (Baker, 2019). Because scholarship within the field follows a wide range of different paths, it should come as no surprise that along these paths lie different theoretical approaches and conceptual frameworks. Turning to the example most pertinent to this thesis, embodiment as a concept is not consistently employed across the corpus of everyday peace. Certain works do place particular emphasis on embodiment as an essential element for understanding and analysing peace and violence. However, in others embodiment is less emphasized or even not explicitly addressed. In addition, some scholars write extensively on distinct models and understandings of embodiment, while others are content to employ existing frameworks while pursuing other analytical interests.

Contrastingly, in most VR literature, including Peace-VR literature, embodiment is not generally discussed as a theoretical method with the potential for different formulations. Instead, it is seen as an observable and operational phenomenon, albeit one with a small number of competing underlying mechanistic explanations. Of course, some scholarship does explore these possible mechanisms and considers their respective evidence bases (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008; Yee et al., 2009; Yee & Bailenson, 2007). However, in much of the literature, these explanations tend to be treated as

unessential when compared to the data generated by the manipulations under study. In other words, within this field, emphasis is rarely placed on *why* virtual embodiment works – instead, scholars seek to understand *what happens* when virtual embodiment techniques are employed. For this reason, different conceptions of embodiment are mainly reflected in how virtual bodies are employed in different pieces of scholarship, as well as how they are understood to relate to research participants' bodies. From this, several questions emerge. How do researchers conceptualize the significance of virtual embodiment as a methodology? How does their research account for differences in virtual and analogue or "real-world" spaces? During virtual embodiment, whose body is being embodied?

Despite this obvious incongruency in epistemological foundation, the fields' foundational understandings of embodiment do not appear to directly undermine one another. Existent social science research using embodiment in VR, including Peace-VR, therefore suggests a possibility for these divergent research strands to be put in conversation with one another on the subject of embodiment, and possibly even integrated. However, their current formulations of embodiment are so different that it is difficult to conceptualize how this conversation could take place. In the next section, I propose a methodological approach to address this problem. It teases out information about how embodiment is formulated and operationalized in Peace-VR and Everyday Embodied Peace studies and provides a basis for comparison between the two.

3. Comparative Qualitative/Thematic Conceptual Analysis

The overarching method used in this paper is *comparative qualitative/thematic conceptual analysis*. To achieve a basis for comparison, my analysis highlights prevalent themes and recurring concepts related to embodiment in each field as units of analysis. I formulated this novel approach to tackle the divergent and relatively distinct corpora with the methodological tools best suited to them. This means that my methodological approach uses different tools to analyse themes related to embodiment within Peace-VR literature and within everyday peace literature. These approaches differ because the corpora themselves have distinct characteristics. This method combines elements from different methodological strategies, and as such I have named it to make these different influences clear. However, this means the title is also quite long. Therefore, for the sake of brevity, I will refer to it hereafter as Thematic Conceptual Analysis.

Everyday peace literature is often (yet not always) concerned with embodiment, but select works examine it extensively, providing rich data from which themes can be drawn. I therefore carefully select specific texts to form the basis for the Everyday Embodied Peace section of the analysis. Peace-VR literature, meanwhile, does not typically examine embodiment as a theoretical lens, instead treating it mostly as a psychological mechanism that can be operationalized for the purpose of conducting research. Select works therefore do not provide the same richness of data, and so instead a wider range of works are considered to allow themes of embodiment to emerge. From these analyses, two typologies of embodiment, both as a concept and as a research theme, are developed. This methodology provides appropriate approaches for analysing the different characteristics of each corpus, allowing me to rigorously identify themes and patterns of meaning. I then bring these analyses together for comparison to answer the research questions of this thesis, providing a framework for a coherent, systematic, and compelling comparison of the rich theoretical space of embodiment in Peace-VR and Embodied Everyday Peace literature.

The formulation of qualitative/thematic conceptual analysis used in this thesis is drawn from five models. The foundation of this analysis employs Zhang & Wildemuth (2009) for general best-practices of qualitative analysis as a method, as well as Braun and Clarke, who provide guidance for thematic analysis (2021). Its general structure, meanwhile, is modelled after Jabareen (2011), who demonstrates how conceptual analysis can be used to create a multidisciplinary typology of a particular concept from fragmented literature. Niiranen et al.'s (2021) work also contributes to this framework, as it provides an instructive example of how comparisons can be integrated within

broader qualitative and theory-driven content analysis. Niiranen et al.'s methodology employs specific texts (within the domain of technical crafts) to construct a novel analytical lens, which is used to unpack underlying conceptual understandings from a wider range of sources. Lastly, Zhu et al. (2015) show how conceptual analysis can be used as the basis for the development of a novel framework which may help to guide future work.

Selections from Everyday Peace Literature for Qualitative Thematic Analysis

For everyday peace literature, I develop a typology of themes of the concept of embodiment by analysing representative or influential works which place an emphasis on embodiment, and which expand on embodiment from a theoretical perspective. An emphasis on the concept of embedment is the key selection criterion for my thematic analysis of everyday peace literature. This selection criterion was chosen because works which deeply and conceptually explore embodiment provide me with more detail to identify what the key themes of embodiment as a concept are within everyday peace literature. I specifically draw on scholars who discuss embodiment at length, and indeed those who make it a cornerstone of their work. These discussions provide me with a rich set of theoretical and methodological data to consider. To identify such texts, I searched Google Scholar and Tampere University's online library system, Andor, for works including the words "everyday," "embodiment," "bodies," "peace," "violence," conflict," "corporal" and related synonyms in various combinations. I then carefully read the sections of the texts that returned results for these searches, selecting works from peace studies that explored embodiment in depth.

Though this selection of texts is rich in theoretical depth, yet intentionally small, I also include some additional texts which engage with embodiment and everyday peace in more limited ways in my analysis. These texts will allow me to examine the validity of the themes that emerge from the 'cornerstone texts' of my analysis.

The literature on everyday peace is profoundly diverse in terms of scope and focus, partially due to the inherent complexity of the 'everyday' as a concept. For this reason, rather than attempting to survey the entirety of the field, I instead chose to draw the majority of my analysis from two "purposefully selected texts" (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009) which are centrally concerned with understandings of embodiment in everyday peace and which are rich in theory. I found Braun & Clarke's position on the "richness" of a dataset, rather than its size or scope, to be instructive in selecting these texts, as each one provides extensive theoretical consideration and application of the

everyday and embodiment (2021, pp. 51–52). These texts have been analysed using thematic analysis, which is useful for "developing, analysing, and interpreting patterns across a qualitative dataset" (in this case, the contents of these two texts) (Braun & Clarke, 2021).

The texts I have selected for this purpose are Helen Berents' book *Young People and Everyday Peace: Exclusion, Insecurity and Peacebuilding in Colombia* (2018) and Tarja Väyrynen's book *Corporeal Peacebuilding: Mundane Bodies and Temporal Transitions* (2018).

In addition to these two cornerstone texts, I have included a small number of supplementary texts, which have been selected on the basis that they incorporate embodiment and everyday peace in their theoretical foundations. These texts have been positioned in a secondary role in this analysis because they do not expand on these theoretical influences to the same extent that the cornerstone texts do. However, they still provide a useful way to test whether the themes that emerge from thematic analysis are also present across the corpus of embodiment and everyday peace. These supplementary texts help to give an indication of whether the themes I have identified are valid based on their presence in the wider literature on everyday peace and embodiment. The supplemental texts I have selected are Hannah Partis-Jennings' *The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience* (2019); Jenny Hedström's *On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition* (2021); Linda Åhäll's *Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war* (2019); and Kawtar Najib and Peter Hopkins' *Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris* (2019). These texts are diverse in terms of the societies their research is situated in and their broader research goals, yet each incorporates everyday peace and embodiment in their theoretical foundations and analysis. Here, I include a table to help visualize the full set of texts.

	Title	***Author***	***Publication***	***Year***
Cornerstone Texts	Young People and Everyday Peace: Exclusion, Insecurity and Peacebuilding in Colombia	Helen Berents	Routledge Studies in Latin American Politics	2018
	Corporeal Peacebuilding: Mundane Bodies and Temporal Transitions	Tarja Väyrynen	Rethinking Peace and Conflict	2018

			Studies, Palgrave Macmillan		***Keywords***
Supplementary texts	The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience	Hannah Partis-Jennings	Peacebuilding	2019	Hybridity; friction; Afghanistan; third gender; Feminism; peacebuilding
	On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition	Jenny Hedström	Peacebuilding	2021	Social Reproduction; Feminist Political Economy; Myanmar; Peace & Conflict; Transition; Kayah/Karenni State
	Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war	Linda Åhäll	Cooperation and Conflict	2019	Aesthetics, affective-discursive, Everyday IR, feminism, militarisation
	Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris	Kawtar Najib and Peter Hopkins	Political Geography	2019	Veiled Muslim women; Islamophobia; Strategies; Paris

Table 1: Texts from Everyday Embodied Peace Literature

In the following paragraphs, I will briefly describe each cornerstone text to justify its selection. I will then provide briefer summaries of the supplemental texts.

Cornerstone texts

In her analysis of the youth of Bogotá's Los Altos de Cazucá neighbourhood, Berents' primary analytical lens is "embodied-everyday-peace-amidst-violence" (2018, p. 7), which is concerned with a variety of different dynamics of the everyday, among them space, youth, and insecurity, all of which are understood principally and fundamentally as embodied phenomena. Rather than seeing a focus on embodiment in the everyday as merely one of many different analytical options, Berents makes more definite ontological claims, contending that, "Violence is not experienced solely against the body but *is* embodied" (2018, p. 124). Berents positions her work as building on existing criticisms of liberal peacebuilding. In particular, she aims to go beyond perceived flaws in "post-liberal"

conceptions of peacebuilding, as exemplified by the works of Oliver Richmond. One of these perceived flaws is Richmond's epistemological treatment of bodies: Berents describes this work as tending to "[remove everyday peace] from the *embodied* world of those experiencing violence, conflict, and marginalization" (2018, p. 32). Consequently, she makes a particular point that a, "sincere commitment to the notion of embodied everyday peace" is the "obligation and goal" of her book (2018, p. 15). In order to further correct for limitations in a 'disembodied' conceptualization of violence in the everyday, she emphasizes that "exploring the intimate, daily, embodied experiences of individuals locates violence within the everyday" (2018, p. 106). This explicit and firm commitment to embodiment as a defining characteristic of everyday peace research indicates that *Young People and Everyday Peace: Exclusion, Insecurity and Peacebuilding in Colombia* (2018) is abundantly salient for inclusion in a classification of embodiment in everyday peace literature.

Väyrynen, meanwhile, furthers a conception of embodiment in relation to everyday peace by exploring a deeper theoretical and ontological space. This is laid out bluntly, as she states that she examines war and peace as "socio-political institutions that begin and end with bodies" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 2). Much the theoretical work within this understanding hinges on a rejection of the "singular body" in favour of the "body multiple" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 3). Väyrynen draws on the diverse range of ontologies that "make the body known to us," to form a "collage" of complimentary angles of analysis (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 4). To operationalize this polymorphic set of ontologies Väyrynen draws on Barad, employing her technique of "diffractive reading" (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 8–10) to take competing and overlapping ontologies into account in order to identify differences and create insights. In so doing, she draws focus to their wider commonalities, asking what insights and fresh questions can be found in this space relating to corporeal peace and conflict (2018, p. 4).

Like Berents, Väyrynen goes on to connect these considerations to a robust criticism of the positivist conceptions of international relations and of peace and conflict studies which have guided neo-liberal peacebuilding efforts, claiming that each has been "abstracted from its everydayness" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 21). Väyrynen also seeks to expand on existing literature, exploring deficiencies in the 'local turn' of peacebuilding theory and seeking to address these by employing critical, poststructuralist, and feminist scholarship, particularly the work of Sylvester, Butler, Nancy, and especially Barad in order to articulate her own conception of 'the everyday' in which vulnerability and embodiment are emphasized (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 27; 36; 49). Her work is similar to Berents in another way: Väyrynen makes an exploration of embodiment her explicit goal, stating, "My aim is to bring a new

angle to the body and peacebuilding" (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 13, 57). Väyrynen's insistence and expansive theoretical development on embodiment as it relates to the everyday and peacebuilding position her work to be valid and valuable to a typology of embodiment in everyday peace literature.

Väyrynen and Berents share a theoretical emphasis on embodiment, yet their work addresses perceived gaps in scholarship in different ways. These distinctions provide vital sites for investigation in the construction of this thesis's typology of embodiment in everyday peace.

Supplemental texts

Partis-Jennings discusses the notion of a 'third gender' in Afghanistan as a way that female international humanitarian actors refer to their own understandings of the perceived gendered expectations placed on them in Afghan society, and the ways in which this perceived expectations are consequently performed (2019, p. 178). This 'third gender' is not seen as identical to native Afghan women, nor is it understood as being equivalent to Afghan men. Partis-Jennings examines this notion, which she encounters across numerous interviews with female international humanitarian actors in Kabul, through the lens of hybridity as a way to understand the "gendered nature of peacebuilding" (2019, p. 178). In doing so, she suggests that the concept of a 'third gender' is a "site of embodied everyday experience in peacebuilding" (Partis-Jennings, 2019, p. 180). Specifically, she argues that the 'third gender' acts as a "hybrid identification framework in everyday praxis," revealing how, "'international and 'local' norms interact'" within the "liberal peace paradigm in Afghanistan" (2019, p. 179). This is revealed in numerous ways, some of which are seemingly contradictory. For example, many of Partis-Jennings' interviewees describe the 'third gender' as being rooted in the assumption that men in Afghanistan treat them as "not women" in order to square their subordinate understanding of women (Partis-Jennings problematises this assumption) with the relative power these international actors wield as a result of social markers like status and wealth (2019, pp. 187–188). However, some interviewees seem to affirm that being perceived as 'third gender' affords them increased agency freedom, even in relation to their home countries, and leads to them feeling more adventurous through a sort of perceptual "de-gendering" (Partis-Jennings, 2019, p. 189). Additionally, in working spaces, many of Partis-Jennings' interviewees described being able to access a "'masculine' domain of power and authority but without being masculinized according to their own social standards" (2019, p. 189). Because of this, the bodies of international female actors are analysed as embodied and everyday sites the friction of liberal values and liberal peacekeeping projects that can only "create identity or meaning [with] reference to the 'illiberal' Other (Partis-

Jennings, 2019, p. 191). These bodies mix with local Afghan bodies in everyday encounters, and in doing so, can help to reveal expectations on different bodies according to gender identities as they take place within the 'liberal' order on a broader level. Partis-Jennings' focus on embodiment and everyday encounters in the context of peacebuilding make this work an elucidating supplementary text for the purposes of my analysis.

Hedström's text centres a single individual, referenced in its title: Agnes. Agnes is a woman and an ethnic minority who grows up in the Kayah (Karenni) state in rural Myanmar. She is a caretaker for three younger siblings as well as a child she gave birth to after being raped by a militia fighter, volunteers with a local armed group, and earns money by attending trainings with organisations focused on post-conflict transition within her state (the text was accepted prior to the 1 February 2021 military-led coup in Myanmar) (Hedström, 2021, p. 372). Agnes' life has been influenced by violent conflict, by insecurity, by gendered expectations, and by the trade of opium and *yaba*. Hedström frames Agnes' experiences as "representative of a larger story about the transition which suggests that the country's new political-economy order has not so much upset exclusionary norms as entrenched them" (2021, p. 373). A focus on her embodied experiences – especially how she has been prevented from benefiting from the 'potential' offered during the transitional period – is therefore used as a way to reveal everyday insecurities, gendered sites, and the possibility of violence, especially as these relate to marginalised bodies in Myanmar (Hedström, 2021, pp. 371; 373). While setting out her research agenda, Hedström posits that "conflicts… are experienced and reproduced in the everyday" and questions whether this can been seen not as "a disruption of the everyday, but rather, [as] the everyday," and argues that "the everyday is where [insecurities] are felt, remembered, feared, negotiated, in the aftermath as well as in the midst of conflict" (2021, p. 375). A focus on the everyday thus established, Hedström goes on to elaborate that her particular conception of everyday peace as "embodied and ordinary," calling attention to gendered relations of power within this conception as a way to uncover the ways in which everyday life is constrained and "access to power, authority, and decision-making" is shaped" (2021, p. 376). She highlights three sites in which to analyse the transition period: social reproduction, the home, and women's bodies, pointing out that the effects of the transition are embodied in Agnes' daily experiences (Hedström, 2021, pp. 374; 376). Attention is manifestly paid to both embodiment and everyday peace in Hedström's text, making it a valuable addition to the supplementary texts used in the analysis of this thesis.

Though she discusses "everyday International Relations" rather than everyday peace, it is clear that Åhäll's work (2019) is interested in many of the same themes that underly the other works mentioned here, as her articulation of international relations describes it as "the study of war, and crucially, how to avoid war" (2019, p. 150). Moreover, her central discussion examines "a micro-politics of bodies, affect and movement" through the analogy of dance (Åhäll, 2019, p. 151), focusing in particular on an art project in which 'ghost soldiers' dressed in WWI-era uniforms suddenly appeared in public places across the UK as part of a memorial project. Åhäll underlines the fact that the planned presence of these actors was not known to the public at large before they suddenly appeared in shopping centres and train stations across the county (2019, p. 151). They thereby caused an unexpected interruption in everyday life that, paired with the soldiers breaking out into songs from the era, caused strong emotional reactions and widespread public discussion (Åhäll, 2019, p. 150). Though she is interested in the 'ghost soldiers' as an example, Åhäll lays out a wider research agenda for international relations scholars. In particular, she argues that attention paid to bodies, affect, and movement will deepen understanding of "how security operates as a logic reproducing the militarisation of the everyday" as well as "a representational gap, an aesthetic politics, potentially useful for resistance to such social practices normalising war in the everyday" (Åhäll, 2019, p. 151). Movement is present in this analysis based on a comparison between the "normalisation of militarisation" and a dance choreography, since both are "relational, embodied movement" – as such, Åhäll argues, "it seems that dance is 'everywhere' in global politics" (Åhäll, 2019, p. 107). Åhäll's concentration on everyday peace and embodiment as research interests make her text a valuable supplementation for the testing phase of the thematic analysis portion of this thesis.

Lastly, Najib and Hopkins (2019) examine embodiment and everyday peace through the perspective of Muslim women who live in the Paris metropolitan area. The authors' focus, based on data collected from dozens of interviews, is on the various everyday strategies that Muslim women who wear the veil employ to negotiate their "Muslimness" in their daily lives. Veiling is highly politicized in France and is subject to multiple restrictions, thanks in part to the country's strict secularism in government work and public learning institutions. The authors are particularly interested in how these women navigate Islamophobia and the violence that often accompanies it, as well as how this informs different responses in different physical and social spaces. For instance, many women feel more stigmatized in the centre of Paris than in the more suburban *banlieues*, while others note being treated well in touristic areas, but poorly in more wealthy locals elsewhere (Najib & Hopkins, 2019, p. 105). Throughout their analysis, the authors point out that veiling is an embodied practice that is found in

everyday behaviours, situating their work within the corpus with which this thesis is concerned. Perhaps most prominently, veiling, and responses to it, impact how the bodies of Muslim women travel in urban spaces (Najib & Hopkins, 2019, p. 104). Elaborating on this, the authors discuss how Muslim women will often change how often they go out, where they go, and how they interact with others based on an anticipation of increased stigmatization following, for example, a terror attack. Linkages between stigma, public perception, politicization, and "exposure to violence" underpin the women's strategies, in a close parallel to the children Berents discusses in her analysis of everyday peace (Najib & Hopkins, 2019, p. 104). Najib and Hopkins argue that this makes veiling "an embodied geopolitical practice as Muslim women adapt their styles of dress in response to geopolitical events" (2019, p. 108). Their theoretical integration of embodiment and everyday peace makes this work an excellent supplementary text for the purposes of my analysis.

Thematic Analysis of Everyday Peace Literature

In order to find patterns of meaning in my selected everyday peace literature, I performed the thematic analysis using a reflexive approach. I carefully took notes while reading and rereading the works of Berents (2018) and Väyrynen (2018), while trying to "locate myself" and maintaining an awareness of my philosophical, theoretical, and personal assumptions (Braun & Clarke, 2021, p. 37). Throughout these readings, I paid special attention to their treatment of embodiment and the everyday, noticed possible themes (striving to leave myself open to whatever patterns emerged from the texts), then copied down relevant passages. Following the guidance of Braun & Clarke, I aimed for a "compelling, insightful… [and nuanced]," interpretation of the data based on immersing myself in the texts through multiple readings at different points in the research and drafting portion of this thesis (2021, pp. 31; 35–36). I then placed these passages into different thematic categories and slowly organized and reorganized them into different themes.

Some of these themes, and some aspects of certain themes, appeared prevalently across different texts, while others were more subtle and only became apparent after multiple readings. In order to allow "hidden pathways and surprising revelations" (Braun & Clarke, 2021, p. 53) to emerge from my readings of the texts, I listed candidate themes whenever I wondered if a certain passage or idea might have wider commonalities of implications across the data. Some of these candidate themes were strengthened over multiple readings, while I deemed others unsubstantial based on a lack of supporting passages and discarded them from the analysis. Thus, my thematic analysis was developed and refined across multiple readings of my source data.

The themes I identified have been synthesized from a more cohesive academic framework, and as such there are areas of significant overlap between each of them. Referring to violence, Berents alludes to a similar difficulty of "isolating" its "multiple manifestations … as their causes and consequences are all enmeshed" (2018, p. 124). For instance, her discussion of spatiality also invokes questions of stigmatization, the isolating tendencies of traditional peace perspectives, and gendered issues in coding a place as violent, and the agency of the bodies of young people, each of which emerge as themes or sub-themes in my analysis (Berents, 2018, pp. 115–117). Thus, my thematic framework should not be considered as an atomistic breakdown with clear boundaries, but rather as having liminal spaces and permeable boundaries.

When synthesizing themes, I faced a choice of breaking themes into very small and specific units to describe minute aspects of each work, or taking a bigger-picture approach that might conflate what could easily be considered as multiple themes into a single overarching idea. Though the former approach is useful for precision, I have chosen the latter approach because I believes it simplifies comparison between this literature and the Peace-VR literature. Having a smaller number of more general themes also does not prevent me from pulling out more specific ideas that reflect these themes in order to enrich the conversation between these corpora. To help this further, I have highlighted some specific sub-themes to allow for clearer analysis along these lines.

Selection from Virtual Embodiment Literature for Conceptual Analysis

Unlike everyday peace literature, Peace-VR tends to answer theoretical questions related to embodiment briefly or with reference to existing work, or from a mechanistic/technical implementation perspective related to experimental design without further explanation or analysis. The concept of embodiment within Peace-VR literature cannot, therefore, be understood from reading a small number of purposefully selected texts, but must instead be pieced together from a wider survey of the academic landscape within the field. Themes relating to the concept of embodiment can be uncovered more readily by considering a wider constellation of works which employ virtual embodiment. To identify relevant papers, I again searched Google Scholar and Andor for works including the words "VR" or "Virtual Reality" as well as "embodiment" and/or "peace," "violence," "conflict," "human rights," "hatred," "tolerance," "outgroup," or similar terms. From this search, more than fifty works emerged as potentially relevant to my research questions. After reviewing

further, I narrowed this to thirty-five texts which used VR as a research tool and discussed themes related to peace, violence, and embodiment. A table of these thirty-five texts can be found below.

Title	*Author*	*Publication*	*Year*	*Keywords*
Effect of Behavioral Realism on Social Interactions Inside Collaborative Virtual Environments	Herrera et al.	Presence: Teleoperators and Virtual Environments	2020	None provided
A Virtual Reprise of the Stanley Milgram Obedience Experiments	Slater et al.	PLoS ONE	2006	None provided
Augmented Virtual Reality Meditation: Shared Dyadic Biofeedback Increases Social Presence Via Respiratory Synchrony	Järvelä et al.	Submitted to Association for Computing Machinery (peer reviewed manuscript)	2021	Virtual reality; empathy; meditation; neurofeedback; psychophysiology; affective computing
Being Barbie: The Size of One's Own Body Determines the Perceived Size of the World	Hoort et al.	PLoS ONE	2021	None provided
Exploring the heart rate as a chronemic cue in virtual settings: how perceptions of consistent and varied heart rates of a storyteller influence self-reported other-arousal, empathy and social presence	Li et al.	Media Psychology	2020	None provided
If I Were You: Perceptual Illusion of Body Swapping	Petkova & Ehrsson	PLoS ONE	2008	None provided
Over my fake body: body ownership illusions for studying the multisensory basis of own-body perception	Kilteni et al.	Frontiers in Human Neuroscience	2015	body ownership; rubber hand illusion; multisensory perception; body semantics; causal inference
VR Porn as "Empathy Machine"? Perception of Self and Others in Virtual Reality Pornography	Dekker et al.	The Journal of Sex Research	2021	None provided
When Does Virtual Embodiment Change Our Minds?	Bailey et al.	Presence: Teleoperators and Virtual Environments	2016	None provided
Embodiment in Virtual Reality Intensifies Emotional Responses to Virtual Stimuli	Gall et al.	Frontiers in Psychology	2021	Embodiment; virtual body ownership; avatars; agency; immersive interfaces; human-computer Interaction; affective computing; emotions
Social Interaction and Pain Threshold in Virtual Reality	Won et al.	Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking	2020	virtual reality; pain; social presence; social closeness; transportation; induced pain
Virtual Peacemakers: Mimicry Increases Empathy in Simulated Contact with Virtual Outgroup Members	Hasler et al.	Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking	2014	None provided
Facilitating empathy through virtual reality	Schutte & Stilinović	Motivation and emotion	2017	Empathy; Engagement; Virtual Reality
Voices of the unsung: The role of social presence and interactivity in building empathy in 360 video	Pimentel et al.	New Media & Society	2021	360 video; climate change; empathy; immersive storytelling; interactivity; social presence

An “Empathy Machine” or a “Just-for-the-Fun-of-It” Machine? Effects of Immersion in Nonfiction 360-Video Stories on Empathy and Enjoyment	Pereda-Baños et al.	Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking	2020	360-video; virtual reality; immersive journalism; empathy; enjoyment
Changing bodies changes minds: owning another body affects social cognition	Maister et al.	Trends in cognitive sciences	2015	Body ownership; racial biases; implicit attitudes; social cognition; bodily illusions; immersive virtual reality
“Empathy machine”: how virtual reality affects human rights attitudes	Bujić et al.	Internet Research	2020	Virtual reality; 360-degree video; Immersive journalism; Human rights; Attitude change; Being-there
Learning empathy Through virtual Reality: Multiple Strategies for Training empathy-Related Abilities Using Body Ownership illusions in embodied virtual Reality	Bertrand et al.	Frontiers in Robotics and AI	2018	Embodied virtual reality; body ownership illusion; empathy-related; learning; training; prosocial behavior; bias; intergroup
Building long-term empathy: A large-scale comparison of traditional and virtual reality perspective-taking	Herrera et al.	PLoS ONE	2018	None provided
Effect of body-gender transfer in virtual reality on the perception of sexual harassment	Wu et al.	Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society	2021	None provided
Walk A Mile in Digital Shoes: The Impact of Embodied Perspective-Taking on The Reduction of Negative Stereotyping in Immersive Virtual Environments	Yee & Bailenson	PRESENCE Virtual and Augmented Reality	2006	None provided
Beyond the colour of my skin: how skin colour affects the sense of body-ownership	Farmer et al.	Consciousness and cognition	2012	Body-ownership; Rubber hand illusion; Multisensory; Social groups; Skin colour; Body image
The influence of racial embodiment on racial bias in immersive virtual environments	Groom et al.	Social influence	2009	Virtual reality; Embodiment; Prejudice; Stereotypes; Implicit associations
Virtual Embodiment of White People in a Black Virtual Body Leads to a Sustained Reduction in Their Implicit Racial Bias	Banakou et al.	Frontiers in human neuroscience	2016	Racial bias; racism; body ownership; virtual reality; implicit association test; rubber hand illusion; Tai Chi
Cultivating Empathy Through Virtual Reality	Roswell et al.	Academic medicine	2020	None provided
Drumming in Immersive Virtual Reality: The Body Shapes the Way We Play	Kilteni et al.	IEEE transactions on visualization and computer graphics	2013	Perception; presence; user studies; experimental methods; multimodal interaction; training; entertainment
Putting yourself in the skin of a black avatar reduces implicit racial bias	Peck et al.	Consciousness and cognition	2013	Racial bias; Implicit Association Test; IAT; Virtual reality; Virtual environment; Body ownership; Embodiment
Experiencing organ failure in virtual reality: Effects of self- versus other-embodied perspective taking on empathy and prosocial outcomes	Li and Kyung Kim	New media & society	2021	Avatar; embodiment; empathy; perspective taking; prosocial; virtual reality
The effects of embodying wildlife in virtual reality on conservation behaviors	Pimentel and Kalyanaraman	Scientific reports	2022	None provided
Offenders become the victim in virtual reality: impact of changing perspective in domestic violence	Seinfeld et al.	Scientific reports	2018	None provided

Identifying emotions toward an overweight avatar in Virtual Reality: The moderating effects of visuotactile stimulation and drive for thinness	Van der Waal et al.	Frontiers in virtual reality	2022	Negative affect; body-size perception; visuotactile stimulation; drive for thinness; virtual body ownership
The Effect of Embodied Experiences on Self-Other Merging, Attitude, and Helping Behavior	Ahn et al.	Media Psychology	2013	None provided
Virtual reality-based conflict resolution: The impact of immersive 360° video on changing view points and moral judgment in the context of violent intergroup conflict	Hasler et al.	New media & society	2021	360° video; arousal; empathy; engagement; intergroup conflict; moral judgment; perspective-taking; physiological, presence; virtual reality
The enemy's gaze: Immersive virtual environments enhance peace promoting attitudes and emotions in violent intergroup conflicts	Hasson et al.	PloS one	2019	None provided
Examining virtual reality for pro-social attitude change	Aitamurto et al	New media & society	2021	None provided

Table 2: Texts from Peace-VR literature

To make sense of this body of work, my analysis loosely truncates different works into groupings. These groupings are chiefly defined by the research aims of the literature under consideration, which point to why scholars may have chosen to use virtual embodiment as a method and thus to how they understand its relationship to embodiment as a concept. I then perform the analysis to tease out themes of how embodiment is conceptualized across Peace-VR literature. This analysis leads to the creation of a counterpart typology, complementary to the one constructed from the everyday peace literature.

To achieve a broad sampling, I employ conceptual analysis, which is used to "generate, identify, and trace a phenomenon's major concepts, which together constitute its theoretical framework" (Jabareen, 2011, p. 388). This approach involves a process of categorizing selected data sources, then identifying and naming concepts, deconstructing and categorizing concepts, and finally synthesizing a conceptual framework (Jabareen, 2011, p. 388). Key concepts in Peace-VR literature's conception of embodiment emerge through this process, which can then more readily and systematically be compared to concepts from everyday peace literature.

The first step of the conceptual analysis is categorizing selected data sources. I decided to categorize the Peace-VR literature by grouping works from the literature according to the themes that appeared to be most frequent and salient in my reading of it. As mentioned previously, I focused on the research aims of the literature, as these were often the sections which discussed embodiment most explicitly. I included only those themes which occurred the most frequently or which were especially relevant to understanding the corpus's conception of embodiment. This means that more minor themes, such

as literature concerned with harnessing VR to study potential medicinal uses of the technology, have been omitted for the purposes of this analysis.

Performing the analysis

The comparative qualitative/thematic conceptual classification was conducted by following the process outlined below. Though the different components of this process are communicated in a chronological way, these steps frequently overlapped. For instance, selecting what Peace-VR data was relevant to include involved a brief reading of each work, from which I began to create an initial list of themes. I attempted to be as systematic as possible in this process, while also being mindful and following what appeared to be the most salient aspects of the data throughout my selection and familiarization processes.

1) *Familiarization with the data*: I familiarized myself with the data by performing a careful reading and taking notes on Berents' and Väyrynen's everyday peace theory works, paying special attention to their discussion of embodiment. I performed a similar close reading of the supplemental everyday peace texts, as well as the works from my initial data-gathering of the Peace-VR literature, noting themes that emerged over the course of my reading. From this reading, I chose thirty-four Peace-VR works (out of the fifty I had initially considered) as being relevant to my analysis. I excluded those works from my initial search which I deemed to be more tangentially related to peace studies or which studied embodiment only incidentally. I then decided to focus on the three themes which emerged as the most salient in my reading (detailed in the Conceptual Analysis Categorization of Virtual Embodiment Literature section above), and further excluded other works which related only to more minor themes.
2) *Generating typologies*: from here, I generated typologies of the corpora.
    a. In everyday peace literature, I generated initial themes of how embodiment is conceived during my close reading of both Berents and Väyrynen. I then reread both works, reflecting on the themes I had identified in my first reading in order to review and refine them. I then classify these themes in a typology. I tested the validity of this typology through the supplemental texts.
    b. In Peace-VR literature, I labelled each text with several candidate themes during my reading. In particular, I focused on the texts' discussions of embodiment. These discussions were most often located in the sections which outlined a particular text's research aims, and to a lesser extent in their methods sections or their conclusions. I

chose three themes as particularly salient by making inferences and reconstructing the meanings that emerged in the course of my examination of the literature. These themes were then organized in a typology of the concept of embodiment, which in turn was reviewed, refined, and labelled.

3) *Comparing typologies*: once themes of embodiment in both sets of literature were generated by thematic and conceptual analysis, they were presented alongside one another and then qualitatively compared.

Ethical Considerations

Though the analysis is based on a carefully chosen methodology, my own subjectivity as a researcher has a significant impact on how it was completed. Braun and Clarke point out that "knowledge generation is inherently subjective and situated" and since I have intentionally made subjective judgements when developing different thematic categories, my own positionality as a researcher has doubtless played a role in how I made those decisions (Braun & Clarke, 2021, pp. 28; 219). I would therefore like to underscore that this analysis cannot be treated as unbiased, though I hope it is compelling and insightful. Following the guidance of Braun and Clarke, I would also like to acknowledge and take responsibility for my own relationship to the data under consideration in this thesis in the form of a brief reflection, which I hope will serve to "[challenge] the view of knowledge production as independent of the researcher producing it" (Braun & Clarke, 2021, p. 39).

As a student completing a degree in peace studies, at the beginning of writing this thesis I found myself identifying with the Everyday Embodied Peace literature under consideration, while feeling more critical and sceptical of Peace-VR literature. Specifically, I disliked what felt like Peace-VR's overconfidence in its methodologies and its weak explanatory powers. This reaction possibly stemmed from my being used to reading and working with open-ended, reflective, and observational research which centres complexity and nuance, rather than experimental intervention. I have long held an interest in deeply divided societies and have struggled to understand issues like racism, discrimination, and hatred in a multidimensional and humanized way. I did not initially perceive this complexity's presence in Peace-VR scholars' descriptions of societal problems they were trying to solve. However, over the course of writing this thesis, my negative feelings towards Peace-VR literature's framing of divided societies and its methodological outlook have moderated. I have also attempted to consciously treat the corpora on even footing despite my own connection to Everyday Embodied Peace literature, though it is difficult to measure how successful I have been. I feel it is

quite possible that some of the analysis may still be affected by this affinity for peace studies literature by comparison with Peace-VR literature.

In addition, I have attempted to question my words, tone, and outlook when discussing marginalized communities, but I would be remiss to not acknowledge my own privilege and some of the distance between these experiences of marginalization and my own experiences as a European and American white man. It is my hope that this thesis has resonated with Väyrynen's description of coming "into contact with" others, both the researchers whose works I discuss and the humans who are the subjects of that research. I have sought to lean in to the sensation of "[inevitable]" responsibility and respond with consideration and humanity (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 125). Though this is what I have strived for, it is ultimately not for me to judge whether I have met this responsibility well.

4. Analysis

My research questions were chosen to address a research gap created by divergent epistemological traditions. This thesis provides a way to understand Peace-VR and Everyday Embodied Peace corpora despite such differences. Embodiment has been placed at the centre of this conversation because of its relevance to both fields, and because it provides a rich theoretical space for comparison. Embodiment also presents a challenge since is not only conceptualized differently, but also discussed and presented in distinct ways within the corpora. Peace-VR literature mainly discusses embodiment as a mechanistic research method, while some Everyday Embodied Peace literature explores it in considerable depth. The conceptual analysis of Peace-VR literature and thematic analysis of Everyday Embodied Peace literature have therefore been selected as the tailored methodological tools best suited for answering these research questions. Because Everyday Embodied Peace literature (and especially my selected cornerstone texts) provide extensive descriptions and justifications for embodiment, I dedicate substantial space to unpacking this data in order to justify my thematic choices. My analysis of Peace-VR is better communicated by tables with short excerpts justifying the categorization of different works, especially since these excepts are often close in length to the discussion of embodiment in Peace-VR papers.

These analyses unpack how embodiment is defined and conceived in each field. Based on their findings, themes of embodiment are identified, providing a concrete basis for comparison and integration between the corpora. The conceptual analysis of Peace-VR literature found that embodiment was operationalized in three broad categories: Embodiment proofs of concept, Empathy building, and Virtual embodiment of outgroups. The thematic analysis of Everyday Embodied Peace literature also identified three themes: Challenging entrenched frameworks, A fundamentally everyday and embodied peace and violence, and Potential transformations. These analyses are presented below.

Conceptual Analysis

Following a survey of the Peace-VR literature and a close reading of the thirty-five relevant texts, the following three conceptual categories were identified: 1) *Embodiment Proofs of Concept*; 2) *Empathy Building*; and 3) *Virtual Embodiment of a (vulnerable) outgroup*. These categories are presented in a progression that shows my reading of how embodiment is operationalized in Peace-VR. I begin with studies that show the methodological capacity of VR to induce embodiment and the various effects

this can produce. Next, I show how certain studies harness these capabilities to test empathy-building, building an epistemological basis for using VR to induce empathetic feelings. I conclude by exploring studies which focus specifically on inducing virtual embodiment in avatars that represent a variety of outgroups.

Next, I elaborate with a description of each of these categories, citing specific examples from the papers I have classified as belonging to each theme. The structure of this analysis has been modelled after Davenport et al.'s (2018, pp. 41–44) survey of definitions of peace, which, similar to my own work, seeks not to exhaustively capture every aspect of Peace-VR, but instead to "reveal patterns that can inform further theoretical development" (2018, p. 37). This analysis allows me to unpack embodiment in Peace-VR, providing a more concrete basis for comparison between this work and Everyday Embodied Peace.

Embodiment proofs of concept

Embodiment proofs of concept refers to papers which study particular techniques or manipulations which use virtual bodies. These papers are largely concerned with demonstrating that a particular usage of virtual bodies has some sort of fidelity in replicating or simulating 'real-world' situations. Some papers that I have identified as falling under this theme clearly relate to peace studies. For example, Slater et al. conducted a "reprise" of the infamous Milgram experiment using Virtual Embodiment to study "the extent to which participants would respond to…an extreme social situation as if it were real" in an immersive virtual environment (Slater et al., 2006, p. 39). Slater et al. argue that their results provide support for the idea of "pursuing laboratory-based experimental research even in...extreme social [situations]" (Slater et al., 2006, p. 6). Some of the other articles I have grouped within the *Embodiment proofs of concept* category are less obviously connected to Peace-VR, though they all study the impact of virtual embodiment. These papers examine a wide range of topics, from the fidelity of "body-swapping" (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008) to the increased subjective connection viewers experience in VR-pornography compared to video pornography (Dekker et al., 2021). These works are valuable to include within the typology, primarily because they indicate what researchers believe about the potential of virtual reality for studying interpersonal social relations, because they reveal how researchers mechanistically approach studying these relations within the field, and because many of these works touch on topics that interest everyday embodied peace scholars. These studies therefore provide a research agenda, as well as a methodological precedent, for the wider field of research on virtual embodiment, including Peace-VR.

To give a concrete visual example of work situated within this theme, consider this diagram from Hoort et al., in which Body Ownership Illusions are induced on legs of wildly varying sizes using synchronous touching and perspective shifts via VR to achieve this illusion (Hoort et al., 2011, p. 3). This paper helps to demonstrate techniques that can be used to induce body ownership illusions. More importantly for this thesis, it shows how very different bodies can still feel as though they "belong" to research participants, from gigantic ceiling-high legs to a doll's body.

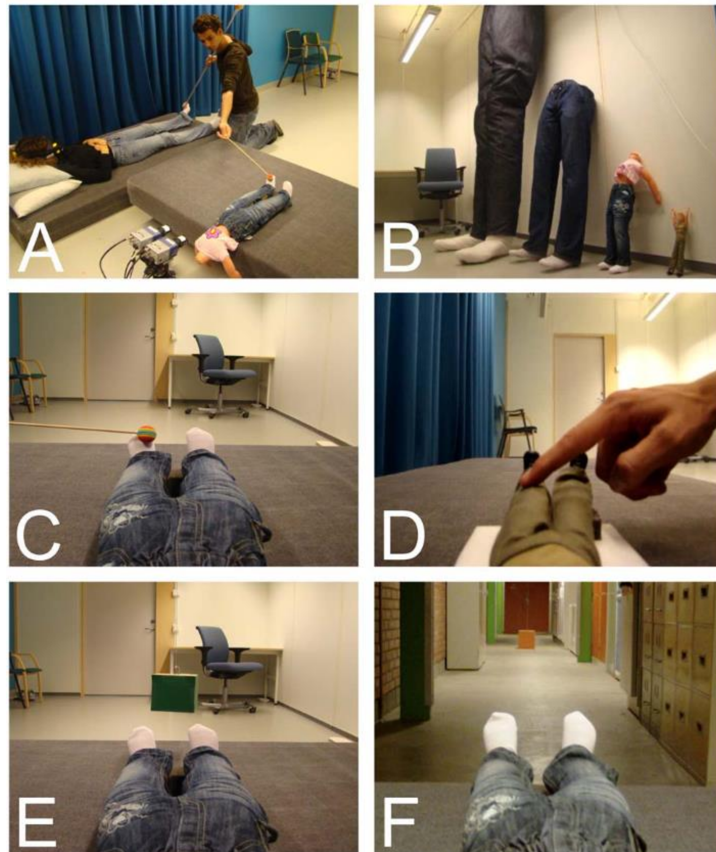

Image 4: *Hoort et al.'s experimental setup, in which a research subject wearing a VR headset (A) has the perspective of looking down at legs with sizes different to their own body's legs projected into their headset (B-F)*

I categorized a total of twelve papers as belonging to this category. These are listed in the table below, along with a quote that briefly summarizes the major proof of concept in each paper.

Title	Proof of concept	Author(s)
Effect of Behavioral Realism on Social Interactions Inside Collaborative Virtual Environments	"Participants who embodied the avatar with only a floating head and hands experienced greater social presence, self-presence, and interpersonal attraction than participants who embodied a full-bodied avatar with mapped hands."	Herrera et al. (2020, p. 1)

A Virtual Reprise of the Stanley Milgram Obedience Experiments	"[This experiment's results reopen] the door to direct empirical studies of obedience and related extreme social situations, an area of research that is otherwise not open to experimental study for ethical reasons, through the employment of virtual environments."	Slater et al. (2006, p. 1)
Augmented Virtual Reality Meditation: Shared Dyadic Biofeedback Increases Social Presence Via Respiratory Synchrony	"Empathy and social presence are easier to evoke when the VR space is shared with another person, and when it is supported by dyadic biofeedback."	Järvelä et al. (2021, p. 14)
Being Barbie: The Size of One's Own Body Determines the Perceived Size of the World	"…we describe full body illusions in which subjects experience the ownership of a doll's body (80 cm or 30 cm) and a giant's body (400 cm) and use these as tools to demonstrate that the size of one's sensed own body directly influences the perception of object size and distance."	Hoort et al. (2011, p. 1)
Exploring the heart rate as a chronemic cue in virtual settings: how perceptions of consistent and varied heart rates of a storyteller influence self-reported other-arousal, empathy and social presence	"…Hearing a varied heart rate makes one feel that other party is close and present in the virtual environment. Similar to empathy, this may be a result of the expectancies tied to hearing a varied heart rate."	Li et al. (2020, p. 701)
If I Were You: Perceptual Illusion of Body Swapping	"Manipulation of the visual perspective, in combination with the receipt of correlated multisensory information from the body was sufficient to trigger the illusion that another person's body or an artificial body was one's own. This effect was so strong that people could experience being in another person's body when facing their own body and shaking hands with it."	Petkova & Ehrsson (2008, p. 1)
Over my fake body: body ownership illusions for studying the multisensory basis of own-body perception	"…in order to be perceived as parts of the own body, fake objects need to satisfy to some extent semantic constraints from an abstract and not selfspecific body model. Yet, the exact boundaries of tolerable violations are still to be determined."	Kilteni et al. (2015, p. 12)
VR Porn as "Empathy Machine"? Perception of Self and Others in Virtual Reality Pornography	"In the VR condition, participants felt more desired, more flirted with, more looked into the eyes. They were also more likely to feel connected with the actors and more likely to feel the urge to interact with them.…VR pornography seems to be a powerful tool to elicit the illusion of intimate sexual experiences."	Dekker et al. (2021, p. 273)
When Does Virtual Embodiment Change Our Minds?	"The implications of this research suggest that visual feedback alone is not enough to alter space-valence associations. Multiple sensory experiences of media (i.e., sensorimotor feedback) may be necessary to influence cognition, not simply visual feedback."	Bailey et al. (2016b, p. 222)
Embodiment in Virtual Reality Intensifies Emotional Responses to Virtual Stimuli	"The illusion of embodiment… intensifies the emotional processing of the virtual environment. [This suggests] that artificial bodies can increase the effectiveness of immersive applications psychotherapy, entertainment, computer-mediated social interactions, or health applications."	Gall et al. (2021, p. 1)
Social Interaction and Pain Threshold in Virtual Reality	"First, we examined the effects of social interaction versus being alone in a virtual environment. Second, we compared a virtual environment representing a remote location to a replication of the laboratory environment. Social interaction predicted increased pain tolerance, but there was no effect of the ''location'' of the virtual environment."	Won et al. (2020, p. 829)
Virtual Peacemakers: Mimicry Increases Empathy in Simulated Contact with Virtual Outgroup Members	"We manipulated postural mimicry by the virtual interaction partner during a conversation about a sensitive conflict issue."	Hasler et al. (2014, p. 776)

Table 3: Texts categorized in the Embodiment proofs of concept theme.

Empathy Building

Empathy building refers to papers which expressly attempt to increase VR users' empathy for others, whether in a general sense, in terms of specific interactions conducted in a virtual environment, or for particular outgroups. These studies were grouped together based on their normative research aims and their use of VR to achieve these aims. Some papers are dedicated to exploring how empathy can be best studied VR (Aitamurto et al., 2021; Schutte & Stilinović, 2017), while others involve a more particular experiment or intervention (Barreda-Ángeles et al., 2020; Bujić et al., 2020). Unlike the works in the next category, however, these papers did not use virtual embodiment of an outgroup body as their primarily methodology. For instance, Bujić et al. compared the impact of 360-degree videos on what they called the "human rights attitudes" of research participants. This study was particularly interested in the immersive capabilities of VR outside of Virtual Embodiment. This category provides insight into some of the ways Peace-VR researchers conceive the social situations they hope to have an impact on, as well as how they approach these situations with VR-driven interventions and experiments. It therefore constitutes an important "piece of the puzzle" in understanding the overall understanding of Peace-VR.

Since empathy is inherently embodied and closely related to many of the goals of peace studies, my typology focuses on how the works included in this category strive to use VR to study empathy. These papers use a variety of terms to refer to the normative project of empathy-building, including "promoting altruistic behaviours" (Aitamurto et al., 2021) and "[generating] greater appreciation of different races, genders, the elderly, the homeless, the disabled, and the prison population, among others" (Foxman et al., 2021), as well as simply "building empathy." Many papers within this category seek to study how a particular use of VR may bring about *changes* in empathy. Because definitions of empathy vary across the field, these different conceptions play a central role in comparing how empathy is studied and operationalized within the corpus. Foxman et al. provide an evidenced heuristic for bringing together different definitions of empathy, thanks to their thematic analysis of experimental VR works and as 'popular' journalistic articles. This definition provides a well-informed heuristic of how empathy is understood in the field and will thus allow me to instead construct a typology of embodiment. Their proposed definition, which aims to synthesize variances across other works, is:

Empathy is a psychosocial dynamic that, when mediated, can facilitate proxying the thoughts, feelings, experiences, sensitivities, or perspectives of another entity, to the degree that technology, behavior, and social characteristics make such perspective-taking salient. (Foxman et al., 2021)

As before, I provide a diagram from one of these papers for illustrative purposes. Below is a still from a video shot in Fukushima from Barreda-Ángeles et al.'s study of 360-video journalism (Barreda-Ángeles et al., 2020). In this footage, recorded on a 360 camera, research participants can turn their heads while wearing a VR headset to look around and explore their surroundings. Researchers found that many people found this capability to be enjoyable, and that this pleasure outweighed the extent to which the footage made an informative or empathetic impact (Barreda-Ángeles et al., 2020, p. 683).

Image 5: *Still from* El Pais' Fukushima*, which was shown to research subjects in Barreda-Ángeles et al.'s study* (*Fukushima (ES) | Video 360 VR | EL PAÍS Semanal*, 2016)

I placed a total of seven papers within this category. These are listed in the table below, which also includes quotes summarizing the relevant empathy-related research question or experimental intervention.

Title	**Empathy-related intervention**	**Author(s)**
Facilitating empathy through virtual reality	"Randomly assigned participants viewed a documentary featuring a young girl living in a refugee camp either in a virtual reality format or in a control two-dimensional format. Results indicated that the virtual reality experience resulted in greater engagement and a higher level of empathy for the refugee girl compared to the control condition. Greater engagement was a process connecting the virtual reality experience to empathy. Virtual reality has the potential to influence interpersonal emotions such as empathy."	Schutte & Stilinović (2017)
Voices of the unsung: The role of social presence and interactivity	"Two possible mechanisms driving empathy within 360 video are social presence (sense of being with others) and interactivity (degree of control over media content). To elucidate how 360 videos can encourage	Pimentel et al. (2021, p. 2230)

in building empathy in 360 video	empathic outcomes through these factors, a 2 (social presence: high/low) × 2 (interactivity: high/low) between-subjects experiment (N = 110) was conducted testing 360 videos about Alaskan climate change refugees. Results demonstrate that social presence contributes to prosocial behaviors (donations) through empathic concern, an effect augmented by interactivity."	
An "Empathy Machine" or a "Just-for-the-Fun-of-It" Machine? Effects of Immersion in Nonfiction 360-Video Stories on Empathy and Enjoyment	"Participants watched a series of 360-video stories presented either on a virtual reality headset or a screen, and measures of spatial presence, empathy (in terms of perspective taking and empathic concern), and enjoyment were collected. Mediation analyses and structural equation models showed a direct positive effect of spatial presence on perspective taking and empathic concern, and an indirect negative effect of immersive presentation on empathic concern through enjoyment."	Pereda-Baños et al. (2020, p. 683)
Changing bodies changes minds: owning another body affects social cognition	"Ownership of an outgroup body has been found to be associated with a significant reduction in implicit biases against that outgroup. We propose that these changes occur via a process of self-association that first takes place in the physical, bodily domain as an increase in perceived physical similarity between self and outgroup member. This self-association then extends to the conceptual domain, leading to a generalization of positive self-like associations to the outgroup."	Maister et al. (2015, p. 6)
"Empathy machine": how virtual reality affects human rights attitudes	""Immersive journalism" has been postulated as being able to place us into the shoes of those whose feelings and experiences are distant to us…Results indicate that immersive journalism can elicit a positive attitudinal change in users, unlike an Article, with mobile VR having a more prominent effect than a 2D screen. Furthermore, this change is more strongly affected by users' higher Involvement in the content."	Bujić et al. (2020, p. 1407)
Learning empathy Through virtual Reality: Multiple Strategies for Training empathy-Related Abilities Using Body Ownership illusions in embodied virtual Reality	"As it was demonstrated, empathy-related responses are result of a complex phenomenon that involves different intergroup, interpersonal and intrapersonal processes and mechanisms. This means that there is no single recipe for empathy development and that several variables in the social environment of the interaction may interfere in what is the most appropriate ability that needs to be developed. Therefore, the first step we recommend is one analyses of all factors related to the social environment of the interaction aiming to stimulate optimal empathic processes: positive intergroup interaction and evaluation, awareness of the other, awareness of the self, empathic concern and altruist behavior."	Bertrand et al. (2018, p. 14)
Examining virtual reality for pro-social attitude change	"Therefore, the question of how we understand each other's perspectives, react constructively, and behave with empathy and reduced bias toward each other is now more important than ever. VR as a platform for immersive storytelling and a medium for instigating empathetic reactions has the potential to contribute to social change, but it must be critically considered in the context of our current situation."	Aitamurto et al. (2021, p. 2140)

Table 4: Texts categorized in the Empathy building theme.

Virtual embodiment of a (vulnerable) outgroup

Virtual embodiment of a (vulnerable) outgroup refers to papers in which users are asked to virtually take ownership of the bodies of outgroups as defined by their race, gender, disability, weight, etc., with a view to engender understanding or increase empathy for them. The research aims of these studies are relatively wide-ranging, from papers studying virtually embodying bodies with colour-blindness (Ahn et al., 2013) to bodies of another gender (Wu et al., 2021) to the bodies of Loggerhead sea turtles (Pimentel & Kalyanaraman, 2022). In addition, a large number of studies examine white research participants who virtually embody Black bodies (Banakou et al., 2016; Farmer et al., 2012;

Groom et al., 2009; Kilteni et al., 2013; Roswell et al., 2020). This categorization could arguably be considered as a subcategory of *Empathy building,* as many of the papers I have classified herein make explicit references to increasing empathy for a given outgroup. However, I decided to set this category apart because the number of papers within this category rivals that of all the other empathy-related studies put together, which indicates that this specific theme may be worth considering separately. Also, the central relevance of *Virtually Embodying an outgroup* to Peace-VR is somewhat more straightforward than *Embodiment proofs of concept* and even *empathy* building, as it relates most explicitly to peace studies and most explicitly to how bodies are conceived of and imagined. Indeed, some studies specifically examine outgroup bodies in societies amidst conflict, such as Israeli and Palestinian bodies (Ahn et al., 2013; Hasler et al., 2014, 2021). For the purposes of my analysis, these studies merit independent consideration within the typology of Peace-VR.

Below, I have again included a diagram from a paper within this theme for the purpose of illustration. Kilteni et al. experimented with how White research subjects might drum differently if they experienced body ownership illusions of Black bodies, using a pair of floating hands as a control (Kilteni et al., 2013). Researchers found that research participants embodied in the Black body had "significant increases in their movement patterns for drumming compared to the baseline condition" (Kilteni et al., 2013, p. 597). This effect was more pronounced when self-reported feelings of embodying the Black body were stronger.

Image 6: *A diagram from Kilteni et al.'s study, showing a research subject embodying floating hands, a Black avatar, or a white avatar in a social environment, while playing a drum in both the physical and virtual worlds.*

I categorized a total of sixteen papers as belonging to this category. These are listed in the table below. For each paper, I have noted the (vulnerable) outgroup embodied as part of the paper's experimental design, and have also included quotes that briefly summarize findings.

Title	Outgroup Bodies Virtually Embodied	Author(s)
Building long-term empathy: A large-scale comparison of traditional and virtual reality perspective-taking	**Homeless people:** “The...investigation found that... participants who completed a VR perspective-taking task had more positive attitudes and signed a petition supporting helpful initiatives toward the homeless at significantly higher rates than the participants who just imagined what it would be like to become homeless or performed a less immersive perspective-taking task.”	Herrera et al. (2018, p. 1)
Effect of body-gender transfer in virtual reality on the perception of sexual harassment	**Women:** “The present work examined whether gender and body-gender transfer in VR influenced the perception of sexually harassing behaviors, and explored the utility of emerging technology in increasing one’s awareness of behaviors that may be considered sexually harassing. Participants (n=12) embodied in virtual characters of different genders and experienced seven sexually harassing scenarios in an immersive virtual environment in random order. In general, participants provided higher rating to the sensitivity toward sexual harassment in the VR harassment scenarios than those scenarios described on paper.”	Wu et al. (2021, p. 1089)
Walk A Mile in Digital Shoes: The Impact of Embodied Perspective-Taking on The Reduction of Negative Stereotyping in Immersive Virtual Environments	**Elderly people:** “It was found that negative stereotyping of the elderly was significantly reduced when participants were placed in avatars of old people compared with those participants placed in avatars of young people.”	Yee & Bailenson (2006, p. 1)
Beyond the colour of my skin: how skin colour affects the sense of body-ownership	**Black people:** “Results from two studies using introspective, behavioural and physiological methods show that, following synchronous visuotactile (VT) stimulation, participants can experience body-ownership over hands that seem to belong to a different racial group.”	Farmer et al. (2012, p. 1242)
The influence of racial embodiment on racial bias in immersive virtual environments	**Black people:** “We conducted a study to determine how people’s implicit racial bias is affected by the race of their avatar in an immersive virtual environment (IVE). Our results indicate that the effects of avatar race extend beyond digital spaces. People embodied by Black avatars in an IVE demonstrated greater implicit racial bias outside the IVE than people embodied by White avatars.”	Groom et al. (2009, p. 231)
Virtual Embodiment of White People in a Black Virtual Body Leads to a Sustained Reduction in Their Implicit Racial Bias	**Black people:** “…Embodying White people in a Black virtual body is associated with an immediate decrease in their implicit racial bias against Black people. We tested whether the reduction in implicit bias lasts for at least 1 week and whether it is enhanced by multiple exposures… The results show that implicit bias decreased more for those with the Black virtual body than the White.”	Banakou et al. (2016, p. 1)
Cultivating Empathy Through Virtual Reality	**Black people:** “Participants experienced a 60-minute, interactive, large-group session on microaggressions and, as individuals, a 20-minute VR module. These were followed by group reflection and debriefing… [Participants used a VR headset to view] *1000 Cut Journey*…which… is an immersive VR module wherein participants experience racism from the viewpoint of Michael Sterling, a Black male”	Roswell et al. (2020, p. 1882)
Drumming in Immersive Virtual	**Black or white people:**	Kilteni et al. (2013, p. 597)

Reality: The Body Shapes the Way We Play	"Thirty-six Caucasian people participated in a between-groups experiment where they played a West-African Djembe hand drum while immersed in IVR and with a virtual body that substituted their own…In a baseline condition participants were represented only by plainly shaded white hands, so that they were able merely to play. In the experimental condition they were represented either by a casually dressed dark-skinned virtual body…or by a formal suited light-skinned body."	
Putting yourself in the skin of a black avatar reduces implicit racial bias	**Black people**: "Here we demonstrate that embodiment of light-skinned participants in a dark-skinned VB significantly reduced implicit racial bias against dark-skinned people, in contrast to embodiment in light-skinned, purple-skinned or with no VB."	Peck et al. (2013, p. 779)
Experiencing organ failure in virtual reality: Effects of self- versus other-embodied perspective taking on empathy and prosocial outcomes	**People who need kidney donations:** "The study used a 2 (self- vs other-embodied) × 2 (mirror vs photo presentation) between-subjects VR experiment (N = 128), wherein participants played the role of a patient needing a kidney donation, either as themselves or as a typical organ-failure patient. Our findings showed that self-embodied perspective taking triggered self-oriented emotions (i.e. personal distress) and subsequently egoistic motivations that resulted in alternative prosocial behaviors (e.g. monetary donation, volunteering) than kidney donation."	Li and Kyung Kim (2021, p. 2144)
The effects of embodying wildlife in virtual reality on conservation behaviors	**Endangered animals:** "…it is difficult to form empathic connections with unfamiliar masses versus singular victims. Despite robust findings, little is known about how non-human casualty is processed, and what strategies override this bias. Across four experiments, we show how embodying threatened megafauna-Loggerhead sea turtles (Caretta Caretta)-using virtual reality can offset and reverse compassion fade."	Pimentel and Kalyanaraman (2022, p. 6439)
Offenders become the victim in virtual reality: impact of changing perspective in domestic violence	**People who are victims of abuse:** "In this study, we used immersive virtual reality to induce a full body ownership illusion that allows offenders to be in the body of a victim of domestic abuse. A group of male domestic violence offenders and a control group without a history of violence experienced a virtual scene of abuse in first-person perspective."	Seinfeld et al. (2018, p. 1)
Identifying emotions toward an overweight avatar in Virtual Reality: The moderating effects of visuotactile stimulation and drive for thinness	**People who are overweight:** "This study's fundamental aim is to investigate, among healthy weight participants, whether negative affect toward a virtual body and changes in body-size perception can be evoked when embodying an overweight virtual avatar… participants…experienced significantly more negative affect toward the virtual body when embodying one that was overweight compared to a healthy weight virtual body."	Van der Waal et al. (2022, p. 1)
The Effect of Embodied Experiences on Self-Other Merging, Attitude, and Helping Behavior	**Colorblind people:** "Three experiments explored whether embodied experiences via IVET would elicit greater self-other merging, favorable attitudes, and helping toward persons with disabilities compared to traditional perspective taking, which relies on imagination to put the self in another person's shoes."	Ahn et al. (2013, p. 7)
Virtual reality-based conflict resolution: The impact of immersive 360° video on changing view points and moral judgment in the	**Israeli or Palestinian people:** "An immersive experience of a simulated conflict scenario filmed from the outgroup's point of view led to the judgment of the ingroup actors' behavior as less moral and less justified compared to watching the same scenario as a two-dimensional video. This effect was not mediated through increased outgroup perspective-taking and empathy but through higher levels of hostile emotions toward the ingroup actors, which in turn were	Hasler et al. (2021, p. 2256)

context of violent intergroup conflict	influenced by an increased sense of presence and engagement in the immersive experience."	
The enemy's gaze: Immersive virtual environments enhance peace promoting attitudes and emotions in violent intergroup conflicts	**Israeli or Palestinian people:** "In two studies, Jewish Israelis watched a 360 ̊ VR scene depicting an Israeli-Palestinian confrontation from different POVs–outgroup's, ingroup's while imagining outgroup perspective or ingroup's without imagined perspective-taking. Participants immersed in the outgroup's POV, but not those who imagined the outgroup's perspective, perceived the Palestinians more positively than those immersed in the ingroup's POV."	Hasson et al. (2019, p. 1)

Table 5: Texts categorized in the Virtual embodiment of a (vulnerable) outgroup theme.

Thematic Analysis of Everyday Embodied Peace Literature

The thematic analysis of Everyday Embodied Peace literature presents the themes which emerged after several close readings of the cornerstone texts. Each numbered theme below contains a description of how this theme presents itself in the cornerstone texts of my analysis. I cite these cornerstone texts heavily to demonstrate the themes' presence in the texts. Below these more involved discussions, I include tables to briefly present the presence of the sub-themes in the supplemental texts, adding validity to their wider presence in Everyday Embodied Peace literature. I group these themes in a progression that helps to capture my understanding of the trajectory of thinking around embodiment within each work. I begin with the structures and systems that each work of literature seeks to respond to. Next, I move on to the epistemological and methodological reasoning each text employs. I conclude by exploring the conclusions of the first two groupings and the opportunities for further consideration they produce. This analysis allows me to answer my research questions by breaking down embodiment's treatment in the corpus into well-evidenced themes. These themes provide clearer points of discussion and comparison between Everyday Embodied Peace and Peace-VR.

Theme one: A focus on embodiment is an effort to move from entrenched frameworks to those that are more grounded and inclusive

To understand the conceptions of embodiment articulated by my cornerstone texts, it is vital to consider what it is they seek to challenge and what they attempt to build on. This in turn helps to explain where these themes of embodiment come from in the first place. I observe how my cornerstone texts situate themselves within academic work on peacekeeping, international institutions, and state governance. In doing so, I can see the ways in which Berents and Väyrynen find fault in orthodox perspectives within these fields, especially as they relate to bodies and embodiment. The cornerstone texts themselves are of course not alone in these criticisms. They are more locally situated within scholarship – namely peace and conflict studies, as well as feminist

strands of other fields – that seeks to identify and address similar issues. Both this academic "neighbourhood," as well as the wider and more historically influential academic "community," lend important context to how these works seek to understand embodiment.

This theme contains three sub-themes, which discuss 1) orthodox structures in scholarship and power systems, 2) feminist theorizing as a way to move beyond these structures, and 3) the failure of these structures to acknowledge bodies, meaning that paying attention to bodies offers opportunities to address flaws in these systems. Indeed, the majority of the content of theme one will be unpacked within these three sub-themes. Still, the seemingly separate discussions contained within the sub-themes should be understood as always contributing to theme one as a whole.

Sub-theme one: Scholarship on embodiment helps to respond to dominant structures and orthodox theories

This sub-theme refers to a methodological focus on embodiment as a response to (neo)-liberal peacekeeping efforts and (neo)-liberal theories of peace. I have chosen to tackle this theme first in my analysis because I find many of the following themes to be easier to understand with the context of this sub-theme. I also find that much of peace and conflict studies can be as least partially conceptualised as a desire to improve upon to the failings of liberal peacekeeping, so examining this early on provides useful context from that angle too.

Cornerstone texts

Rather than framing a focus on embodiment as one possible analysis among many equally good options, both scholars specifically argue that placing importance on bodies is vital because it challenges more "traditional," "dominant," "mainstream," or "orthodox" approaches. Berents claims that people in "peripheral" marginalized communities, such as Cazucá, are frequently "overlooked by traditional peacebuilding narratives," that their presence is "erased" and their lives are "marginal" to this perspective (2018, pp. 2; 41; 69). She fiercely underlines that acknowledging the importance of embodiment intentionally runs contrary to liberal theories of peace, which are "devoid of actual people" due to their tendency to treat people with "impartiality or distance" and instead employing "abstract actors" in their place (2018, p. 39). This tendency, according to Berents, leads to negative outcomes and reduced effectiveness in peacebuilding efforts. Its consequences include tunnel-visioning on institutions and security apparatuses, which often results in little more than perpetuating inequality (2018, p. 28).

Consequently, Berents contends that politics do not connect with people and their lived experiences if they are “understood to occur only in a disembodied space of reason” (2018, p. 26). In response to these shortcomings, she sees her framework of embodied-everyday-peace-amidst-violence as a way of “complicating the orthodox understandings of peacebuilding,” recognizing “the everyday constituted by the meanings given to daily practice,” and as a way to address the “inadequacies of liberal peacebuilding narratives” (2018, p. 3). She goes further than critiquing the dominant liberal peacebuilding perspective, pointing out that even among theorists engaged with the notion of the everyday as it appears in discussions of a post-liberal peace, particular conceptions of the everyday are still “structured in institutional ways” and fail to “(re)populate the everyday landscape and engage in its complexities” (Berents, 2018, pp. 26; 178). Her approach to addressing these concerns is multifaceted and theoretically rich, but largely hinges on “[taking] lived experience seriously” and “attending to bodily engagements” by “conceiving of peace as an embodied encounter among the complexities of the everyday” (2018, pp. 15; 41; 178).

Väyrynen also describes orthodox literature as viewing bodies as an “abstraction” and argues that orthodox approaches built out of the academic study of international relations, and even dominant conceptions within peace and conflict studies, have made peace into an “elusive concept” (2018, pp. 122; 21–22). She explicitly differentiates herself from "the part of Peace and Conflict Studies where the human body is treated as an abstract and non-living entity" (2018, p. 2) and sets out her work as “a critique of thinking peacebuilding and peace in abstract, theoretical and philosophical terms” (2018, p. 20).

Within peace and conflict studies, she singles out Johan Galtung’s seminal distinction between overt violence and structural violence as “high relevant” but failing to capture “the complex societal mechanisms that render groups of people subordinate during peacebuilding” and also not managing to reveal “how subordination is transferred across temporal and spatial boundaries” (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 5). Focusing on bodies, by contrast, forces analysis to reconsider “instances of visibility, acknowledgement, recognition and belonging,” which “[invite] us to create response-ability, that is a prerequisite for sustainable peacebuilding” (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 121).

Thus, the reasons for Väyrynen’s and Berents’ rejections of orthodox theories of peace stem from the perceived failures in these theories. These include the theories’ lack of acknowledgement of

peripheral communities, their abstraction of people, and, in particular, their "disembodied" conception of peace and violence. Väyrynen points out how a failure to acknowledge embodiment leads to multiple knock-on analytical failures. For example, she argues that time "happens" corporeally, and that space is understood corporeally – if orthodox theories misconstrue the nature of even these most fundamental elements of reality, this must have profound consequences on the rest of their conceptions. Both scholars also criticize similar failures within peace and conflict studies, seeking to strengthen the field in its reconfigurations. These criticisms serve as a springboard for their own conceptions of embodiment.

Supplemental texts

Each of the supplemental texts responds strongly and explicitly to this sub-theme. Despite the diversity of research strands present within the supplemental texts, it is clear that each of them writes from the perspective of critical studies, responding to the pitfalls of dominant structures. This table briefly presents how this sub-theme is present in the supplemental texts.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings positions her work as building on critiques of the liberal peace paradigm through the concept of hybridity, which refers to an interplay between liberal agents and structures and "local" agents and structures. She describes hybridity as "disruptive" liberal peace, which she characterizes as a "hegemonic project" (2019, p. 183). In particular, she points to the ways in which the liberal peace order "destabilizes decontextualized projects and their universal templates," (2019, p. 183) echoing criticisms of orthodox theories found in Väyrynen and Berents.
On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Hedström is intensely interested in "people living in the margins" and marginalised bodies. Indeed, her argumentation closely resembles Berents'. The fact that these marginalised bodies have faced a continuation of insecurity during the state's post-conflict transitional period, for Hedström, casts doubt on "notions about progress, peace, or security commonly accompanying accounts of transitions and reforms" (2021, p. 373).

Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	Rather than explicitly criticizing a particular contemporary theory of peace and violence, Åhäll instead aligns herself with critical strands within international relations theory, including visual, affective, and embodied meaning-making. Perhaps most tellingly, Åhäll connects her work to postmodern/poststructuralist work that "[challenges] positivist foundations in IR…" (2019, p. 152).
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Because Najib & Hopkins within different academic tradition, the context in which this text was produced provides a distinct set of dominant structures to address. Instead of the international order or a set of transnational institutions, the authors respond to the French government, the physical structure of Paris, cultural and religious practices, French Republican values, and mainstream opinion within French society as "[tracing] frontiers between polarised identities and spaces" (2019, p. 105).

Table 6: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme one, sub-theme one: Scholarship on embodiment helps to respond to dominant structures and orthodox theories.

Sub-theme two: A focus on embodiment is a feminist perspective

This theme refers to the epistemological origins of embodiment within peace and conflict studies literature. It underscores that embodiment mainly 'comes to' peace and conflict studies literature via its roots in feminist literature. The feminist origins of embodiment as a concept help to inform how embodiment is generally understood and formulated, as feminist scholars' conceptions often draw on other feminist concentrations such as marginalization, everyday life, and challenging enduring systems of power.

Cornerstone Texts

Väyrynen's work is firmly and expressly located within feminist scholarship. She cites feminist peace research as "instrumental when investigating the body" (2018, p. 19) and routinely references feminist scholarship as the "foundation" of her work, underpinning her own understanding, her theoretical framework, and the impact she hopes to have on peace and conflict studies (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 12; 121). Indeed, she refers to feminist theorizing, alongside other critical strains of thought, as an approach that can "revitalize" the field, specifically through its strong commitment to the importance of the body and the everyday (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 1; 12). Väyrynen also references other contributions of feminist theory, including work on vulnerability and a concern for marginalization (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 12; 19). In addition to these general concepts, she cites specific feminist scholars

are being particularly influential to her work. These include Elise Boulding's writing on embodied and relational everyday life, Sara Ruddick's view of relational peace, and many others (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 12; 19–22). Indeed, both cornerstone text authors credit the lineage of feminist scholarship as the source of many of the central aspects of their respective theories, including challenging notions of ostensible impartiality, focusing on marginalized people, and indeed a focus on bodies themselves.

Berents' discussion of feminist scholarship concentrates on its articulation of and emphasis on centring bodies, as well as its acknowledgement of an 'everyday realm' (2018, pp. 8; 16; 39). Like Väyrynen, she sees her work as an effort to "denaturalise [an] assumption of passivity and non-participation" and to "[recognize] the voices and silences of the margins" which she characterizes as an "intrinsic task broadly of feminist theory" (Berents, 2018, pp. 12; 16). Similarly, Berents credits feminist scholarship for informing her "commitments to the recognition of agency and the reclaiming of voice against a disciplinary silencing" (2018, p. 26) and cites feminist work as providing "rich language and tools to speak of the everyday" within international relations theory as well as "a framework to recognise the lived, everyday existence of individuals" in theorising embodiment (2018, p. 38). All of these elements come together to inform not only her theoretical outlook, but also her methodological approach (2018, p. 177). Still, Berents makes it clear that these commitments and theoretical interests need not be accompanied by a focus on gender as a primary unit of analysis, as feminist theory has opened space to examine marginalisation across a variety of spaces and identities, providing a vital foundation for the focus of her work (2018, pp. 26; 39).

Cynthia Enloe's concept of "womenandchildren," is referenced by both authors. Enloe argues that that women and children are typically grouped, especially in violent situations, as "non-political bodies – innocent, voiceless, passive – on which violence is inflicted" resulting in them being viewed as "objects of social manipulation" (Berents, 2018, pp. 12; 26; Väyrynen, 2018, p. 72). Berents echoes Enloe's critiques about this simplistic framing, pointing out that such a categorization serves mainly to support "masculine, public 'citizensandstates'" (Berents, 2018, p. 38). Similarly, Väyrynen notes that these categorizations of bodies are connected to nationalism. She complicates the idea further by pointing out that bodies are sometimes categorized in different ways, which are nonetheless defined by gendered roles. For instance, she references the masculine "defenders of the nation" in the form of "noble" soldiers. She contrasts this with feminine roles, such as "sacrificial mothers" and "risks to collective identity," including conscientious objectors and "women who fraternize with enemy soldiers" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 95). Thus, a feminist analysis which employs "womenandchildren" and

countless other concepts allows both authors to critically examine the ways in which bodies are categorized, and the consequences of these categories on both violence and peacebuilding. This provides an important dimension of how both authors conceptualize and analyse embodiment.

Supplemental texts

The supplemental texts each situate themselves within feminist perspectives, and specifically cite these perspectives when discussing embodiment. Because a theoretical emphasis on embodiment was developed from critical scholarship that heavily overlaps with feminist literature, this sub-theme's presence within the texts is palpable. This table briefly presents how this sub-theme is present in the supplemental texts.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings sees her own work as contributing an embodied and feminist lens to existing scholarship on hybridity. Drawing on the work of Cynthia Weber, she explores the notion of female international humanitarian actors in Kabul feeling perceived as a "third gender" by the local population. She discusses how these aid workers both feel 'otherised' by Afghans, particularly Afghan men, yet sometimes also feel empowered in performing this role (2019, pp. 185–186).
On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Hedström frames her criticism of the liberal peace order through the lens of feminist political economy and critical studies, highlighting the feminist theories' perspectives on unequal power relations in the aftermath of violence as particularly instructive. Hedström says she "[takes] the view… that feminist interventions in peace and conflict studies are helpful for identifying and conceptualising everyday gendered peace," highlighting the feminist theories' perspectives on unequal power relations in the aftermath of violence as particularly instructive (2021, p. 376)
Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	Åhäll cites feminist literature's attention to embodiment as an important influence on her thinking, as it provides direction for her framework of 'Everyday IR,' particularly its emphasis on the 'domestic/local/everyday' (2019, p. 150). She also cites feminist literature's attention to embodiment as an important influence on her own thinking (2019, p. 153).

Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Much as peace and conflict studies respond to the failures of international relations scholarship, feminist political geography seeks to elevate issues ignored by mainstream political geography (England, 2003, p. 611). Najib and Hopkins draw on feminist literature for multiple aspects of their analysis, including the experience of veiled Muslim women and gentrification.

Table 7: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme one, sub-theme two: A focus on embodiment is a feminist perspective.

Sub-theme three: Scholarship on embodiment in the everyday should be inclusive and centre ordinary and/or marginalized people

This sub-theme connects to the previous two: dominant conceptions of peace and violence have tended to focus on states, international institutions, armed groups, and other "top-down" perspectives. Instead, this theme refers to the authors' intention to do the opposite, centring people who are "marginal" and "ordinary," who do not tend to wield institutionalized power. Both authors argue that because these bodies have historically been largely ignored, paying special attention to them can yield insights that have previously been overlooked.

This theme is interwoven in much of Berents' thinking. She points out a need to "centre the margins," and "[focus] on those who are marginalized in dominant discourses" referring to peripheral communities, poor people, politically marginalised people (such as women, internally displaced people, and certain racial groups), and, most relevant in her analysis, children and young people (2018, pp. 30; 41). She argues that these groups deserve focus because their endemically poor conditions are often linked to their outlook and involvement in violent or criminal activity, particularly in the case of an "absent state" (2018, pp. 152; 35). Berents sees the processes of marginalisation as predicated upon a nexus of power and prosperity, in relation to which some people are made marginal. This is usually enacted by external forces, including detached academic categorisations or traditional state-building processes (2018, p. 25). Berents points to young people as an example of a group impacted by these processes. She refers to a need to "take young people seriously," in terms of their "place, violence, and power," which she argues are seen as marginal or 'other' by dominant peacebuilding narratives despite their "complex everyday lives and experiences" (2018, pp. 2; 4). According to Berents, young people are "absent in theorisations of how to build stable and lasting peace" and "barely visible in discussions that so often both invoke and define them," despite disproportionately bearing the brunt of violence (2018, pp. 3–4). Perhaps most stridently, she

lambasts international actors, contending that only pay attention to children when, "they become context-less, voiceless, visual ambassadors for [a] cause;" in the worst cases, she sees "the silent, pleading child in advertising and charity appeals as "'disaster pornography'" (Berents, 2018, p. 5). Instead of this deeply problematic approach, Berents calls for an examination of all things which are "uncritically centred" (2018, p. 26). Her logic here extends beyond young people, as she suggests that narratives of marginalized people contain potential for "broader political thinking and life" for the very reason that they are "experience-rooted but creatively reproduced" and "gain significance through interpretation by particular groups" (2018, p. 13). Building on this idea, she calls for attention to be paid to how marginalization and violence come to take place, and how this in turn is understood by young people. This, she says, "opens space to question how existing narratives uncritically locate the problem within the bodies of Cazucá's occupants and the networks they inhabit," particularly by paying attention to the "unique perspectives on issues affecting the community" that can be found in young people's awareness of their own marginality (Berents, 2018, pp. 130; 154). Beyond this specific example, her work suggests that focusing on marginalized peoples' conceptions of their own marginalization and "[recognizing] their knowledge as meaningful and legitimate" allows us to reexamine tired narratives from valuable new perspectives marginality (Berents, 2018, p. 177). Only by doing this, she says, can practitioners hope to build durable peace in conflict-affected contexts.

Väyrynen argues that a focus on embodiment and the everyday should be widened to involve the consideration of those who are not necessarily "soldiers, statesmen, international institutions, victims and heroes" (2018, p. 122). All those who have experiences related to violence corporeally carry those experiences in their daily lives, and this fact impacts peacebuilding. Her own work is built on the experiences of ordinary citizens, war veterans, "abjected subjects" and Indigenous activists, those who have been "muted" by their categorization and ejected to the margins – she refers to these people as having "small voices" (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 69; 121). Väyrynen contrasts these "small voices" with the loud voices of "statist agendas" which she describes as "reductive." By centring the small voices, she allows for an understanding of "the political that always already lies within the body" (2018, p. 123). In a slight departure from Berents, Väyrynen sees an approach to embodiment and the everyday which focuses on the marginalized groups in exclusively conflict-affected as both "an important critique of the neoliberal governance and peacebuilding," but also as "limited" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 24). She attempts to address a gap in the literature by expanding consideration of embodiment to bodies in areas that are "not necessarily the 'subaltern' in the Orientalist sense implying the non-Western populations," including contexts thought of as peaceful (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 25). She likens

this approach to studying dispute management in both peaceful and violent contexts, which offers contrast and is a way to test assumptions (2018, p. 25). Thus, she places bodies that have sometimes been ignored in the wider peace literature at the centre of her scholarship. She refers to these bodies as "ordinary" rather than "marginal," reinforcing her focus on the mundanity of everyday life. This is not to say that she pays no attention to marginalization in general, but instead that she tries not to follow Orientalist tendencies of imagining a distant 'other' in her analysis. Indeed, her writing is deeply concerned with, for example, nation-building projects which "[eject] some bodies to the nation's margins… and [exclude] their 'small voices'" (2018, p. 69). For example, she spends an entire chapter on colonial relations in which she discusses Finnish-Sámi settler colonial relations at length, highlighting structural and epistemic violence used to repress Sámi people and render them marginal. Overall, Väyrynen's conception of embodiment is informed by the bodies which she sees as deserving attention. Her focus on the "ordinary" and her and Berents' focus on the "marginal" bring new perspectives to how peace and violence are felt by bodies which have previously been underexamined.

Supplemental texts

The supplemental texts emphasize ordinary and marginal bodies to different degrees. For instance, a focus on marginal bodies is central and straightforward in Hedström's work, yet is more complex and multidirectional in Partis-Jennings'. Still, each of the supplemental texts engage with this sub-theme, as shown in the table below.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings' exploration of the "third gender" points to multiple complexities, for example the social roles assigned to Canadian-Afghan women who experience different constraints and possibilities while working in similar roles. reveals how international workers otherise Afghan men constructing them in a racialised way as uniformly "monstrously misogynistic" (2019, p. 188). Each of these dynamics provides a window into issues of marginalisation and otherisation.
On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Like Berents, Hedström is intensely interested in "people living in the margins," including Agnes, the centre of her study (2021, p. 372). This interest stems from a focus on who is left behind after liberal peace

	"transitions," for instance in Myanmar (2021, p. 372). She argues that margainalised bodies "are affected by…larger transitional efforts in ways which trouble" their goals and promises, such as peace, progress, and security (2021, p. 373)
Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	Åhäll argues that orthodox international relations theory has employed security as an "exclusionary logic," leading to "gaps and silences and marginalised voices" (2019, p. 152). She sees this as one of many flaws with security as a logic and as a discourse. Instead, she suggests an approach which pays greater attention to "'the political' beyond what is traditionally considered politics," including 'othered' bodies (2019, p. 162)
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Like the other works in my analysis, Najiib and Hopkins take a sharply critical approach to their chosen orthodox structures, referring to French law and urban planning policy not just as "abusive," with knock-on abuses taking place in wider French society, but also as "[pushing Muslim women] into marginal, hidden and private spaces of society… [restricting their access] to full recognition in terms of French citizenship" (2019, p. 105)

Table 8: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme one, sub-theme three: Scholarship on embodiment in the everyday should be inclusive and centre ordinary and/or marginalized people.

Theme two: Embodiment and the everyday are essential for understanding peace and violence

Theme two examines a core epistemological and methodological emphasis on embodiment and the everyday, which underpins each text. Both Berents and Väyrynen argue that embodiment and the everyday are fundamentally how people experience each other and the world around them. Consequently, the phenomena of peace and violence must also be located in bodies and in the everyday. Without such an understanding, they therefore contend, peace and violence cannot be properly understood. This radical way of looking at peace and violence offers numerous realisations about peace and violence which mainstream work has been prone to miss. The specific argumentation both authors employ is instructive in unpacking their understandings of embodiment: why bodies are central, how bodies can be understood, how bodies move through the world, and what all of this means for our understandings of politics and political action.

Theme two contains four sub-themes, which explore 1) The intrinsic nature of embodiment in peace and violence 2) the essential connection between embodiment and the everyday, 3) the everyday as

the site where violence takes place, and 4) the implications of these conclusions on conceptions of politics and political action. As with theme one, the majority of my analysis will take place through these sub-themes. Again, these sub-sections should be understood as always contributing smaller pieces of an overall picture of theme two.

Sub-theme one: Peace and violence are inseparably embodied

This theme permeates both cornerstone texts, as Berents and Väyrynen each posit that an analysis of embodiment is not merely interesting, but vital to any understand of what peace and violence are in any workable sense. This is to say that other "material-discursive force," which are variously labelled as ""social", "cultural", "psychic", "economic", "natural", "physical", "biological", "geopolitical", and "geological"" are in fact merely the "processes through which we come to know the body" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 4). Väyrynen connects embodiment and peace and violence expressly and repeatedly, arguing that "people experience war, conflict, peacebuilding, and peace as felt and corporal," and referring to peacebuilding as a "corporeal reality" (2018, pp. 35; 124). On an even more foundational level, she posits the "corporeal and relational nature of human existence" and makes reference to the body as the "zero point of reference of all our orientation, a point around which our world is centred" (2018, pp. 19; 18). It is important to acknowledge that despite these claims on *human* nature and experience, Väyrynen does not attempt to hold court on the "nature of reality," at least as far as epistemological and ontological claims are concerned. Instead, looking to Rancière, she argues that the nature of existence is probably better understood through the notion of the "distribution of the sensible" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 11). For instance, though humans universally experience physical sensation, this does not appear to lead to a corresponding universal consensus about reality or experience, but rather to dissensus. Though this has multiple implications for Väyrynen's argumentation, its relevance here is in recognising that though embodiment is fundamental, this does not mean it is experienced uniformly.

For her part, Berents states that everyday peace as a concept is *necessarily* located in bodies and therefore refers to a focus on embodiment as a way to acknowledge the "presence" of her research participants and to make their bodies and experiences more concrete (2018, pp. 40; 175). Of course, this is also true of her understanding of violence which she suggests is "embodied and physically manifests against and within the bodies of [young] people" (Berents, 2018, p. 105). Berents argues centring bodies goes beyond an almost pedantic recognition that violence is "experienced solely against the body" – importantly, violence *is* embodied and is encountered and carried through

everyday (2018, p. 124). This has greater implications, including that violence contributes to how a person shapes their perception of themselves and the way they live their daily life (Berents, 2018, p. 124). Thus, not only is the initial experience of violence embodied, but violence can also exist in memory, and can be corporeally manifested the ongoing insecurities and disruptions faced by the young people that Berents studies (Berents, 2018, pp. 8; 132). Embodiment is not only veracious, but a gateway to connections about how violence is enacted, experienced, and manifested.

Supplemental texts

The supplemental texts deal with different forms of violence, from overt physical violence to societal exclusion and marginalisation. They also underline the connection between embodiment and violence to different degrees, though it is certainly present in all of them. This sub-theme's presence in the supplemental texts is outlined in the table below.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings' study is more concerned with 'othering' than with overt violence. She contends that the ways in which international female workers are "marked by…difference" are "always embodied and is imbued with meanings" (2019, pp. 178–179). Partis-Jennings describes these kinds of embodied differences as manifestations of a broader "embodied, performed hybridity" in the Afghan context (Partis-Jennings, 2019, p. 180). Like Väyrynen and Berents, she is insistent on the significance of bodies in this analysis. arguing that centring experience within hybridity "requires" engagement with embodiment (2019, p. 182)
On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Hedström contends that women like Agnes, the focus of her work, feel the effects of the conflict in an embodied way through their everyday experiences (2021, p. 376). She finds countless examples of embodied, everyday violence in Agnes' daily life, especially her experiences with insecurity and work.
Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	Åhäll's discussion of embodiment is central to her framework of "everyday IR" and her analogy of choreographies in international relations. She contends that "bodies and embodiment matter politically" and describes militarisation as an "affective, and embodied, normalisation of war in the

	everyday" (2019, p. 151). Her understanding of peace and violence as necessarily embodied therefore closely matches Berents and Väyrynen.
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Najib and Hopkins understand the lived experience of Islamophobia as inherently embodied and taking place in the everyday (2019, p. 107). Their analysis Muslim women's negotiations with Islamophobia, veiling, and movement is coloured by embodiment.

Table 9: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme two, sub-theme one: Peace and violence are inseparably embodied.

Sub-theme two: A focus on the everyday is a logical extension of a focus on bodies

This theme refers to scholars seeing a logical connection between paying attention to bodies and paying attention to the everyday. This means that these texts go beyond selecting embodiment and everyday peace as two fields of study that simply happen to be interesting in combination. Instead, they argue for a more necessary connection and lay out arguments for a sensible progression from a dialectic of embodiment to a dialectic of the everyday.

Väyrynen makes this point unequivocally, referring to embodiment and the everyday as both stemming from the "phenomenological register." Indeed, she at least partially understands the everyday as definitionally "corporeal" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 18). Because we "gain access to the world" through our bodies, our experience of the everyday therefore "depends upon a "'lived body'" according to this reasoning (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 18). Väyrynen contends that the body, being the point of reference from which all else inherently originates, is also mundane – a word that she often uses synonymously with the broader framework of the everyday – in its "corporeal rhythms," indicating that bodies' lived experiences are best understood as everyday (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 19). Taken as a whole, these ideas mean that embodiment is "embedded in the everyday," which Väyrynen finds evidence for in terms of the body's "historicity, forms of power, materiality and concreteness" (2018, p. 27). Väyrynen views embodiment as essential, and a focus on the everyday as an inseparable and "entangled" component of embodiment. She therefore sees both elements (corporality and mundanity) are fundamental to studying peace and violence (2018, p. 21).

Of course, Berents' central theoretical framework of embodied-everyday-peace-amidst-violence already implies a strong connection between embodiment and the everyday. For Berents, because

violence is enacted against physical bodies, it "contributes to the ongoing process of embodied lived experiences, which constitute identity, habit, and everyday life" (Berents, 2018, p. 124). This idea is absolutely central to the link between the everyday and embodiment. Violence is seen as both embodied and, because it is experienced daily and in the midst of routine life, it is also understood to be located within the everyday (Berents, 2018, p. 106). Thus, like Väyrynen, Berents sees an intrinsic connection between embodiment and the everyday. She argues that unpacking this linkage and integrating it into research agendas and analysis opens the door to deeper insights and for a more ethical approach. Ultimately, Berents states that "locating research in *embodied* ways" through the "idea of an everyday" allows for the formation of "a powerful analytic tool as well as a more accountable notion of what action might look like" (Berents, 2018, p. 37).

Supplemental texts

The supplemental texts respond strongly to this sub-theme, partly because both the everyday and embodiment provide phenomenological ways to study peace and violence. These works recognise the connection between embodiment and the everyday as part of the project to 'de-colonise' literature on peace and violence. This sub-theme's presence in the supplemental texts is outlined in the table below.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings links the concept of "performance," with the everyday and with embodiment, which she frames as the ways in which the 'third gender' comes to be manifested in Afghanistan (2019, pp. 180–181). The everyday and embodiment are thus understood as essential and interlinked. Though her treatment of this relationship is not as explicit as Berents' or Väyrynen's, the connection between the everyday and embodiment is evident throughout Partis-Jennings' work, and these concepts are frequently discussed in the same breath (e.g., "embodied everyday experiences," "everyday, situated level," and "felt everyday") (2019, pp. 180; 182; 183)
On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Hedström aligns closely with Berents in her theoretical description of the everyday as intrinsically "embodied and ordinary," as she contends that "gendered relations of power [structures] and constrains everyday life" (2021, p. 376).

Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	Åhäll's description of embodiment's role in peace and violence already begins to implicate the everyday, since embodiment is the focus of the second part of her framework of everyday IR (2019, p. 153). Within this framework, she implies that "feminist knowledge on bodies [and] embodiment" are vital for understanding the politics of the everyday (2019, p. 154). Åhäll later expands on this in her discussion of choreography as a way to "feel" Everyday IR, concluding that "exploring… affective, embodied movement not only tells us how militarisation of the everyday works, but potentially also presents an opportunity for how to disrupt militarising movement" (2019, p. 162)
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Najib and Hopkins mainly discuss peace and violence in the context of marginalisation and discrimination. In the context of their text, these are rooted in Islamophobia. The authors explore the impact of Islamophobia, as well as veiled Muslim women's tactics for avoiding Islamophobia in their lives, through an embodied lens. They frame their article as contributing to "debates about everyday, embodied and emotional geopolitics" (2019, p. 104). Because of the field in which they write, the authors take a logical connection between embodiment and the everyday as almost a given, simply citing a collection of previous work to illustrate the connection (2019, p. 104)

Table 10: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme two, sub-theme two: A focus on the everyday is a logical extension of a focus on bodies.

Sub-theme three: The everyday is how bodies experience peace and violence

This sub-theme describes how the cornerstone authors locate violence. In sub-theme one, we saw that peace and violence are intrinsically embodied, and in sub-theme two, we saw a fundamental link between embodiment and the everyday. This sub-theme, therefore, is the extension of these ideas, locating an embodied violence in the everyday.

Väyrynen explores the idea of the everyday using a variety of analogies, including "texture," "entanglement," "rhythm" and "choreography," all of which she says are experienced "sensuously" by the body (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 7; 40). These analogies appear to have been chosen because of their ability to convey multiple meanings while remaining somewhat open to interpretation, which is a recurring goal of Väyrynen's throughout the text. For example, a "choreography" suggests a material body, relational interplay with other bodies, complexity, and embodied communication. More relevant to this sub-theme, these words also invoke the idea that the everyday takes place in regular

embodied practices which are subject to surprise, innovation, and interruption. Thus, the everyday is the "when" of how corporality takes place. It is therefore also where peace and violence can be located.

These analogies are part of how Väyrynen conveys an everyday mundanity. Crucially, she elaborates on these multiple "ways of knowing" by suggesting that these complex, interwoven understandings of everyday life can be disrupted by violence. This often results in equally complex mundane experiences of violence and insecurity that warp embodied rhythms of everyday life and patterns of daily life, transforming everyday "rhythms" into arhythms. For instance, a male Finnish soldier interviewee who fought in Afghanistan discusses how the banalities of everyday life in an environment of daily danger and violence began to create a sense of everyday terror. Mundane objects represented the potential for injury and death, as they could conceal bombs, while pedestrian activity from seemingly unremarkable people could conceal Taliban fighters (2018, pp. 61–62). Thus, embodied violence was experienced not just at defined moments of explosions and gunfire, but in the everyday experiences of moving about in space and encountering other bodies. From a different angle, Väyrynen discusses how violence can sharpen, soften, or redefine identities, leading consequently to a shift in what daily life itself means. She argues that war disrupts everyday rhythms by "[accentuating] certain myths about male and female identities" as male bodies are sent to fight as "sacrificial" and female bodies are kept away from the front to protect the "future of the nation" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 45). This is something of a simplified explanation, but it helps to convey how the politics of war takes place on an everyday and mundane level. Of course, many people may defy gendered expectations in both large and small ways, leading to a wide spectrum of different disruptions and redefinitions of everyday life. Moreover, these disrupted routines can themselves become mundane, as people learn to live with and navigate the everyday rhythms of life amidst violence. Of course, this resonates directly with Berents' central methodology.

Berents' framework of embodied-everyday-peace-amidst-violence is predicated on the idea that the embodied everyday is the site where violence is experienced. Berents notes that both violence and insecurity are "daily features of life" for marginalised communities such as Cazucá, and points out that radical violence "intersects with mundane routines of everyday life" (Berents, 2018, pp. 3; 174). Violence is experienced in multiple ways in daily life, from shootings to threats to extortion, as well as rape, sexual assault, insecurity, and domestic violence (Berents, 2018, p. 174). In such a situation, navigating fear and danger becomes a daily routine. Therefore, Berents argues that violence in these

circumstances can no longer be read as extraordinary, but must instead be located "within the everyday" (2018, p. 124). This means that responses of violence must also be located in daily routines, which Berents examines in the young people of Cazucá. Consequently, argues that everyday peace practices, both routine and more radical, "are maintained amidst the multiple violences of…young people's lives" (Berents, 2018, p. 175). The embodied everyday is seen as the site where peace and violence take place, and therefore where potential for transformation and redefinition can be found.

Supplemental texts

The different forms of violence studied by the supplemental texts can slightly obfuscate the presence of this sub-theme across each of the texts. However, a close reading reveals connections between the everyday and their exploration of peace and violence. This is detailed in the table below.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings argues that power relations are intrinsically embodied, pointing out that are simultaneously "non-linear" and "carried from context to context while being shaped, perceived, and felt on an everyday, situated level" (2019, p. 182). Her description of hybridity within peace and conflict studies criticizes "collective, public, or abstract phenomena," as these are often actually "locally based or everyday" (, p. 182). Instead, she contends that different "sites and ways of being" are performed within the "ambiguity of the everyday" (, p. 182)
On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	The central character in Hedström's work, Agnes, is described as experiencing the effects of structural persecution in a fundamentally embodied way which is experienced in everyday life. Hedström describes Agnes' life in Myanmar's transition as "not an absence of violence, but a continuum of insecurity experienced and negotiated in the everyday" (2021, p. 376). This understanding is rooted in a broader notion of peace and violence that closely resembles Berents', as Hedström describes peace as an "ongoing struggle for survival despite, and amidst, violence" in which resilience is defined by the "daily negotiation and sensemaking of violence" (2021, p. 376). The notion that Agnes' experience with peace and violence is felt amidst mundane life is a throughline of Hedström's argumentation.
	One of the aspects of choreography that most concerns Åhäll is the notion of disruption. Her example of the Ghost Soldiers project in the UK shows how

Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	"an embodied choreography of war disrupted the everyday civilian life," making visible "how militarisation impacts upon and makes lasting impressions in our everyday lives" (2019, p. 161). Åhäll emphasizes that one of the reasons the everyday is so relevant is that it allows for a clearer understanding of "social relationships in the everyday," which, for instance, can be "organised around war and preparation for war" (2019, p. 158).
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Najib & Hopkins reveal how Muslim women make decisions in their mundane lives to avoid areas and situations where they fear they may experience Islamophobia, or conversely how they defy perceived social pressure (2019, p. 109). Some of these women also change their everyday behaviour in different contexts, for instance by avoiding going outside for several days after a terror attack (2019, p. 107). This analysis shows how practices such as these, aimed at avoiding or resisting violence, take place in the everyday

Table 11: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme two, sub-theme three: The everyday is how bodies experience peace and violence.

Sub-theme four: Politics exists in and especially between different bodies

This sub-theme deals with where "politics" (understood in a general sense), takes place, and where its effects are experienced. Both cornerstone authors argue that politics are not abstract, nor do they originate from disembodied negotiations or legislation. Rather, politics are embodied, and crucially, they are constituted by interrelations between different bodies.

Väyrynen explores this idea in much more depth than Berents, as it is central to her theoretical framework. Her understanding of embodiment is built on a rejection of the mind-body separability proposed by Cartesian dualism. She describes embodiment in various ways, including "sensuous," "non-cognitive," "autonomic 'prior-ness'" and "pre-intentional," all of which imply that it is visceral and is not downstream from conscious thought or action (2018, pp. 20; 125). Instead, she discusses human existence as intrinsically multiple and "based on our dependency on the others," following in part the philosophy of Niels Bohr (2018, p. 19). Väyrynen finds a different approach in Bohr's observations in atomic physics, which indicate that nothing has "inherently determinate boundaries" and therefore that things, including people, are not atomistic or discrete "epistemological units" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 56). Following this logic, she concurs with other thinkers who have built on

Bohr's foundations. Among these are Merleau-Ponty's idea of "carnal intersubjectivity" and Nancy's notion of, as she puts it, the "necessarily relational taking place of existence" (2018, p. 36). Beyond this, Väyrynen argues that politics, and therefore peace and violence, are relational in their very nature, as they are based on a kind of corporal vulnerability between bodies. For Väyrynen, politics are "felt, corporeal memories" and peace and violence exist as "choreographies" between different bodies, which are constantly reconfigured and entangled with each other (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 7; 40; 43). This idea of a choreography is rich with meaning as it elucidates the meaning of intersubjective politics. It implies "a force of affective potential" that "articulates the… body's capacity to communicate and integrate with other bodies." Hence, the body is "always social and connecting" and experiences a "non-linear embodied relationality" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 6).

From all of this, Väyrynen argues that there is "no singular body," but instead, that the body is "always already multiple" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 3). In short, the significance of "body multiple" is that "existence takes place between bodies" and that bodies are "always already in relation to other bodies" (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 18; 29). Importantly, her call for the "[dissolution of] the boundaries between self and other" is not merely an analogy that seeks to reframe political discourse – rather, it challenges epistemological assumptions about the nature of bodies and the supposed atomistic divisions between them (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 126). For instance, Väyrynen discusses the work of Haynes-Conroy and Martin, who argue that the ways that bodies "come to feel the world" cannot be fully explained by "cellular/chemical processes," nor "discursive/intellectual processes," but instead are found "in the catalytic relationship between the two" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 104). This implies that the body is visceral and "biosocial." It does not exist in a vacuum, but rather comes into being in its physical and intellectual interactions with other bodies – this provides further support for the idea that bodies are in fact "body multiple." Väyrynen also puts this more expressively when she writes "we are not, but our selves happen whenever they come into contact with others," underlining the inherently and necessarily relational nature of how bodies experience their very existence (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 29).

Väyrynen seeks to apply this radical approach to embodiment to violence and everyday peace. For instance, she argues that bodies that experience violence can bring that experience into wider society because of mutually-constituting relationships. She uses the example of Finnish veterans who, after fighting in World War II or in Afghanistan, conveyed their experience to others through their "strong affective presence among the Finnish population," leading the impact of the wars to be felt for decades

and by people who did not participate directly in the fighting (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 64). Similarly, Väyrynen explores the idea of "Body Time," which refers to numerous embodied ways of understanding the past. She explains multiple layers of Body Time through the lens of a Finnish woman named Kaisu, who was accused of having fraternized with German soldiers during WWII.

> *The past is not based simply on Kaisu's direct experience, but it is a mosaic of what she knew first hand, what she was told, what she imagined, and what happened around her as part of a historical process that she shared with millions of other people.* (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 92)

This concept helps to clarify the ways in which embodied memories can be found in embodied relationships on both intimate and societal scales. Importantly, Väyrynen argues that Body Time does not necessarily square with the "national archival memory" based in linguistic accounts of history, indicating a fundamental difference between the ways in which peace and violence are experienced and the ways in which they are recorded and analysed (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 97).

Väyrynen further examines the idea of violence in memory in her discussion of intergenerational trauma and the embodied experiences of war. For this, she turns to Marianna Hirsch's notion of "postmemory," which describes the ongoing effects that past events can have in the form of second-generation trauma. Crucially for Väyrynen, postmemory, is corporeal "in the sense that it is transmitted through the language of the body," meaning that the experience of this second-generational trauma is relationally embodied (2018, p. 96). She finds an example of this in Seppo Salminen's performance *The Miracle of Snow: On Father's Grave*, in which the artist symbolically slits his wrists on a depiction of his father's grave. Unlike his father, Väyrynen notes, Salminen has no first-hand experience with war, "yet his body remembers war and violence" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 94). Thus, the violence enacted on his father in war has been transferred to him through what Väyrynen refers to as corporal mnemonics, in which memories of war and violence are "embedded" and "enacted" in bodies in a "corporeal transition of the past to the present" (2018, pp. 86–88). Put another way, war continues in the bodies of people like Salminen, even after the end of formal violence (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 54). It is striking how even this performance is a simulation of corporeal violence against Salminen's own body.

These ideas show how the effects of war can be embodied even by people who are not alive when warfare takes place, or who were never in the same area of the world as the violence they experience in their bodies. This has profound implications about how knowledge about violence can be accessed

and how the politics of remembering violence can be analysed. Because embodied experiences of violence transmit information across time and space, politics, according to this line of thinking, must be understood as embodied and visceral.

Berents, meanwhile, describes the importance of creating meaning "out of the intersubjective relations between each other" and points to the strong influence of interrelationships in constituting and holding together communities (Berents, 2018, pp. 13; 17). She specifically draws attention to the "physical presence of people" and goes on to argue that "connectivity" is of crucial importance to "discussions of the everyday," as it helps to account for exclusion and marginalization (Berents, 2018, p. 37). In addition to these communal/societal points, Berents concurs with Väyrynen's notion about relationships constituting the self in the first place, though her theoretical focus largely lies elsewhere. Berents argues that "lifeworlds," which she describes as "varied component parts of how [the world is experienced] subjectively" are predicated on "relations with others," which she views as "[centring] the bodily experience" (Berents, 2018, p. 40). The notion of lifeworlds is core to Berents' understanding of the embodied experience of violence. She sees them as spatialised ways of "making meaning of self as embodied and imbricated in relationships," meaning that the "bodily experience of communities and individuals" can be conceived of through this framework (Berents, 2018, p. 40).

This line of thinking leads to a vision of how violence can ripple out into a community in embodied ways. Citing the work of Jackson, Berents recognises that because violence "occurs in the contested space of intersubjectivity," that its "most devastating effects" are not primarily experienced by individuals, but rather "on the fields of interrelationships that constitute their lifeworlds" (Berents, 2018, p. 108). Since "connectivity is unable to be unliked from an individual's participation in a community," one of the ways that violence can impact these interrelationships, according to Berents, is by "[removing] the recognition of self in the context of relationships with others," meaning that this "sense of connectedness" can be disrupted or ruptured by violence (Berents, 2018, pp. 108; 123; 135). This is especially visible in people's everyday experiences. Taken as a whole, Berents' understanding of community as an interconnected, intersubjective framework of embodied interactions has implications for the ways that individuals and groups experience and respond to peace and violence. She identifies the space of the community as "the most important location for interaction and for creating cohesion against the violences that impose themselves" (Berents, 2018, p. 134). Since violence can rupture relationships, it follows that expressions of peace in communal settings can help to rebuild "webs of relationships" (Berents, 2018, p. 208). Berents elaborates on the political

implications of this relational, embodied conception of everyday violence:

> *This understanding allows the intimate, embodied experience of individuals to be read as profoundly political, and the everyday to be understood as a more accountable site for questioning how individuals can respond to mundane and radical violences in mundane and radical ways* (Berents, 2018, p. 106).

Berents concludes that embodied everyday peace is inherently "collective" and draws on "notions of belonging" (Berents, 2018, p. 176). Therefore, such an understanding of peace and violence directs our attention to different political questions and potentials.

Supplemental texts

The supplemental texts do not make direct reference to mutually constitutive bodies, yet this sub-theme resonates strongly within each of them, often from different angles. Relationships are understood across the supplemental works as critical sites for disambiguating bodies' relationship to politics. This sub-theme's connection to the supplemental works is outlined in the table below.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings describes "everyday encounters" as deeply political and seeks to explore how identities and political meaning are mutually constructed by everyday (mis)perceptions and interactions (2019, p. 193). She even cites Väyrynen's description of "relational peace" directly when discussing these dynamics, specifically when referring to circumstances in which "the Other (and their perspective) is acknowledged and accommodated" (2019, p. 192)
On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Hedström expressly describes the everyday as "a relational, messy space" in which political marginalisation and violence, but also love, is experienced (2021, p. 377). Indeed, she contends that Agnes' vulnerability "must be understood and theorised relationally" – Hedström connects her intimate relationships at home, and the intimate violence she experiences therein, with broader systems of the gendered political economy on a local and national level (2021, p. 374)
	Åhäll's framework of "everyday IR," which involves embodiment and the everyday as ways to reveal aesthetic politics, constitutes a "micro-politics of bodies, affect and movement" with "macro-level" influence (2019, p. 151). In

Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	fact, Åhäll rejects a clear distinction between personal relationships and international relations, drawing on feminist literature which argues for an embodied, relational understanding of peace and violence (2019, p. 150). Her description of choreography involves the idea that something is "[flowing] between bodies" (2019, p. 155).
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Najib and Hopkins show how Islamophobia is relational: when Muslim women go to work or visit a new apartment, they "negotiate their identities in relation to others" (2019, p. 108). In their interview data, one woman says that she "[adapts herself] according to [her] interlocutors," while another explains that Muslim women are often unable to find jobs where they are "exposed to the public" (2019, p. 108).

Table 12: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme two, sub-theme four: Politics exists in and especially between different bodies.

Theme three: Embodiment allows for re-evaluation and opens the door to potential transformations

This theme explores the forward-looking consequences of taking bodies seriously. Berents and Väyrynen hope that the additional perspectives and insights provided by the "embodied turn" might allow for more emancipatory and insightful research and peacekeeping efforts in the future. Väyrynen references these potential developments as "reconfiguring entanglements" and in her concluding remarks as "avenues… towards collectivization and new forms of peacebuilding agency" (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 57; 126). Meanwhile, Berents calls attention to the increasing complexity afforded by incorporating embodiment and everyday peace into peace research agendas. She frames this as providing "new ways of expanding the boundaries of the fields of international relations and peacebuilding" to make these fields more "inclusive, more constructive, and more responsive" (2018, p. 177).

To make this discussion of potential more concrete, this final theme explores it across three sub-themes. These sub-themes are 1) The multidimensionality and richness of embodiment 2) spatiality as an important aspect of the embodied everyday which offers additional insights, and 3) the fundamentally agentic nature of bodies, their resilience, and their vulnerability.

Sub-theme one: Embodiment and the everyday are rich and multidimensional

This theme refers to an emphasis on embodiment as brimming with complexity and serving as a vital nexus through which aspects of peace, violence, and indeed life in general may be understood. Embodiment is not understood as a singular "ingredient" providing a specific, limited piece of utility in conceptual frameworks, but as a wellspring of multifaceted insight. This sub-theme also seeks to explore the significance of peace and violence being intrinsically embodied when it comes to existing scholarship. Previous models which fail to pay attention to bodies may consequently have failed to capture the insights they offer.

Though both authors acknowledge the intricacies of embodiment, Väyrynen is particularly concerned with them. Rather than trying to identify a single conception of bodies, she instead embraces "ambiguity" and "messiness," making extensive reference to the "multiple ontologies" connected by a phenomenological register (2018, pp. 18; 123). By considering these multiple ontologies, she points to an ability to discuss different questions that arise from their multiple perspectives, which she frames as complimentary. Going further, she argues there "is more reality than one" and that these different versions are "variously entangled with one another," making the availability of numerous angles not just an analytical curiosity, but a necessity (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 125). Her insistence on an understanding so multidimensional that it cannot be fully defined also extends to her conception of the everyday, which is intimately linked to embodiment in her framework. In articulating the everyday, she contrasts her own view with Mac Ginty's, arguing that his conception of a local everyday defined by "networked activity, transversal solidarity, rather than spatial location" is overly limited and "does not yet capture the everydayness and eventness of peace" which can only be gleaned from a more expansive view such as the one she proposes (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 25).

To Väyrynen, this expansive understanding of embodiment and the everyday helps us to better perceive the multitudes of human experience amidst peace and violence. She lists a host of different facets of war and peacebuilding which become richer and more multidimensional understood as embodied. These include the "sheer material evidence of the outcome of conflict," meaning the physical damage inflicted against bodies and landscapes, as well as "the physical evidence of the ideals and ideologies in whose name [a] war is fought," which both emerge from the "[intimate] connection of war and body" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 55). Väyrynen reinforces the value of this approach compared to more "totalizing perspectives," arguing that using the "phenomenological register" elevates her understanding, allowing a better view of "micro-sociological approaches, and, hence,

mundane practices" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 18). Thus, paying attention to the additional complexities of an embodied, everyday peace leads to additional insights and potential areas of analysis. Elsewhere, she suggests that a focus on the body provides insight into relationships in peacebuilding, which she refers to as the "relational and political – and messy – nature of peacebuilding" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 123). After all, what are relationships but different patterns of contact between different bodies? Building on this notion, she describes bodies as, "lived, experienced, and material configurations, which are simultaneously extremely personal, shared, and relational" – these configurations are "always partially marked and 'already-made-visible,' yet simultaneously always in the process of becoming with other bodies" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 6). Thus, bodies cannot exist fully independently of each other, though they remain deeply personal. Relationships between bodies are paramount because in a very real sense, they are how bodies can engage in this "process of becoming" which constitutes human experience. In this, too, an appreciation of embodiment leads to a new paradigm of relationships, and therefore of peace and violence.

Berents explores the richness of embodiment and the everyday along different lines. Like Väyrynen, she underscores the importance of "[paying] attention to liminality without necessarily resolving it," rejecting a single framework of understanding and instead insisting on holding "liminal, peripheral spaces" in focus so that one conception "doesn't get lost in the other" (Berents, 2018, pp. 2; 5). Unlike Väyrynen, she does not discuss how embodiment in a general sense offers a rich conceptual space. She instead shows how a focus on bodies themselves can help to *reveal* multifaceted aspects of "embodied violence" in the everyday, which she refers to as offering "richness and plurality" (2018, p. 153). Put another way, Berents sees embodiment as a way to better understand the many physical and structural violence faced simultaneously by young people, including blackmail, robbery, death threats, sexual assault, trauma, lack of health services, poverty, social exclusion, ruptures in family relationships, etc. (2018, p. 106). According to Berents, these "multiple violences" are experienced "in and through…bodies…in highly contingent, individual ways" – this configuration points to further revelations about the "slippery" nature of violence, the kinds of experiences that are mediated by it, and the presence of this violence in the everyday, rather than in extraordinary circumstances (2018, pp. 107–108).

Berents provides an example of an often-overlooked form of violence that contributes profoundly to everyday experience, even in circumstances of everyday insecurity. She clarifies that violence is not always public, but also manifests in intimate partner violence and the challenges of young sex lives.

Though these take place in private, they are no less impactful and often play a sizable role in shaping daily life (Berents, 2018, p. 113). This perspective of "intimate, embodied experience" is therefore seen as "profoundly political" because it makes visible the impact of social and political exclusion on people's ability to "maintain connections and contribute to collective life" (2018, p. 106). This insight is emblematic of how embodiment provides a wealth of vital context and information about violence, notably how it contributes to "the ongoing process of embodied lived experiences, which constitute identity, habit, and everyday life" (Berents, 2018, p. 124). Mirroring Väyrynen, Berents applies an interest in a liminal and multiple understandings of embodiment to a similar approach to everyday peace, seeking to avoid a "totalising" narrative of everyday peace and violence. She cites Galtung's belief that peace research should always be seen as "definitionally problematic" in her research design, and frames her interview questions in a way that leaves notions of peace and violence "deliberately open" (Berents, 2018, p. 161). As a result of this openness, she argues, her interviewees responses are rich, varied, and unlock multiple implications for understanding everyday peace. Ultimately, Berents argues that "power, exclusion, and belonging" can be found in multiple "expressions of violence," which appear in a multiplicity of ways in everyday life (Berents, 2018, p. 106).

Supplemental texts

Not all the supplemental text authors spend time detailing the rich theoretical space afforded by embodiment and the everyday. Each of their journal articles are more limited in length than the books published by the cornerstone authors, which may have restricted the opportunities and necessity of elaborating on this point. Despite this, this sub-theme is found in each of the texts, albeit sometimes expressed differently than in the cornerstone texts. This is outlined in the table below.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Often, like Väyrynen, Partis-Jennings points out how different understandings which are seemingly in tension with one another can co-exist simultaneously, often within a framing of "social exceptionalism" as well as social difference (2019, p. 189). Partis-Jennings explores this multidimensionality with the 'third gender' through an embodied and everyday lens by discussing the perceived everyday independence and repression shift contextually.

On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Hedström's describes the everyday as "relational and messy" as well as "a space of constraint and insecurity, as well as a space of duty and love" and suggests it allows for revelations about "the multiple ways in which gendered power and insecurity take shape," including how "insecurities are felt, remembered, feared, negotiated, and experienced" (2021, pp. 374–375; 377). The multidimensionality of these experiences is one of many insights provided by Anges' embodied and everyday life, which Hedström argues contains "situated knowledge" which reveals a "set of truths that otherwise slip from view in empirical and general theories" (2021, p. 376).
Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	Åhäll describes embodiment as offering "a different way into 'the political'" that blurs distinctions between "micro- and macro-politics" (2019, p. 154). She mainly expresses her appreciation for the richness offered by both embodiment and the everyday through the idea of "political in-betweenness" (2019, p. 162
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Najib & Hopkins note that embodied experiences of everyday life in Paris are heavily mediated by spatiality, which in turn reveals numerous dimensions of French government and society. Distinctions in urbanity are associated with "polarised identities" and "dimensions of power," allowing for rich insight into how Islamophobia manifests in the everyday lives of these women (2019, p. 105)

Table 13: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme three, sub-theme one: Embodiment and the everyday are rich and multidimensional.

Sub-theme two: Spatiality is an important aspect of the embodied everyday

This sub-theme seeks to unpack a particular aspect of the embodied everyday explored by both cornerstone texts: the importance of the body's relationship to the space around it. Both cornerstone authors discuss this topic in some depth, though they approach it from different perspectives.

Berents underlines the importance of the spatial aspect of an embodied everyday directly, arguing that "[everyday peace] is necessarily *located,* not only within and on the bodies of the young people, but in and through the terrains they occupy" (2018, p. 39). To Berents, a "grounded" conception of everyday peace amidst "a system of violence" requires acknowledgement of "the embodied beings *in* that environment" emphasizing the environment itself as vital context for understanding bodies (2018,

p. 151). As such, a view of violence which properly acknowledges its embodied and everyday dimensions also implicates its spatial qualities. Berents elaborates on her understanding of spatialised embodiment through an examination of communities like Cazucá, which regularly face "*derrumbas*" (landslides) because of their location and poor marginalisation, causing death and displacement. In analysing these spaces, Berents points out the ways in which people in them must negotiate not only "a physical terrain of insecurity" caused by the *derrumbas*, but also "a figurative terrain in which the narrative and stigmatization of the community reinscribes violence" (2018, p. 83). Berents discusses Colombian actors external to the Cazucá community viewing it as a "non-place," in "virulent imaginative geographies," an 'otherized' location outside the realm of civilization. Berents argues that such a perception reinforces social stigmatization of the community (2018, p. 83). Therefore, the "figurative terrain" created by this external narrative influences poor housing conditions in the community, the aggression of state forces in the area, infighting between armed groups, etc. Thus, the insecurity that is "manifest" in the everyday experiences of violence in the lives of Cazucá's young people is partially defined and intensified by spatiality (Berents, 2018, pp. 100–101).

Spatiality also offers insights within Cazucá itself, as it sheds light on the violence faced by its residents as they attempt to go about their lives (Berents, 2018, p. 100). Armed gangs and state forces create "terrains of insecurity that restrict movement" based on where they choose to operate (Berents, 2018, p. 124). Put another way, the physical environment in which bodies move is interrelated to the "rupture of social cohesion within the community" (Berents, 2018, p. 122). As certain areas become unsafe, bodies must navigate these spaces differently, resulting in knock-on consequences in individuals and relationships. This notion provides more than an overarching observation, as different spaces within a community lead to different experiences with peace and violence for the bodies that inhabit them and move through them. For instance, Berents points out that there are both formal and informal "spaces where violence is lessened, ameliorated, or held at bay" (Berents, 2018, pp. 133–134). Exploring these different spaces helps to reveal how embodied everyday violence manifests, intensifies, and how it can be avoided, leading to a richer understanding of peace and violence in the everyday

Väyrynen's argumentation tends to pursue an alternative framing of space as a concept. She is careful to distance herself from a relatively common tendency within everyday peace literature to examine only "out there" spatial environments. Indeed, she suggests that any conception of the everyday which *exclusively* focuses on a distant subaltern zone takes too limited a view of the everyday and of

corporality (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 24). She criticizes this approach as potentially orientalist, as it sees people labelled as "local" are seen as "distant others" existing in the "distant location of the violent political conflict or post-conflict zone" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 25). Instead, she strives to imagine embodiment as taking place in a space which is not "radically different from our own world" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 25). Her description of "space" therefore draws on Nancy's understanding of the world as "a tension of place, where bodies are not in space, but where space is in bodies." Thus, she sees space as

> *"not… a geographically delineable area or a place marked by a specific purpose, but, rather, … an interval that is inherently open for different interpretations and in which no direction is yet more prominent than another one…. The suggested take on space turns the body into a "place-holder" that pulsates with war and peacebuilding as well as refuses any attempts to be exhaustively written and known."* (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 40)

Part of the basis for this framing stems from Väyrynen's argument that violence can be transmitted "across spatial and temporal boundaries" through the mutual constitution of bodies and the interrelations of politics discussed in sub-theme four of theme two above (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 49). Therefore, Väyrynen seeks to demarcate herself from a subsection of everyday peace theory that overlaps with Berents' work. She does this by placing increased emphasis on mutually constituting embodiment and its ability to transcend spatial boundaries, while de-emphasizing space as a "geographically delineable area." Still, Väyrynen describes spatiality as one of many useful ontologies for understanding everyday peace and violence, alongside corporeal and temporal analysis (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 123). Space is also a vital component of a notion of "choreography," that Väyrynen draws upon, defined as the "practices of being (corporeally) in space and co-inhabiting space" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 7). Additionally, space plays a central role in her understanding of embodied experience, which involves "the way the body senses the pulse of life and rhythmically navigates in space at the very second it experiences the world or certain elements of the world" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 37). Taken together, it is clear that space continues to play an important conceptual role in Väyrynen's understanding of embodiment and the everyday. Despite some key differences in how space is understood, both authors agree that meaning and insight can be found by analysing space.

Supplemental texts

Though spatiality resonates strongly with the cornerstone texts, its connection to the supplemental texts is sometimes weaker, especially in the case of Åhäll and, to a lesser extent, Hedström. Though this indicates that this sub-theme may not be central to understanding embodiment in Everyday

Embodied Peace literature, it still resonates strongly with the other supplemental texts, and appears to retain some more tangential connections to Åhäll and Hedström. This sub-theme is explored in the supplemental texts below.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings underlines that differing experiences of gendered roles are precluded on "an illiberal Other against which to be defined," meaning that "the association to almost masculinity" is "temporally and spatially situated" (Partis-Jennings, 2019, p. 191). Indeed, her interviewees reveal how their experiences with the 'third gender' trope, and with gender roles more broadly, shift dramatically depending on the country, community, or area of a city in which they find themselves. In Partis-Jennings' words, power "travels" (2019, p. 182)
On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Hedström does not linger on the topic of spatiality. Still, her description of "rural areas…where lives are shaped as much by the actuality as the possibility of violence" implies that peace and violence are experienced differently in different locations (2021, p. 371). In addition, many of Agnes' experiences with insecurity are defined by the state where she lives, which Hedström notes is a "conflict-affected border-area" (2021, p. 380). Despite these references, Hedström does not focus on spatiality in her analysis, and it is not discussed as an important aspect of the embodied everyday.
Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	Åhäll discusses space sparsely. Though she makes reference to how civilian and public spaces can be interrupted with performances and memorialisation of war, she speaks about spatiality in primarily a metaphorical sense, rather than in the geographic and socio-political way that Berents explores the concept (2019, p. 161).
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	As feminist political geographers, Najib & Hopkins engage extensively with the spatial aspects of the everyday, particularly as they relate to these kinds of navigational strategies in different areas of Paris. For example, some women intentionally travel to touristic areas in the city's centre, as they feel that they will be treated more kindly because they are perceived as tourists and therefore potentially wealthy (2019, p. 106). Alternatively, other women may

	be inclined to stay in the suburbs, where they feel less conspicuous and more accepted (2019, p. 105).

Table 14: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme three, sub-theme two: Spatiality is an important aspect of the embodied everyday.

Sub-theme three: bodies are fundamentally agentic, and transformative potential can be found in their vulnerability and resilience

This sub-theme unpacks the notion that an embodied everyday peace implies agentic bodies. Both cornerstone texts support this idea, and consequently see opportunities for transforming violence at the site of these bodies. Both authors point to the vulnerability and resilience of bodies as meaningful, profound, and as evidence for their agency. In bodies' resilience and vulnerability, they see vast potential for reshaping violence and insecurity.

In her understanding of agency, Väyrynen draws on the work of Barad, particularly her emphasis that agency is "not something someone possesses," or a choice in the liberal or humanist sense, but is rather "a matter of intra-action and an enactment" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 57). This means that the idea of agency is less a question of the decisions of individuals, and more a web of interactions that present occasions for "reconfiguring entanglements" based on "radical openness" (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 57; 58). Thus, the body can be understood as the "nexus of a variety of forces" from which agency emerges (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 36). Väyrynen suggests that bodies can therefore be conceptualized as "engaged body-subjects" because they are both active *and* acted upon (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 26). Bodies having this kind of agency implies that they can, among other things, disrupt the kinds of daily rhythms imposed by a violent everyday life. For example, Väyrynen examines how in war, some women explore relationships and sex while most men are away fighting, and some men desert the front. In both cases, bodies are interrupting "the rigid choreography of war," by deliberately redefining their experiences of the violent everyday (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 45; 71). Bodies' agency is manifest in their ability to redefine the rhythm of their everyday, leading Väyrynen to describe the everyday as a site for "radical and transformative aspects of everyday life" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 18). Agentic bodies are given plentiful opportunities to assert themselves because the everyday is constantly shifting, allowing for risk and control, reinforcing the status quo, or resisting and interrupting.

Vulnerability, accountability, resistance, and receptivity are central to Väyrynen's conception of agency, as she argues that these attributes are "presuppositions of agency" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 28).

According to Väyrynen, agency is based on the ability to defy powerful external forces, drawing heavy inspiration from Foucault's description of power relations "entailing the possibility of resistance" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 113). To unpack the idea power itself, she looks to Butler, citing her understanding that, "power is relational in its distribution of vulnerability unequally among people" as "critical to [her] argument" (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 26–27). Manifestations of vulnerability within this uneven distribution can present opportunities for empowerment. In a post-conflict environment, bodies impacted by the conflict can speak truth to power by "[reminding] the post-conflict collective self" of the history that continues to influence the present. Because evidence for past violence is manifested in embodied, vulnerable bodies can speak truth to power. The collective therefore becomes unable to "fully consume or dismiss its problematic past," and past violence cannot be easily washed away by "intensive attempts to produce [imaginary coherence]" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 81). This example shows how vulnerability and resistance are predicated on how power is (unevenly) distributed, which is also crucial to Väyrynen's conception of peace itself. She follows Butler's understanding that peace can be defined as "a commitment to living with a certain kind of vulnerability" – as a consequence, recognition of vulnerability leads to "more peaceful responses to different forms of violence" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 27).

In a related vein, resilience in the face of violence is, in Berents' words, the "basis of [her] book" (Berents, 2018, p. 2). She conceives of peace and resilience taking place, "not in the absence of violence, but despite its persistence" (Berents, 2018, p. 25). Still, she is reluctant to define resilience too narrowly, making note of existing criticisms of similar approaches by Boyden and Mann (Berents, 2018, p. 131). Instead, she describes the idea of resilience as a variable, contingent "useful metaphor" and as a "guiding concept," the purpose of which is to inform "the exploration of the choices and justifications young people give in responding to their environments and articulating future aspirations" (Berents, 2018, p. 131). This broader understanding seeks to better encompass the complexities and subtleties of how resilience can be manifested. Berents also points out that resilience is increasingly thought of as "beyond an individual quality of a particular young person," and is instead rooted in "the resources within communities" and "social context" (Berents, 2018, p. 131). Thus, Berents rejects an individualistic conception of resilience, instead putting forth the notion of "collective… endurance" (Berents, 2018, p. 136). She highlights, for instance relationships between parents and children, where knowledge can be transferred across generations, as "a key site of resilience" (Berents, 2018, p. 121). However, she is insistent on emphasizing collaboration and community, Berents also argues that the potential of everyday peace to bring about change in

communities “cannot occur without individuals choosing to engage in it” (Berents, 2018, p. 151). Though she concedes this point about the role of individuals, Berents also cites Nguyen-Gillham’s rejection of “pathologized individualism” in thinking about resilience, instead suggesting a framework that focuses on the “wider collective and social representation of what it means to endure” (Berents, 2018, p. 131). Her conception of resilience as primarily collective and enacted between bodies, though still leaving room for individual agency, aligns with Väyrynen’s. Empirical support for this understanding appears in Berents’ interviews with the young people in Cazucá, who describe resilience as located in and buttressed by “networks of relationships that hold disparate people together in difficult circumstances,” including friend groups, families, and relationships with teachers (Berents, 2018, p. 136).

Berents argues that everyday peace offers insights into how routine practices can represent a form of everyday agency and resilience that allow everyday peace to be maintained “*amidst* the multiple violences of… young people’s lives,” buttressing her bedrock framework of embodied-everyday-peace-amidst violence (Berents, 2018, p. 168). This is not to say that resilience can “cancel out the violences… of daily life,” but rather that it can “foster peacebuilding at an everyday level,” allowing individuals to “make claims to ways of living” (Berents, 2018, p. 168). Berents is particularly focused on agency of marginalised people like those in Cazucá. She advocates for recognising young people as “competent actors of their lives and contributory agents to their communities,” rather than treating them as passive victims (Berents, 2018, p. 172). In conceptualizing the competency of young people, she sees the basis for a “more responsive way of understanding peace” modelled on insecure situations (Berents, 2018, p. 7). Part of this more responsive framework is an understanding of young peoples’ daily lives – Berents explains that through them, peace is readily understood as “not discrete, but built through everyday practices amidst violence,” including “working, relating, and collectively imagining and working towards a future” (Berents, 2018, pp. 8; 36). Like Väyrynen, she emphasises that this vision of peace emerges from and is predicated upon inter-action and relationships in daily movement and life (Berents, 2018, p. 42).

Berents argues that resilience should be understood as legitimising young people as actors. For example, Berents describes resilience as part of everyday life: people negotiate violence by relying on members of their community, while also trying to tactically “outsmart their environmental limitations” including threats and structural exclusions (Berents, 2018, pp. 34; 132). Put another way, people “deploy their agency” in local contexts (Berents, 2018, p. 34). Other examples of such a

"tactical agency" of resilience include reappropriating spaces and "navigating, negotiating, or negating" the structures of power imposed by institutions and states (Berents, 2018, pp. 34; 111–112). Berents sees opportunities for resistance and for solidarity such these as part of the "radical potential" of everyday peace, which can be witnessed by paying "astute attention" to the ways in which "particular modes of belonging, or conversely the denial of presence, affect the conception of self and community" (Berents, 2018, p. 9). These, in turn, are manifested in the "resilience and routines of the everyday lives of young people," as well as in their dreams and desires (Berents, 2018, pp. 15; 143). These dreams and desires are significant, because they articulate positive versions of the future, even as they recognise structural difficulties. Berents is intensely interested in these future aspirations, as they frequently contain notions of peace which are "grounded in the realities of everyday lives" and which place young people as "dialogical and active" agents (Berents, 2018, p. 151).

Berents concludes that collective understandings of resistance allow for constructions of peace that provide "the space to ameliorate violence and enable opportunities" (Berents, 2018, p. 145). Taken as a whole, this picture of agency and resilience allows an embodied notion of everyday peace to become more concrete. Berents argues that embodied everyday peace is manifest in the everyday resilience enacted by young people, who must negotiate spatial boundaries, understand the causes of manifold violences against their bodies, and still find validity in their hopes for tomorrow (Berents, 2018, p. 145)

Supplemental texts

This sub-theme is extremely apparent across the supplemental texts. Each of their approaches to bodies' agency and transformational reveal how this sub-theme can be applied in different contexts and for different purposes. This is detailed in the table below.

Text	Connection to sub-theme
The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: a feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience (Partis-Jennings, 2019)	Partis-Jennings' wider discussion of hybridity notes that involving embodiment and the everyday requires "the centring of experience" (2019, p. 182). She highlights the "work that individual women do to try to navigate their gender" and how these women can "self-negate as 'typical' 'females'" in Afghanistan (2019, p. 192). Though Partis-Jennings is largely interested in what this reveals about the international peacekeeping order in Afghanistan, her analysis reveals how women must agentially navigate a diverse and hazy set of gendered challenges.

On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition (Hedström, 2021)	Hedström expressly acknowledges that she locates agency "not in resistance but in resilience, in the daily negotiation and sensemaking of violence" (2021, p. 376). She discusses Agnes' efforts to "reassert her place within traditional Myanmar" despite being "ignored" by the state, noting how Agnes "[assumes] agency over violations done to her body" and is therefore able to navigate, at least in part, the insecurity she faces (2021, p. 383)
Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war (Åhäll, 2019)	Åhäll references Giersdorf, on the importance of "[shifting] focus" from "abstractions of political and military theory" to "corporeal agency," which she grounds in the notion of relational politics (2019, p. 157). Non-verbal communication, for Åhäll, can be a "powerful political tool" and she cites dance specifically as playing a "diverse role in political resistance" historically (2019, p. 157). She extends this transformational potential of dance from literal dance to its more analogous form, citing the "politics of movement/lack of movement" as a site that "offers scope for resistance" through disruption and re-politicisation (she mentions resistance of the "politics of the normalisation of war in the everyday" in particular) (2019, p. 162).
Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris (Najib & Hopkins, 2019)	Najib and Hopkins engage extensively with the agentic nature of the bodies of Muslim women, particularly in their responses to Islamophobia. The authors explore everyday practices of avoidance and defiance as ways of engaging with French society. For example, some of the women they interviewed describe wearing the veil as "a form of resistance to discrimination and French secularism" (2019, p. 109). These women seek to challenge a stereotyped image of hijabi women in French society as "repressed and non-integrated" by portraying an outwardly positive and optimistic attitude, or alternatively by becoming more combative (2019, p. 109).

Table 15: Everyday Embodied Peace supplemental texts' connections to theme three, sub-theme three: bodies are fundamentally agentic, and transformative potential can be found in their vulnerability and resilience.

Visualising results

The diagrams below serve as a simplified visual reference for the results of the analysis in this chapter. They are formulated to resemble trees, as each tree diagram shows how the epistemological "roots" of the corpus led to its formation, along with the thematic "branches" established by this analysis. In

order to make these visualizations more readable, the themes and sub-themes discussed in this chapter are shown with simplified names and major themes are shown in different colours. Of course, the roots of these tree diagrams highlight major epistemological influences of the corpora, and they therefore should not be understood to be weighing specific developments, such as increasing VR accessibility, equally with entire disciplines like neuropsychology. Likewise, different roots are often connected to each other – as is the case with critical social studies, feminist literature, and the local and embodied turns – and they are presented separately here only to illustrate their respective impacts.

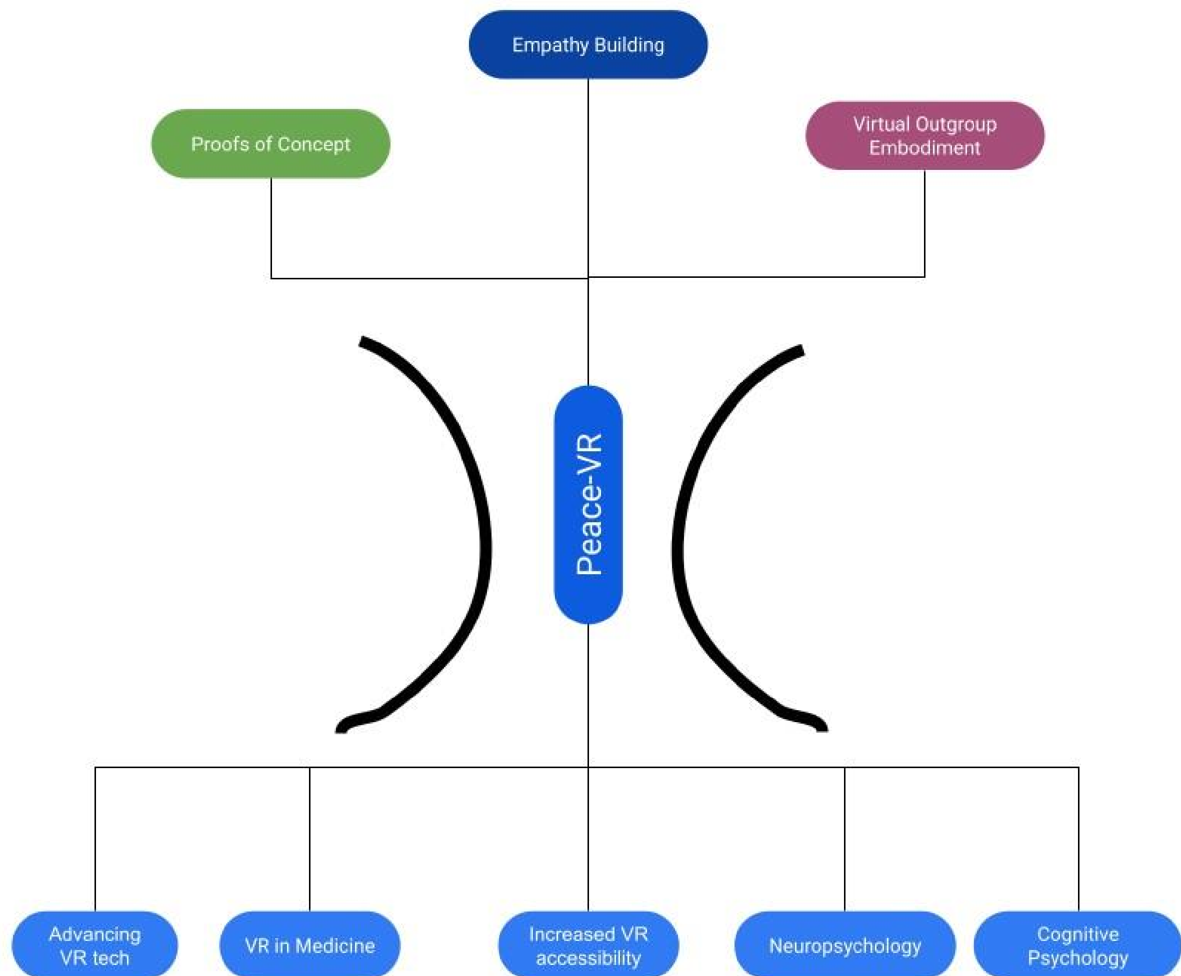

Figure one: *A tree diagram of Peace-VR, showing its epistemological roots and the themes of embodiment generated by the analysis.*

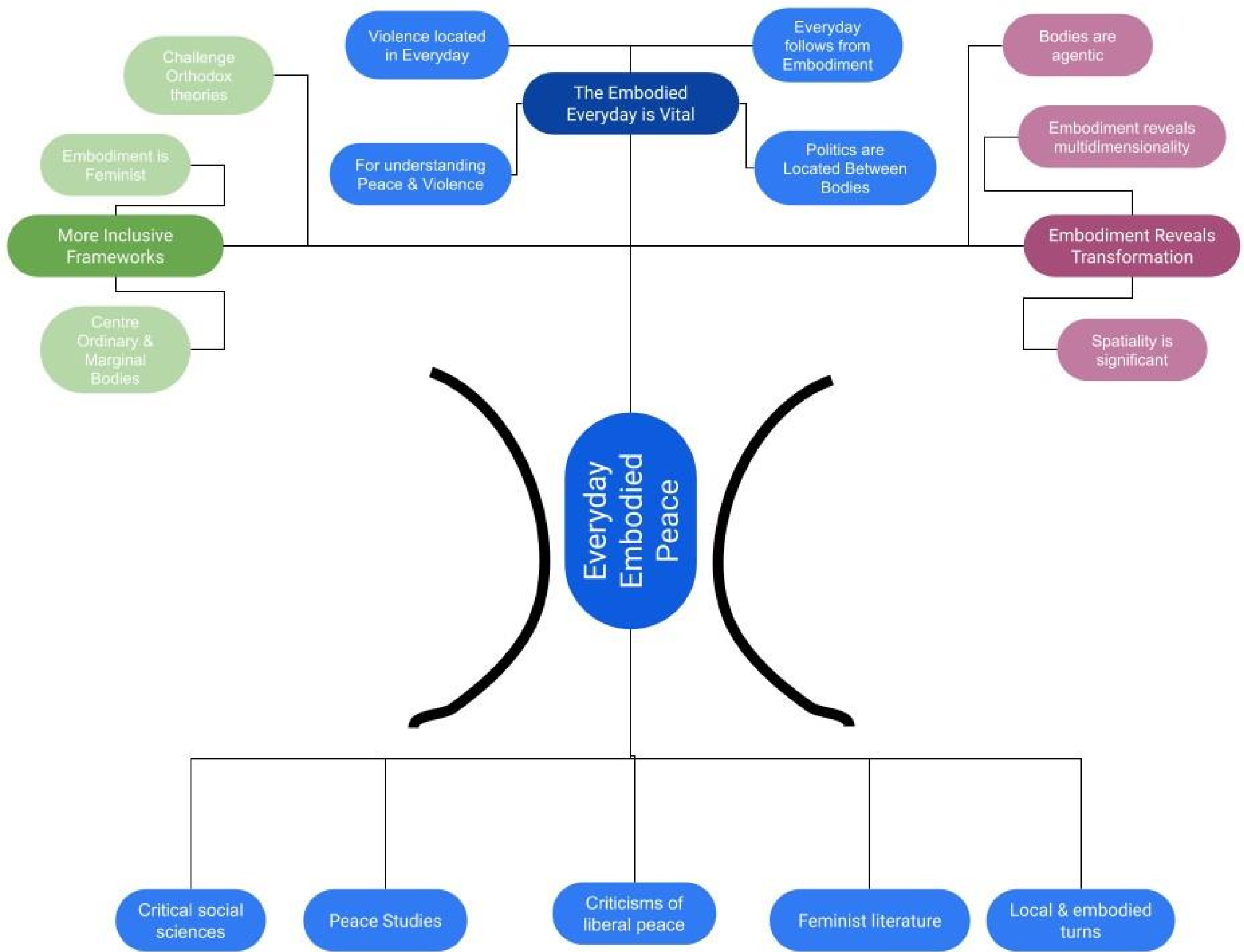

Figure 2: *A tree diagram of Everyday Embodied Peace, showing its epistemological roots and the themes of embodiment generated by the analysis.*

5. Comparing typologies

We now turn to comparing the three themes from each set of analysis. Below, I have created a table as a reference, which briefly summarizes the main themes from each corpus (the sub-themes have not been included for readability).

	Theme one	Theme Two	Theme Three
Peace-VR	Embodiment proofs of concept	Empathy Building	Virtual embodiment of a (vulnerable) outgroup
Embodied Everyday Peace	A focus on embodiment is an effort to move from entrenched frameworks to those that are more grounded and inclusive	Embodiment and the everyday are essential for understanding peace and violence	Embodiment allows for re-evaluation and opens the door to potential transformations

Table 16: A summary of the themes of embodiment in both corpora generated by the analysis

Areas of convergence and divergence between the two fields are apparent even at first glance. For example, themes from both corpora touch on the importance of vulnerable groups. However, embodiment is understood as a functional experimental method in Peace-VR, while Embodied Everyday Peace sees it as fundamental and, in the light of orthodox theories, transformational. In order to more fully uncover how the corpora "talk to each other," I will discuss areas of convergence, divergence, and non-contradiction by using these themes as guidance, adding illustrative examples from particular texts when appropriate. The ways in which these themes interact with one another is the basis for the areas of discussion below. However, this discussion is not strictly limited to one-to-one comparisons of these themes. Instead, they provide signposts (marked with brief parentheticals) to guide the discussion and ground it in the themes of embodiment I have established within the corpora, thereby ensuring methodological viability. At the beginning of each topic below, I also include a diagram to visually depict the themes under discussion, further connecting them to prior analysis. These are based on the tree diagrams at the end of the previous chapter, but I have removed the "roots" and the sub-themes to improve visual simplicity and readability. As before, the names of themes are simplified.

Everyday Embodiment

Everyday Embodied Peace literature's view of (as its name would suggest) the everyday as inseparably linked to embodiment marks a divergence from Peace-VR's view of embodiment. While

Everyday Embodied Peace literature necessarily situates embodied experience within everyday life, Peace-VR's applications of embodiment in VR involve simulations of atomistic scenarios and experiences. This distinction is significant for the context in which embodiment is understood to bring additional possibilities to research.

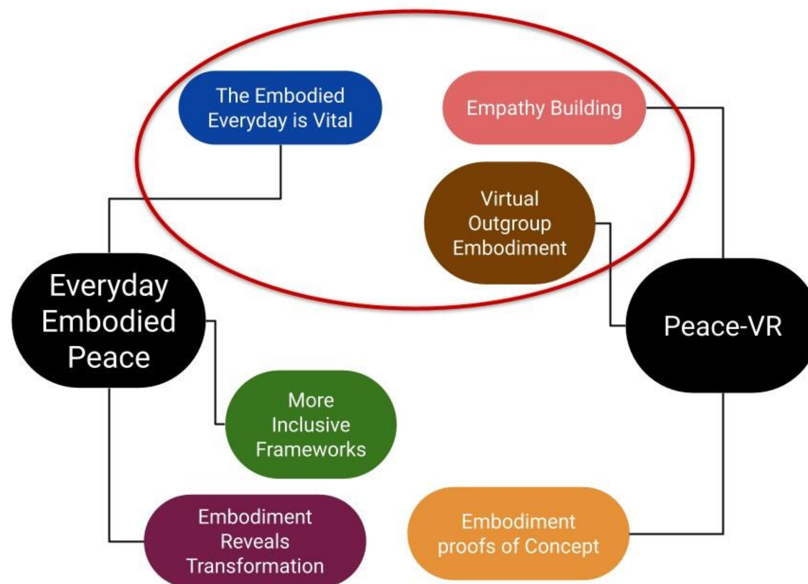

Figure 3: *A diagram illustrating the themes from the corpora that relate to Everyday Embodiment.*

To Everyday Embodied Peace scholars, human experience is characterised by the "corporeal rhythms" interwoven in daily life (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 19). Embodiment, then, is not conceptually separable from the experiences of violence that take place in mundane ways in daily life (*Embodied Everyday Peace Theme 2*). Embodied experiences of violence are understood as taking place within mundane routines, for instance when avoiding a certain area of a neighbourhood in Cazucá (Berents, 2018, pp. 2; 174), or when a solider in Afghanistan experiences fear around mundane objects, as they present potential injury or death (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 61–62). The interweaving of the everyday and embodiment permeates much thinking in Embodied Everyday Peace literature. For instance, Berents' theoretical framework of embodied-everyday-peace-amidst violence emphasizes that embodiment's significance as a concept comes largely from its capacity to acknowledge how everyday experience takes place *amidst* violence.

This dimension of embodiment is difficult to locate in Peace-VR literature. Instead, research studies interventions on research subjects, often seeking to simulate social interactions and experiences in a highly narrativized way, sometimes without surrounding temporal or environmental context. These

scenarios are employed in many studies that seek to build empathy or that involve the virtual embodiment of a vulnerable outgroups (*Peace-VR themes 2 and 3*). They tend to be quite short, ranging from a 12-minute scene in which a doctor explains a kidney patient's prognosis to their family (Li & Kyung Kim, 2021), to a five-minute session in which research subjects embody dark-skinned avatars (Peck et al., 2013, p. 780) to a one-minute 360-video of a Palestinian couple being confronted by IDF soldiers (Hasson et al., 2019). As a result, these scenarios are contained and divorced from surrounding life experiences.

Some existing VR projects take a different approach and attempt to provide multiple episodes from an individual's life. The film *1000 Cut Journey*, a collaboration between Columbia University's School of Social Work and Stanford's Virtual Human Interaction Lab, aims to show experiences with racism from the first-person perspective of a Black avatar in his childhood, teenage years, and adult working life (Schrier, 2021, p. 117). These moments are still presented in an episodic, narrativized format, conveying a different understanding than the experience of living through them. Nonetheless, projects like this may indicate some areas of connection between the corpora. Though it may be an insurmountable challenge to recreate the full daily experience of another person, *1000 Cut Journey* does try to show how embodied experiences of violence can be retained within a person's body over the course their life. This aligns more closely with Väyrynen's description of how everyday embodiment is made visible by "felt, corporeal memories," and represents one model of how long-term embodied experiences and knowledge could be communicated with VR (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 7). However, the goal-oriented storytelling that permeates the design of these experiences may run counter to the openness and richness of context with which Everyday Embodied Peace approaches its phenomenological observations.

As the field continues to expand, future research within Peace-VR may be able to represent embodied peace and violence in a way that more closely align with Embodied Everyday Peace literature. Practitioners within Peace-VR have recognized the field's reliance on episodic scenarios as a limitation of existing research. For example, Aitamurto et al. discuss the importance of instead studying "VR embedded in people's everyday lives," complimented with ethnographic data (Aitamurto et al., 2021, p. 2142). Though this research interest is largely framed around studying "long-term effects," which is not entirely the same notion as everyday life, the notion of embedded VR may nonetheless allow access to mundane experiences. Depending on how technology and research projects develop in the future, this may allow for a version of Peace-VR research that more

closely aligns with some Everyday Embodied Peace work. For example, rapidly developing Artificial Intelligence technology could be used for a variety of purposes, such as simulating believable and responsive avatars, or realistic, yet open-ended environments in VR. This could allow researchers to simulate social settings more naturalistically without leaning on heavily scripted scenarios.

Relationship between Mind and Body

Peace-VR and Everyday Embodied Peace speak about the connection between the mind and the body differently. Peace-VR scholars tend to discuss the body as a way to stimulate the mind, primarily as a means to heighten virtual embodiment illusions. This implies a certain mechanistic subordination of mind to the body, in which the mind can be compelled to ignore or obscure its connection to the body and instead attach itself in an illusory (yet visceral) way to a physical object or virtual body. Everyday Embodied Peace scholars, meanwhile, speak about the mind and body as a single insoluble unit, and even explicitly reject the philosophical foundations of mind-body separation. For the sake of contrast to Peace-VR literature, I will refer to this inseparable unit as the mind-body for the remainder of this section. Scholars within the field seek to understand peace and violence by centring the mind-body, gaining insights from the mundane and grounded perspective this approach affords. This section explores the corpora's respective interpretations of the relationship between the mind and the body mind-body, including mind-body separability, also referred to as Cartesian dualism. Because Everyday Embodied Peace literature takes a more clearly defined stance on this question, the bulk of this section will tease out Peace-VR's understanding of this issue in order to put the corpora into discussion with one another.

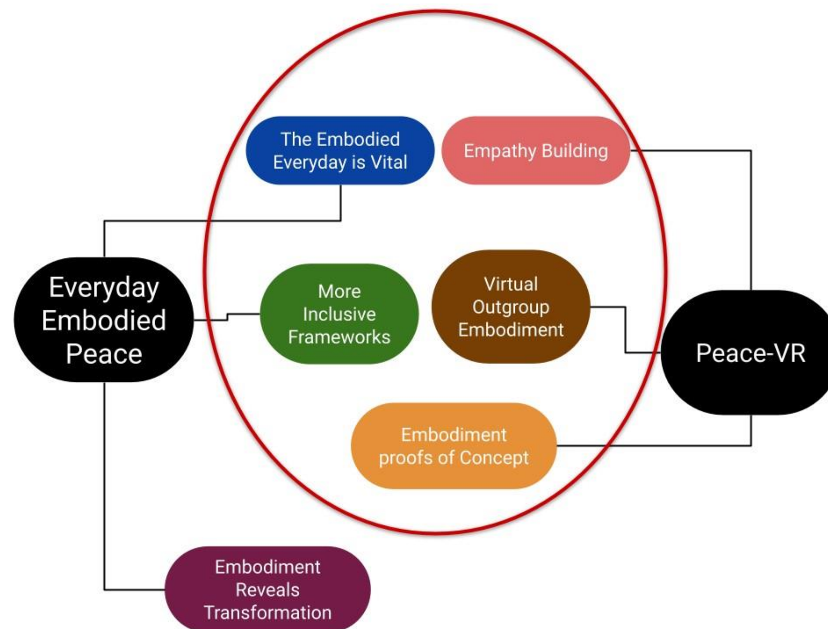

Figure 4: *A diagram illustrating the themes from the corpora that relate to the Relationship between Mind and Body.*

Texts within the embodiment proof of concept theme of Peace-VR (*Peace-VR theme 1*) are primarily concerned with how the experience or perception of embodiment can be induced in a virtual body in a virtual environment. They explore the most effective methods for stimulating bodily perception in order to enhance embodiment illusions. For instance, social perception is manipulated by adding additional people to a virtual space (Järvelä et al., 2021; Won et al., 2020) or having virtual bodies mimic posture (Hasler et al., 2017, 2021), while physical feedback in manipulated by experimenting with the number of body parts to simulate (Herrera et al., 2018), providing multisensory feedback (Bailey et al., 2016b), etc. The experience of embodiment in VR is also seen as highly malleable, and is even referred to as an inducible "illusion" by numerous authors (Gall et al., 2021; Hoort et al., 2011; Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008). The limits of this malleability in virtual embodiment are largely explored through the lens of testing the boundaries of what the mind will accept as part of its body. This involves testing different visual perspectives (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008), different body sizes (Hoort et al., 2011), the conditions under which objects can be felt as part of the body (Kilteni et al., 2015), etc. Peace-VR literature views its illusions as capable of, if not separating the mind's connection to the body, then at least redirecting the mind's sense of connection to depictions of other bodies through perceptual illusions of "owning" these bodies (Hoort et al., 2011, p. 2). Peace-VR scholars use synchronous multisensory feedback with a "real" body and a virtual body to redirect the mind's sense of ownership, even to the point where research subjects feel a stronger sense of ownership over a mannequin's body than their "real" body (Petkova & Ehrsson, 2008). This sense of ownership is thought to have a significant impact on the mind's perception, from changing the

perceived size of objects to feelings of desire to reducing implicit racial bias (Dekker et al., 2021; Hoort et al., 2011; Peck et al., 2013). This is most visible in experiments which have participants embody the bodies of an outgroup (*Peace-VR theme 3*). Thus, Peace-VR does not necessarily see the body and the mind as part of a unified whole, as the body is seen as capable of supplanting its connection to the mind through virtual illusions of body ownership.

With these assorted research goals in mind, it is clear that the driving research interests of Peace-VR revolve around functionality. This signals a general conception of embodiment as the subordination of mind to body, meaning that it is viewed as a somewhat plastic condition that can be tested and harnessed for the purpose of studying other subjects. Embodiment itself is discussed mainly mechanistically as a natural psychological feature of humans that can be manipulated by certain procedures and with the aid of certain technologies. Embodiment's role in Peace-VR is defined by two central questions: first, how does our mind understand what is our body, and what is not? Second, how can conditions be manipulated to induce the perception that physical objects or virtual images are part of our body?

This approach to embodiment involves the intentional "redirection" of the mind's connection to the body to a virtual body. This implies, if not true separation between the mind and body, a certain malleable quality, in which the mind can essentially believe itself to inhabit another body. Crucially, its connection to this new (virtual) body is thought to produce a different "experience [of the] world" accompanied by subconscious and visceral changed in perception (Hoort et al., 2011, p. 1). Thus, Peace-VR does not necessarily take the position that the connection between the mind and the body is inconsequential, as indeed much of the scholarship within the field focuses intently on the different ways the mind might process its surroundings and other virtual bodies after being placed into a virtual body. In fact, this directionality, wherein the body is manipulated to stimulate the mind, implies a certain subordination of mind to body. Some scholars have been critical of this assumption, suggesting that common Peace-VR conceptions of embodiment treat research subjects as "de-politicized" and overlook the "cognitive and ideological context" in which research takes place in order to engender empathy (*Peace-VR theme 2*) (Schlembach & Clewer, 2021, p. 840). Though they "have no problem with the empirical grounds" of much of the research in the field that finds VR experiences to be visceral and transformative, Schlembach & Clewer suggest that this conception is likely overly simplistic (2021, p. 840). They further contend the idea that VR can impact the body

directly by “[bypassing] cognitive faculties, discursive practices or political deliberation” implies thorny ethical problems (Schlembach & Clewer, 2021, p. 840).

An underlying assumption driving this type of work in VR is that “a person’s virtual body can create different social meaning… than the person’s physical body” and that this can have an impact on “personal identity and perception” (Bailey et al., 2016a, p. 224). The corpus’s perspective on Cartesian Dualism is somewhat liminal and flexible: though it recognizes that replicating the sensations of a research subject’s body make bodily illusions more potent, it then harnesses these illusions to redefine what the mind considers its body and uses this as the foundation of its experimental research.

Everyday Embodied Peace scholars see the body and the mind as constituting a single inseparable unit. Väyrynen explores peace and violence through a non-dualistic understanding of embodiment which flatly rejects Cartesian dualism, demonstrating how second-generation trauma and postmemory affect the body-mind, as violence can be transferred across time and space through “embodied knowledge” (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 36; 45) ” (*Everyday Embodied Peace theme 2*). Similarly, Berents interweaves the mind-body in her framework of embodied-everyday-peace-amidst-violence, highlighting how the mundanity of the everyday and the viscerality of mind-body embodiment help to explain and explore how peace and violence are experienced. She uses this framework to make young and marginalized people visible, examine how they live in and navigate space, and how they foster community resilience (*Everyday Embodied Peace theme 1)*. Based on this research, the corpus’ understanding of embodiment can be described as emphatically phenomenological, with the materiality of the body-mind put into focus, serving as a foundation for the field’s analytical approach.

Peace-VR’s view of embodiment largely subjugates the mind to the body. The corpus tests the limits of embodiment illusions and prioritises on short-term experimental outcomes, leading to a mechanistic, malleable view of embodiment. While it does not separate the mind and the body, it does not share Everyday Embodied Peace’s view of an “irreducible ensemble” (Berents, 2018, p. 40). For its part, Embodied Everyday Peace literature understands embodiment as the fundamental site of human experience, and therefore as an essential research component. Though these perspectives differ substantially, neither corpus implies a true separation between mind and body, and thus they are not wholly antithetical to one another. From different angles, both emphasize the importance of

the materiality of embodiment. In Peace-VR literature, researchers attempt to recreate the sensation of embodiment by mirroring bodily sensations, sensory input, and movement with as much fidelity as possible (*Peace-VR theme 1*). Indeed, the potency of embodiment illusions is mostly contingent on replications of the body's material sensations and perceptions. Everyday Embodied Peace scholars likewise emphasize the importance of "paying attention to bodies" as the physical sites where peace and violence are experienced, as well as where peoples' inner lifeworlds take place (Åhäll, 2019, pp. 153). The corpus emphasized the body as the physical site where peace and violence take place, calling for increased scrutiny and attention around this fundamental, yet frequently overlooked fact. Both corpora therefore find instruction and insight by paying close attention to the physical realities of bodies.

Still, it is difficult to imagine Everyday Embodied Peace scholarship accepting the body's primacy over the mind, since it does not accept this as a true distinction in the first place. However, the strong feelings of ownership over virtual bodies reported by Peace-VR test subjects implies some additional complexity in how this insoluble whole operates, and asks challenging questions about how embodied experiences of violence can be altered with the use of technology. On the other hand, it is not hard to conceive of Peace-VR work that incorporates a view on the relationship between mind and body that places them on a more even footing, framing VR experiences as powerful, yet also situating them within cognitive and ideological context.

Importance of marginalized bodies

Though not a strict rule in either field, both Peace-VR and Everyday Embodied Peace literature frequently shine a spotlight on marginalized people. Peace-VR's experimental methods often have research subjects embody avatars representing people from (mostly marginalized) outgroups, with a view to engendering increased empathy (*Peace-VR theme 3*). Similarly, many Everyday Embodied Peace scholars seek to centre marginalized people, emphasizing how they have been overlooked by liberal peacebuilding and academic efforts (*Everyday Embodied Peace theme 1)*. One reason for this special attention to marginalized people is that both corpora draw their analytical foundation from a conception of embodiment as potent and visceral, allowing for compelling forms of knowledge. Both corpora also attempt to challenge the conditions faced by marginalized bodies, though their approaches vary greatly. Everyday Embodied Peace scholars observe embodied marginalisation to better analyse peace and violence, while Peace-VR scholars attempt to experimentally alter attitudes towards marginalised bodies.

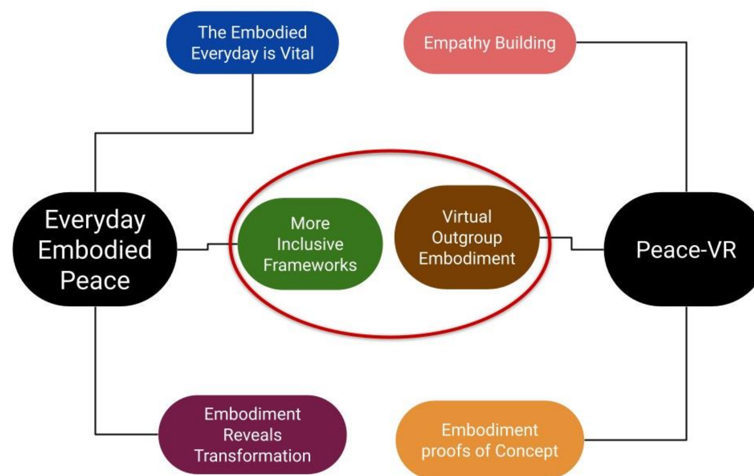

Figure 5: *A diagram illustrating the themes from the corpora that relate to the Importance of Marginalized Bodies.*

Berents' work provides an emblematic example of how marginalized groups are emphasised and studied within Everyday Embodied Peace research. Her examination of the community of Cazucá is founded on "[centring] the margins" in order to reveal a "[rich] conceptual space" (Berents, 2018, p. 175). By paying attention to the everyday embodied lives of the young people of Cazucá, she uncovers how they navigate and negotiate with peace and violence. When broadened, this approach describes how Everyday Embodied Peace seeks to study marginalized people and communities. The corpus places a strong emphasis on the richness and multidimensionality afforded by paying attention to bodies, rejecting "totalizing perspectives" and instead reifying "mircosociologies" and "multiple ontologies," (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 18; 123) which reveal "plurality," "[slipperiness]," "ambiguities," and "messiness" (Berents, 2018, pp. 13; 107–108; 153). By exploring the multidimensionality afforded by everyday embodiment, it unearths opportunities and practices of resilience and resistance in the corporeal materiality of the mundane lives of marginalized people. These findings are used to draw attention to marginalized people as more than "passive targets," challenging the institutional forces that marginalize them (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 26). Everyday Embodied Peace research centres marginalized bodies by focusing on their fleshy realities, seeking to cut through the politics that rendered them marginal in the first place.

In Peace-VR, virtual embodiment is the key mechanism by which researchers seek to explore and change perceptions and attitudes of ingroups and outgroups, which usually concerns increasing positive sentiment towards a marginalized group. Having, for instance, a White person embody a

Black avatar in a narrativized environment is central to what many researchers within Peace-VR view as the potential of the field (Groom et al., 2009, p. 231). This is variously described as "instigating empathetic reactions" (Aitamurto et al., 2021, p. 2140), "[changing] interpersonal attitudes" (Peck et al., 2013, p. 779), and inducing a "self-association attitude change" (Maister et al., 2015, p. 7), all of which relate the popular idea of VR as an "empathy machine." Though exact formulations vary somewhat within the field, the general notion that feeling a strong illusion of owning or being inside the body of a (marginalized) outgroup individual can change attitudes towards that outgroup in a lasting way is the conceit of much Peace-VR literature. To Peace-VR scholars, the visceral experience of virtual embodiment represents a powerful way to temporarily redefine how people identify themselves. This in turn which can be harnessed to cause research subjects to identify with people (and even non-human beings (Pimentel & Kalyanaraman, 2022)) different than themselves. Scholars frequently discuss applying this approach for "pro-social" ends, and experimental interventions have attempted to increase empathy towards countless groups, from elderly people to homeless people to overweight people, etc. (Herrera et al., 2018; van der Waal et al., 2022; Yee & Bailenson, 2006).

Much overlap exists between the corpora on this subject. Most centrally, both attempt to employ the study of embodiment to challenge marginalization. However, a key difference arises in their approach to marginalized bodies. Everyday Embodied Peace research focuses on observation and understanding of marginalized bodies, while Peace-VR attempts experimental intervention to change research subjects' attitudes towards marginalized bodies. This means that where Everyday Embodied Peace seeks to conceptualize and situate the experience of marginalization in the context of everyday life, Peace-VR attempts to viscerally communicate the experience of marginalization to others. Peace-VR scholars' general application of narrativized environments can result in very different outcomes depending on what narrative is presented, even for similar embodiment experiences. For example, one study of White people embodying Black avatars found that implicit bias increased after a virtual embodiment experience (Groom et al., 2009), while others found that implicit bias decreased (Banakou et al., 2016; Roswell et al., 2020). This difference was attributed to the narrative situations research subjects experienced. In the study where racial bias increased, this narrative context was a job interview (Groom et al., 2009), while others placed the avatars in more socially neutral situations like a Tai Chi class (Banakou et al., 2016) or in narrative contexts designed to engender empathy, such as a VR film depicting moments of systematic racism at various points in a Black man's life (Roswell et al., 2020).

This reliance on scripted or curated situations is a stark difference between the corpora. However, it is possible to imagine more open-ended VR experiences that afford research participants more autonomy to interact with their surroundings in a visceral virtual world. It is difficult to predict how this might change the outcomes of Peace-VR research as they are currently measured – this conversation might respond to Schlembach & Clewer's critiques of Peace-VR work as lacking political and ideological context of research subjects (Schlembach & Clewer, 2021, p. 840). Though likely much more technologically to set up, this approach could allow for richer exploration of different environments and embodied experiences, which might lead to interesting ways to learn and teach about marginalized groups. Though it would be difficult to mirror Embodied Everyday Peace scholarship's focus on the everyday (outside of a very long-running experiment in VR), more open-ended situations with less intentional curation might be one way to put the fields in conversation with one another.

Mutual Constitution

The corpora approach relationships between bodies from different epistemological traditions. Everyday Embodied Peace views bodily relations through the lens of mutually constitutive relationships, founded on feminist traditions (*Everyday Embodied Peace themes 1 and 2*), while Peace-VR literature focuses on empathy using illusions of embodying avatars of outgroup bodies (*Peace-VR theme 2 and 3*). Though these perspectives originate in very different places, both corpora emphasize the importance of fostering connections between different bodies. More specifically, both examine the ways in which bodies can have an impact on each other, though what this relationship looks like depends on whose body becomes relevant, and in what way.

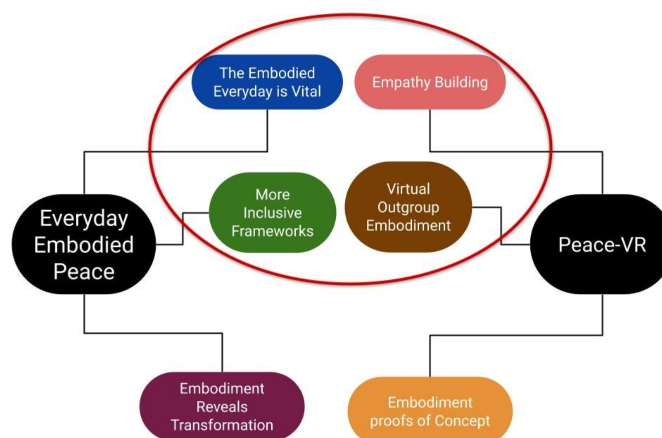

Figure 6: *A diagram illustrating the themes from the corpora that relate to Mutual Constitution.*

In Everyday Embodied Peace literature, bodies are understood to be mutually constitutive. In Väyrynen's words, this means bodies are "based on our dependency on the others," and they "come into being" through interactions with each other (2018, p. 19). For her part, Berents suggests that the meaning of self emerges from rich and subjective lifeworlds. These lifeworlds are given shape by relationships with others, leading to an image of self as "embodied and imbricated in relationships" (Berents, 2018, p. 65). The notion of communal bodies which are defined by their relationships with others also uncovers how violence can be transferred across space and time, even to bodies who were never initially impacted by it. For instance, violence remembered in a body can manifest in another in cases like the intergenerational trauma passed between a parent and child, or the traumatic fear and paranoia that can characterize the daily life of a war veteran who returns from oversees (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 64). Thus, bodies within Everyday Embodied peace are always relational, and their experiences with peace and violence are transmitted along relational lines in overt and subtle ways. Indeed, Berents' examination of violence involves a recognition of how it can remove the recognition of "self in the context of relationships with others" (Berents, 2018, p. 108).

Much of Peace-VR literature is deeply concerned with considering the self and in the context of the 'other',' even if it tends to approach this from a broad perspective of ingroups and outgroups. Peace-VR literature even engages with a similar idea to the notion of embodied mutual constitution, since much of the literature sees virtual embodying an 'other' as a way to transform the self. Given other disparities within the fields, these basic assumptions, even though they are framed quite differently, suggest an area of overlap in foundational thinking about how the bodies of others can impact the body of the self. Of course, this connection is not particularly straightforward. Complications abound in the various ways in which this process is understood within the different corpora.

Most obviously, connecting Peace-VR's idea of bodies that mutually constitute each other to Everyday Embodied Peace literature is muddied significantly by the simulated nature of virtual bodies. Because these virtual bodies are mere simulacra of outgroup bodies, they can (perhaps it goes without saying) not be constituted by the research subjects who embody them. Rather than a relationship between two people, or between a network or community of people, Peace-VR literature typically places research subjects alone in a scripted environment. Fundamentally, there is no two-way relationship between simulated virtual bodies and research participants' bodies, even if embodying virtual bodies can be said to be influential research participants' attitudes. Indeed, this more solipsistic outlook in Peace-VR literature is made apparent by the underlying mechanisms

which are believed to make virtual embodiment influential. These include the idea of "self-association," or of the adaptive self-perception described by the Proteus Effect, which produce "self-oriented emotions" and "egoistic motivations" which are nonetheless harnessed for "prosocial effects" (Li & Kyung Kim, 2021, p. 2144; Maister et al., 2015; Yee & Bailenson, 2007). These mechanisms do not involve interaction between two bodies, but rather a transference of a sense of ownership from one body to simulation of another.

Once again, it is important to underscore that part of Peace-VR's research design tends to involve constructing narratives or scenarios in a virtual space. Similar research has found that slight changes to this narrative stage of research design can produce drastically different outcomes in research subjects' attitudes. Li and Kim's VR simulation of a patient receiving a kidney disease diagnosis found that research subjects were more likely to approach topics like kidney donation from an "egoistic" perspective if they embodied an avatar designed to look like them, but would instead adopt "altruistic" behaviours if the avatar looked like "a typical patient in need of a kidney transplant" (Li & Kyung Kim, 2021, pp. 2152; 2160). In an otherwise identical simulation, a self-resembling avatar was found to engender a wholly different response than an other-resembling avatar. Similarly, Haser et al. find that disparities in outcome can also emerge when research subjects embody the same kinds of avatars in different social settings (2017, p. 11). These findings, underscore how complex social interactions can be and how complicated it can be for researchers to design VR interventions that accomplish what they set out to do. They also reveal how researchers' presence can be felt in the VR experiences they design, even if a research subject is interacting "alone" with unembodied virtual avatars.

This is not to say that all Peace-VR literature involves only one person in a virtual space, and indeed researchers have found that incorporating multiple users in a single VR environment increases their sense of presence. For example, Järvelä et al.'s experiment shows how bodies can influence one another through VR, even in scenarios which are heavily gamified and more stylistically rendered, do not bear a resemblance to daily life (Järvelä et al., 2021). Embodying colourful, lotus posed statues and matching their breath to each other in a sleek virtual environment, research participants were found to feel more positive and in control when sharing the space than experiencing it alone (Järvelä et al., 2021, pp. 11–12). Though this study's other outcomes – including feeling increased self-reported empathy towards another person embodying a virtual body and breathing together – are relatively small impacts compared to Embodied Everyday Peace literature's notion of mutual

constitution, they raise interesting questions about the nature of how bodies can influence each other in VR.

Though both fields are interested in how people impact each other in embodied ways, Everyday Embodied Peace literature, especially works like Väyrynen's, imagines a rich, complex web of relationships which stretch across time and space, in which the very concept of an "individual" is intrinsically intertwined with "larger social and political structures" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 43). Peace-VR's understanding is more instrumental and most often focuses on eliciting specific, measurable changes in individuals who interact "alone" in scripted situations with unembodied virtual avatars. However, some Peace-VR literature does explore social interaction and empathy building in virtual spaces. On this subject, the corpora may not be as far apart as they might seem. Everyday Embodied Peace's philosophy around mutual constitution could be integrated into Peace-VR literature, especially more social situations, without any apparent contradiction. This could inform research design to consider social situations in more open-ended ways, which in turn might help to address the difficulty of controlling how slight changes impact research subjects. Everyday Embodied Peace's emphasis on rich, qualitative observations may also provide additional insight in such circumstances. At the same time, Peace-VR's attempts to measure and enhance feelings of connectivity, for instance with measurements of biomechanical feedback, may provide interesting possibilities for study for Everyday Embodied Peace literature. The capability of Peace-VR to connect people around the world in visceral social environments via the internet may also present some possibilities to Everyday Embodied Peace, as this resonates with the notion that embodied knowledge can be transferred across space.

Agency

Crucially, both Everyday Embodied Peace and Peace-VR understand bodies as the locus of transformation. However, they diverge in the roles they imagine bodies playing in this transformation. Everyday Embodied Peace emphasizes the importance of studying bodies' agency for resistance and resilience, while Peace-VR examines ways to harness bodily mechanisms with experimental means that target subconscious mental associations.

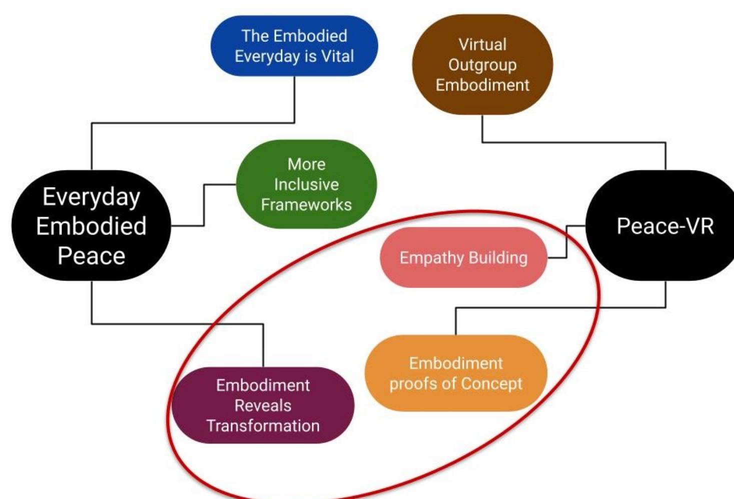

Figure 7: *A diagram illustrating the themes from the corpora that relate to Agency.*

Everyday Embodied Peace does not seek to create pro-social effects through experimental interventions. Instead, it seeks to highlight the potential resilience and resistance made visible by considering bodies' agency (*Embodied Everyday Peace Theme 3*). Väyrynen visualises this interpretive power through the lens of "engaged body-subjects," by which she means that bodies are shaped by outside forces, such as governance (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 26). Crucially, this means that bodies have the "capacity to escape" forces enacted upon them, meaning they are agentic rather than passive (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 26). Väyrynen also insists on conceiving of agency in fundamentally relational terms based on "entanglements" between different bodies (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 57). Berents concurs with this assessment in her description of "collective…endurance" (Berents, 2018, p. 136). She argues that resilience – a trait that Väyrynen describes as a "presupposition of agency" (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 28) – ought to be conceived of in "social context" and "beyond an individual quality" (Berents, 2018, p. 131). Beyond its collective nature, Berents contends that Everyday Embodied Peace's focus on everyday peace amidst violence necessarily implies a recognition of the "embodied beings" in this environment, who "move through it, negotiate it, and contribute to the ongoing process of building peace in such environments" (Berents, 2018, p. 3). Because of Everyday Embodied Peace's attention to community and interrelations, this potential for transformation is envisioned in individuals who are necessarily situated within their respective communities. The field therefore sees bodies as mutually constituting, yet agentic.

In contrast, Peace-VR scholars are more likely to describe bodies as the hardware used to access and manipulate mental software (*Peace-VR Theme 1*). Put another way, many Peace-VR studies mainly

seek to influence research subjects' subconscious with bodily illusions, which must be carefully designed to engender empathy. This is evident in descriptions of body ownership illusions, for instance when Bailey et al. suggest that "people's brains process artificial or virtual bodies as if they were their own bodies," (Bailey et al., 2016a, p. 224). Peace-VR scholars tend to use passive language to describe how research subjects engage with VR experiences. In contrast to the Everyday Embodied Peace idea of an "engaged body subject," Peace-VR scholars suggest that VR "evokes" increased empathy (Bujić et al. 1411). They also describe VR conditions as "eliciting" or "driving" responses, suggesting that VR experiences are often framed as active, while research subjects are framed as passive recipients (Bujić et al., 2020, p. 1418; Pimentel et al., 2021, p. 2230).

Perhaps because VR technologies are relatively new, and their feasibility in increasing empathy even newer, many scholars attempt to demonstrate their potential by experimentally isolating the subconscious impacts of increased presence in VR and virtual embodiment (*Peace-VR Theme 2*). For example, Bujić et al. use a perspective-taking exercises and 2D videos as their control conditions, hypothesizing that VR will afford a higher "level of involvement in media experiences" and therefore produce a stronger impact on "human rights attitudes" (Bujić et al., 2020, p. 1411). Other researchers use VR to isolate implicit attitudes. Peck et al. have research subjects embody avatars with either light, dark, or purple skin to test the impact of these experiences on racial bias (Peck et al., 2013, p. 779). From this experimental design, the researchers explore how VR can "induce changes in implicit attitudes in the absence of explicit priming for perspective taking or role playing" (Peck et al., 2013, p. 785).

This vision of embodiment can also be seen in the way the relationship between research subjects' bodies and outgroup bodies is described, which is principally with language that relates to unconscious processing. Groom et al. even frame unconscious attitudes as irresistible compared to conscious efforts, expressing concerns that conscious efforts by research subjects to "suppress explicit expressions of prejudice" may be overridden by unconscious associations if a virtual embodiment experience is inaccurate (Groom et al., 2009, p. 234). Many other papers within the corpus take a similar procedural view of the relationship between research subjects' real bodies, the virtual embodies they encounter, and the embodied attitudes they hold towards outgroups.

The corpora's divergent understandings of agency reveal an important difference in their understanding of embodiment. Everyday Embodied Peace scholars conceptualize embodiment as a

theoretical outlook which allows for a better understanding of agency within everyday peace and violence (Berents, 2018, pp. 131–132). Crucially, they also see embodied agency as a fundamentally collective phenomenon, rather than an individual one. Peace-VR scholars, meanwhile, tend to de-emphasize agency, focusing instead on isolating the subconscious outcomes of individual research subjects in a virtual embodiment. Though the bodily mechanisms that allow access to the mind are complex and must be approached carefully, the body's own characteristics are rendered largely unimportant once a well-designed VR experience is set in motion.

This divergence does not appear to be irreconcilable. One can imagine Peace-VR research that focuses not only on subconscious impacts and powerful mechanisms like self-association, but also research subjects' agencies. For instance, in VR simulations, researchers could leave space for research subjects to respond in a variety of different ways or take seriously their conscious reflections on VR experiences. Everyday Embodied Peace scholars, meanwhile, could reflect on the reported impact of Peace-VR's experimental interventions and consider how these kinds of interventions might reveal about how subconscious beliefs impact how people interact with others in their daily lives.

Transformation

The idea of transformation through embodiment is perhaps at the very heart of the comparison between these corpora. The corpora are both concerned with the notion of transformation, and both share a general understanding of transformation as various ways to ameliorate negative circumstances. Everyday Embodied Peace sees potential for transformation in bodies' capacity for resistance and resilience, while Everyday-Peace VR attempts to create this transformation through experimental exposure to different virtual bodies in various scenarios. Though they have these differences, the corpora's respective visions of transformation are far from incompatible. Both see transformation as an improvement in relationships and see the body as the site for transformation. Peace-VR literature tends to focus specifically on intergroup bias, while Everyday Embodied Peace literature explores broader possibilities and is usually, though not exclusively, interested in societies in conflict. The main point of divergence, then, is in how transformation comes about. While Embodied Everyday Peace emphasizes relationships and bodily agency, Peace-VR's experimental approach seeks to bypass agency, focusing instead on subconscious associations and perceptive gaps. The nature of the corpora's divergence in their understanding of transformation shares some similarities with how they differ on agency.

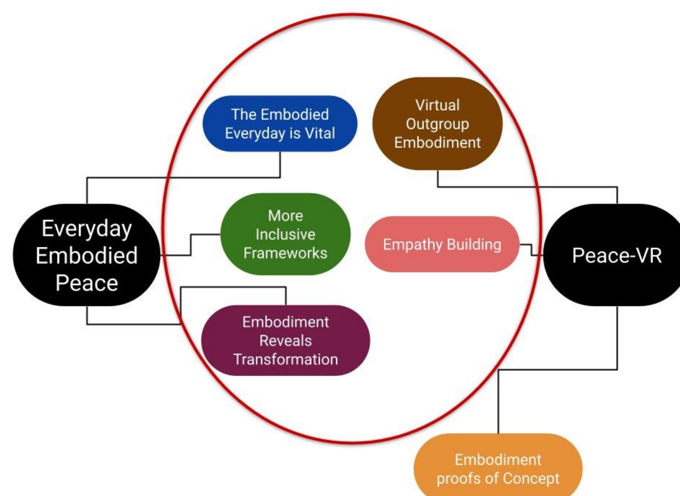

Figure 8: *A diagram illustrating the themes from the corpora that relate to Transformation.*

As has been seen, Peace-VR literature showcases dozens of different embodiment-driven interventions, each of which hope to engender increased empathy and self-identification with outgroups for pro-social ends (*Peace-VR Themes 2 and 3*). Scholars within the field attempt to increase the empathy of research subjects for another group through the use of embodiment illusions and other VR-driven interventions (Pimentel et al., 2021). Increasing empathy is seen as a positive and transformational research goal, since it "[facilitates group living and [is] a foundation for beneficial social interactions," while also leading to "more socially competent behavior," "better social adjustment," and "more helping behavior" (Schutte & Stilinović, 2017, p. 708). Thus, the corpus' vision of transformation relates to improving individuals' unconscious attitudes towards others.

Peace-VR literature situates this conception of transformation within experimental interventions on bodies. Partially because work within the field tends to be concerned with evaluating changes in measurable variables, the concept of "empathy" is frequently broken down into different components. For instance, Bertrand et al. describe "positive intergroup interaction and evaluation, awareness of the other, awareness of the self, empathic concern, and altruist behavior" as "optimal empathetic processes" (Bertrand et al., 2018, p. 14). Many scholars emphasize that virtual environments enhance the potential for transformation compared to other methods, thanks to body-ownership illusions and a greater sense of presence, which increase research subjects' "involvement" in the experiences (Bujić et al., 2020). Thus, embodiment in Peace-VR is seen as providing potential for transformation because

it can be harnessed to "experimentally [change] the relation between the self and outgroups" (Maister et al., 2015, p. 2) by making it easier to "evoke empathy and social presence" and improve these metrics of empathy (Järvelä et al., 2021, p. 14).

Everyday Embodied Peace conceives of a "shift in corporeal focus," emphasizing the significance of embodiment in order to make visible the potential for transformation in terms related to conflict, namely "[transforming] conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships" (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 62; 3) (*Everyday Embodied Peace Themes 1 and 3*). Conflict, conceived of in Foucauldian terms, therefore implies the agential navigation of structures of power. Väyrynen notes that power and resistance are necessarily "interlinked" because the methods of creating power structures also leave space for refusal (Väyrynen, 2018, pp. 113–114). As has been extensively covered in the analysis above, these power structures are necessarily embodied and made visible in the everyday, and it is in the everyday that resilience despite them can be seen (*Everyday Embodied Peace Theme 2*). Because of Everyday Embodied Peace's attention to community and interrelations, this potential for transformation is located in individuals who are, in turn, necessarily situated within their respective communities. The field sees bodies as interrelated and agentic, using these qualities to highlight their potential for resistance, resilience, and therefore transformation. Within the corpus, embodiment is therefore seen as a way to more richly understand bodies' potential for transformation within their communities. Berents focuses on the transformation that young people are capable of bringing about by their resilience in the face of violent and insecure environments (Berents, 2018, p. 168). The transformative potential of everyday, embodied resilience is highlighted by other scholars within the corpus (Hedström, 2021, p. 376; Väyrynen, 2018, p. 28). Väyrynen highlights that transformation in this context can be as nuanced and varied as embodied experience itself, pointing to a Sámi artist's piece about intergenerational trauma as an example of the inherently relational, agential nature of transformation (Väyrynen, 2018, p. 104). Thus, transformation within Everyday Embodied Peace literature can be understood as highly agential, interrelated, embodied, and everyday resilience in the face of violent and repressive power structures.

Peace-VR and Everyday Embodied Peace literatures do not necessarily contradict each other in their explanations of embodied transformation, but it is nonetheless clear that their understandings of it are not aligned. Peace-VR literature emphasizes technological capability, experimental design, and the subconscious impact of simulated experiences on individuals, while Everyday Embodied Peace literature conceives of transformation as relational, agentic, and collective. Despite these clear

differences in the corpora's understanding of embodied transformation, some areas of overlap remain. Both emphasize the importance of the body, and both imagine transformation to involve the improvement of positive relationships between people.

Summary of findings

From the outset of the analysis, it has been clear that Peace-VR and Everyday Embodied Peace approach embodiment from distinct perspectives and academic traditions. These differences are varied and nuanced even within different works in the corpora, but I will attempt to summarize them broadly and briefly. The table below serves as a quick reference for how the corpora's treatments of embodiment vary.

	The Everyday	Mind-Body Connection	Marginalized Bodies	Mutual Constitution	Agency	Transformation
Peace-VR	Short, narrativized experiences	Body implicitly subordinated to mind	Marginalized bodies are virtually embodied	Emphasizes facsimile bodies of outgroups	Emphasis on subconscious changes	Empathy-building through visceral VR experiences
Everyday Embodied Peace	Embodied everyday life	Body and mind are one inseparable unit	Marginalized bodies in research because they were previously overlooked	Emphasizes relationships, Nancian view of bodies	Emphasis on communal, everyday agency	Resistance and resilience in communal everyday

Table 17: A summary of the main findings of a comparison of the corpora's typologies of embodiment

Peace-VR literature approaches embodiment from the perspective of technological capability to create embodiment illusions. Experimentally, it tends to focus on the subconscious impacts of embodying bodies that differ from research subjects' own bodies through mechanisms like self-association and the Proteus Effect. It typically creates these embodiment experiences in short, narrativized or cinematic scenarios. This approach signifies an implicit subordination of mind to body, wherein visceral information recorded by the body's senses during virtual embodiment leads to changes in attitude and outlook. Specifically, the field often seeks to collect measurable changes in research subjects' empathy or their attitudes towards various groups, most often marginalized outgroups. Everyday Embodied Peace literature, meanwhile, understands embodiment to be a fundamental aspect of human experience, is impossible to overlook. An important quality of embodiment within the field is mutually constitutive relationships, in which bodies "come into being"

through their contact with other bodies. Rather than experimental observations, Everyday Embodied Peace most often seeks qualitative understanding of different dynamics through interviews, ethnography, and other forms of information gathering and observation. These qualitative data are rooted not just in embodiment, but also in the everyday, which is also understood as an intrinsic quality of human experience. Together, embodiment and the everyday are seen as sites where resilience and resistance take place, and where potential for transformation can be found. Though it places a huge emphasis on the body as the site of human experience, it expressly rejects any kind of subordination between the body and mind.

6. Conclusion

Everyday Embodied Peace-VR

Despite all the areas of non-alignment between the two corpora's understandings of embodiment, outright contradictions are rare. This means that ample space has been left open for future research which seeks to use elements from both corpora, or which seeks to merge them more closely. Of course, future research need not aim for a complete integration of the corpora. However, imagining scholarship which strives to put the fields' different understandings of embodiment in conversation with each other helps to demonstrate the corpora's differences. To illustrate this, I will describe a few elements of a hypothetical closely merged research space informed by my analysis of the two fields, which I will refer to as Everyday Embodied Peace-VR. Everyday Embodied Peace-VR could integrate a notion of embodiment that acknowledges and seeks to harness the visceral nature of embodiment illusions while also considering research participants' agency and political and ideological context. In its research design, Everyday Embodied Peace-VR could use virtual embodiment techniques within experiences designed around everyday experiences, possibly de-emphasizing blatant narratives in favour of open-ended, subtler situations. Though fostering empathy may remain a goal in this future research, it could also use these approaches to explore how research subjects process information in everyday environments and how their bodies respond to the world around them. In addition to virtual spaces being less linear in their settings, Everyday Embodied Peace-VR research could focus on everyday life (especially in divided societies), depicting ambiguous or mundane social interactions and leaving interpretation open to research subjects. In order to also open possibilities for relationality, these environments could be populated not with scripted or AI-controlled bodies, but with other people exploring different roles and perspectives in different virtual bodies. Of course, these possibilities imply countless challenges, not only in converging the corpora's viewpoints, but also in the countless practical limitations that come with creating more ambiguous, open-ended experiences.

The longevity of VR

The filmmaker Chris Milk, who was mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, would later hold a follow-up TED talk. In this talk, he recreated the 1895 Lumière Brothers film *Arrival of a Train at La Ciotat* with a live audience, using 360 video VR headsets and computer-generated graphics (Milk, 2016). The original film ostensibly caused contemporary audiences to feel visceral fear as they took in the unfamiliar image of an onscreen train hurtling towards them, though these tales are perhaps apocryphal. Nevertheless, as in the stories of moviegoers running from moving pictures of a steam

engine, Milk's TED audience cried out as a virtual train veered onto a collision course with them in VR – at the last possible second, the train vanished, transforming into a flock of birds. Many audience members subsequently laughed in apparent delight as the perspective changed to a bird's eye view of New York City. Milk's evocation of the Lumière Brothers underscores two important elements of VR to hold in mind: first, a visceral wonder and intense engagement with an unfamiliar medium; second, the context that this level of marvel in VR will likely moderate at least somewhat over time. This idea is accounted for in the methodology sections of some Peace-VR papers – Wu et al. adjusted their measurements of perceived sexual harassment in a VR environment to account for a "wow-factor due to the novelty of VR" (2021, p. 1091), while Bujić et al. cited the "novelty effect" of VR on users "unaccustomed" to it as a limitation of their study (2020, p. 1421). This caution, combined with historical lessons from exciting technologies of the past, indicates that VR's impact may weaken over time, something worth considering when designing future research. If much of the potency of VR illusions diminishes as the "wow factor" becomes normalized, especially if the majority of its effect is attributable to novelty, this could undermine many of the research approaches found in Peace-VR literature. However, my hypothetical Everyday Embodied Peace-VR work might not be impacted in the same way, since it would rely less on short, intense, compelling experiences and more on reflection and ambiguity.

Limitations

This thesis is meta-textual in nature, and I have made an effort to consider a wide range of papers form both fields in order to provide some validity to the findings herein. However, I did not have the capacity to do a full meta-study of the corpora. As such, a more exhaustive meta-study might uncover different findings. While I believe my research method of thematic conceptual analysis is well suited to the comparison of these corpora, its application did rely on my subjective reading of the texts, as well as my subjective judgment when considering and constructing thematic and analytical categories. To add additional validity to my results, further research from different subjective perspectives and positionalities would be invaluable.

This thesis sought to understand how embodiment and bodies are understood differently by the corpora under consideration. Through a careful consideration of the two fields with curated methodological tools, I was able to articulate several distinctions, while also noting possibilities for overlap. However, the fields are currently far enough apart that significant groundwork would need to be done in order to allow scholars from both fields to fully understand one other. This analysis has unpacked one of these strands – their understanding of embodiment – but this is likely only a small piece of the puzzle when it comes to bringing the two fields into conversation with one another.

A further element of this challenge is how the corpora have developed. Everyday Embodied Peace has been founded on a desire to improve on what it regards as faulty and limited approaches found in liberal peace projects and much academic analysis. Meanwhile, a major explanation for the course that Peace-VR literature has taken is technological development. Increased technological capabilities drive the field forward allowing researchers of these technologies to find new and cost-effective ways to study a variety of subjects. Considering this, future technological advancements with VR may drive the fields conceptually closer together or farther apart. For example, if VR devices become useful and convenient to wear for a great number of people in everyday life, the field may expand its understanding of embodiment to incorporate this experience. The possibility that technological developments may drive the future of peace research highlights the importance of peace scholars engaging with these developments, and with Peace-VR as a field. A similar situation can be seen in increased AI capabilities, which could be used for a wide variety of purposes, including simulating believable and responsive avatars within virtual environments, or creating realistic, yet open-ended environments through which a variety of subjects can be explored.

A strong emancipatory and normative element is present in peace studies, especially Nordic peace studies. Researchers do not strive to merely conduct research about peace, but also research *for* peace and especially sustainable and inclusive peace (Galtung, 1969, p. 186). Peace-related work is already integrating Virtual Reality, even if the technology is still being experimented with and its exact limitations remain unknown. Everyday Embodied Peace offers an inspiring and vital research agenda for the world today, just as Virtual reality has captured countless imaginations. Though my analysis has shown how the fields do not currently have very much in common, it has also highlighted that are not as far apart as it might seem. If VR will continue to be used in peace research, then exploring how peace studies' knowledge and perspective can help to inform these efforts surely responds to Galtung's directive to work for peace.

7. References

Ahn, S. (Grace), Le, A. T., & Bailenson, J. (2013). The Effect of Embodied Experiences on Self-Other Merging, Attitude, and Helping Behavior. *Media Psychology*, *16*(1), 7–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2012.755877

Aitamurto, T., Stevenson Won, A., & Zhou, S. (2021). Examining virtual reality for pro-social attitude change. *New Media & Society*, *23*(8), 2139–2143. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444821993129

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=310379

Bailenson, J. (2018). *Experience on demand: What virtual reality is, how it works, and what it can do* (p. 290). W. W. Norton & Company.

Bailey, J. O., Bailenson, J. N., & Casasanto, D. (2016a). Behavioral Realism on Social Interactions Inside Collaborative Virtual Environments. *PRESENCE: Teleoperators & Virtual Environments*, *25*(3), 222–233. https://doi.org/10.1162/PRES_a_00263

Bailey, J. O., Bailenson, J. N., & Casasanto, D. (2016b). When does virtual embodiment change our minds? *Presence: Teleoperators and Virtual Environments*, *25*(3), 222–233. https://doi.org/10.1162/PRES_a_00263

Baker, C. (2019). Veteran masculinities and audiovisual popular music in post-conflict Croatia: A feminist aesthetic approach to the contested everyday peace. *Peacebuilding*, *7*(2), 226–242. https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2019.1588454

Banakou, D., Groten, R., & Slater, M. (2013). Illusory ownership of a virtual child body causes overestimation of object sizes and implicit attitude changes. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *110*(31), 12846–12851. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1306779110

Banakou, D., Hanumanthu, P. D., & Slater, M. (2016). Virtual Embodiment of White People in a Black Virtual Body Leads to a Sustained Reduction in Their Implicit Racial Bias. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, *10*. https://doi.org/10.3389/fnhum.2016.00601

Barreda-Ángeles, M., Aleix-Guillaume, S., & Pereda-Baños, A. (2020). An “Empathy Machine” or a “Just-for-the-Fun-of-It” Machine? Effects of Immersion in Nonfiction 360-Video Stories on Empathy and Enjoyment. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, *23*(10), 683–688. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2019.0665

Berents, H. (2018). *Young People and Everyday Peace: Exclusion, Insecurity and Peacebuilding in Colombia*. Taylor & Francis Group. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=5325623

Bertrand, P., Guegan, J., Robieux, L., McCall, C. A., & Zenasni, F. (2018). Learning Empathy Through Virtual Reality: Multiple Strategies for Training Empathy-Related Abilities Using Body Ownership Illusions in Embodied Virtual Reality. *Frontiers in Robotics and AI*, *5*. https://doi.org/10.3389/frobt.2018.00026

Björkdahl, A., Hall, M., & Svensson, T. (2019). Everyday international relations: Editors’ introduction. *Cooperation and Conflict*, *54*(2), 123–130. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836719845834

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). *Thematic analysis: A practical guide to understanding and doing*. SAGE PUBLICATIONS. https://www.vlebooks.com/Product/Index/2521393?page=0

Bujić, M., Salminen, M., Macey, J., & Hamari, J. (2020). “Empathy machine”: How virtual reality affects human rights attitudes. *Internet Research*, *30*(5), 1407–1425. https://doi.org/10.1108/INTR-07-2019-0306

CMI. (2020, November 13). *The potential of Virtual Reality for peace mediation*. Crisis Management Initiative. https://cmi.fi/2020/11/13/how-can-peacemakers-apply-virtual-reality/

Davenport, C., Melander, E., & Regan, P. M. (2018). Contemporary Studies of Peace. In C. Davenport, E. Melander, & P. Regan (Eds.), *The Peace Continuum: What It Is and How to Study It* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190680121.003.0002

Davis, D. Z., & Chansiri, K. (2019). Digital identities – overcoming visual bias through virtual embodiment. *Information, Communication & Society*, *22*(4), 491–505. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2018.1548631

Dekker, A., Wenzlaff, F., Biedermann, S. V., Briken, P., & Fuss, J. (2021). VR Porn as "Empathy Machine"? Perception of Self and Others in Virtual Reality Pornography. *The Journal of Sex Research*, *58*(3), 273–278. https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2020.1856316

Dionisio, J. D. N., III, W. G. B., & Gilbert, R. (2013). 3D Virtual worlds and the metaverse: Current status and future possibilities. *ACM Computing Surveys*, *45*(3), 34:1-34:38. https://doi.org/10.1145/2480741.2480751

DPPA. (2021, July 15). Virtual Reality Bites: Using Technology to Bring Post-Conflict Situations to Life [Politically Speaking: the online magazine of the United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs]. *Politically Speaking*. https://dppa.medium.com/virtual-reality-bites-using-technology-to-bring-post-conflict-situations-to-life-bd5cb98ce3f6

England, K. (2003). Towards a feminist political geography? *Political Geography*, *22*(6), 611–616. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298(03)00065-9

Farmer, H., Tajadura-Jiménez, A., & Tsakiris, M. (2012). Beyond the colour of my skin: How skin colour affects the sense of body-ownership. *Consciousness and Cognition*, *21*(3), 1242–1256. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.concog.2012.04.011

Fox, J., Arena, D., & Bailenson, J. N. (2009). Virtual Reality: A Survival Guide for the Social Scientist. *Journal of Media Psychology*, *21*(3), 95–113. https://doi.org/10.1027/1864-1105.21.3.95

Foxman, M., Markowitz, D. M., & Davis, D. Z. (2021). Defining empathy: Interconnected discourses of virtual reality's prosocial impact. *New Media & Society*, *23*(8), 2167–2188. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444821993120

Fukushima (ES) | Video 360 VR | EL PAÍS Semanal. (2016, May 1). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5pctLtUmvKg

Gall, D., Roth, D., Stauffert, J.-P., Zarges, J., & Latoschik, M. E. (2021). Embodiment in Virtual Reality Intensifies Emotional Responses to Virtual Stimuli. *Frontiers in Psychology*, *12*. https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.674179

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, *6*(3), 167–191.

Groom, V., Bailenson, JeremyN., & Nass, C. (2009). The influence of racial embodiment on racial bias in immersive virtual environments. *Social Influence*, *4*(3), 231–248. https://doi.org/10.1080/15534510802643750

Guillaume, X., & Huysmans, J. (2019). The concept of 'the everyday': Ephemeral politics and the abundance of life. *Cooperation and Conflict*, *54*(2), 278–296. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836718815520

Hasler, B. S., H. Landau, D., Hasson, Y., Schori-Eyal, N., Giron, J., Levy, J., Halperin, E., & Friedman, D. (2021). Virtual reality-based conflict resolution: The impact of immersive 360° video on changing view points and moral judgment in the context of violent intergroup conflict. *New Media & Society*, *23*(8), 2255–2278. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444821993133

Hasler, B. S., Hirschberger, G., Shani-Sherman, T., & Friedman, D. A. (2014). Virtual Peacemakers: Mimicry Increases Empathy in Simulated Contact with Virtual Outgroup Members. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, *17*(12), 766–771. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2014.0213

Hasler, B. S., Spanlang, B., & Slater, M. (2017). Virtual race transformation reverses racial in-group bias. *PLOS ONE*, *12*(4), e0174965. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0174965

Hasson, Y., Schori-Eyal, N., Landau, D., Hasler, B. S., Levy, J., Friedman, D., & Halperin, E. (2019). The enemy's gaze: Immersive virtual environments enhance peace promoting attitudes and emotions in violent intergroup conflicts. *PLOS ONE*, *14*(9), e0222342. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0222342

Hedström, J. (2021). On violence, the everyday, and social reproduction: Agnes and Myanmar's transition. *Peacebuilding*, *9*(4), 371–386. https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2021.1881329

Herrera, F., Bailenson, J., Weisz, E., Ogle, E., & Zaki, J. (2018). Building long-term empathy: A large-scale comparison of traditional and virtual reality perspective-taking. *PLOS ONE*, *13*(10), e0204494. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0204494

Herrera, F., Oh, S. Y., & Bailenson, J. N. (2020). *Effect of Behavioral Realism on Social Interactions Inside Collaborative Virtual Environments*. VHIL. https://vhil.stanford.edu/pubs/2020/effect-of-behavioral-realism-on-social-interactions-inside-collaborative-virtual-environments/

Hoort, B. van der, Guterstam, A., & Ehrsson, H. H. (2011). Being Barbie: The Size of One's Own Body Determines the Perceived Size of the World. *PLOS ONE*, *6*(5), e20195. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0020195

Hostetter, R. (2022). *Peacemakers in Israel-Palestine: Dialogues for a Just Peace*. Taylor & Francis.

Hvidsten, A. H., & Skarstad, K. (2018). The challenge of human rights for peace research. *International Theory: A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy*, *10*(1), 98–121. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1752971917000161

Jabareen, Y. (2011). Teaching Sustainability: A Multidisciplinary Approach. *Creative Education*, *02*(04), 388–392. https://doi.org/10.4236/ce.2011.24055

Jabri, V. (2013). Peacebuilding, the local and the international: A colonial or a postcolonial rationality? *Peacebuilding*, *1*(1), 3–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2013.756253

Järvelä, S., Cowley, B., Salminen, M., Jacucci, G., Hamari, J., & Ravaja, N. (2021). Augmented Virtual Reality Meditation: Shared Dyadic Biofeedback Increases Social Presence Via Respiratory Synchrony. *ACM Transactions on Social Computing*, *4*(2), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1145/3449358

Kilteni, K., Maselli, A., Kording, K. P., & Slater, M. (2015). Over my fake body: Body ownership illusions for studying the multisensory basis of own-body perception. *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*, *9*. https://www.frontiersin.org/article/10.3389/fnhum.2015.00141

Kilteni, K., Slater, M., & Bergstrom, I. (2013). Drumming in Immersive Virtual Reality: The Body Shapes the Way We Play. *IEEE Transactions on Visualization and Computer Graphics.*, *19*, 597–605. https://doi.org/10.1109/TVCG.2013.29.

Laarni, J., Ravaja, N., Saari, T., Böcking, S., Hartmann, T., & Schramm, H. (2015). *Ways to measure presence. Review and future directions*.

Li, B. J., Bailenson, J. N., Ogle, E., & Zaki, J. (2020). Exploring the heart rate as a chronemic cue in virtual settings: How perceptions of consistent and varied heart rates of a storyteller influence self-reported other-arousal, empathy and social presence. *Media Psychology*, 1–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2020.1788394

Li, B. J., & Kyung Kim, H. (2021). Experiencing organ failure in virtual reality: Effects of self- versus other-embodied perspective taking on empathy and prosocial outcomes. *New Media & Society*, *23*(8), 2144–2166. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444821993122

Lopez, S., & Bailenson, J. (2019, January 16). *5 lessons for the future success of virtual and augmented reality*. World Economic Forum. https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/01/five-lessons-to-shape-the-future-of-virtual-and-augmented-reality/

Luna-Nevarez, C., & McGovern, E. (2021). The Rise of the Virtual Reality (VR) Marketplace: Exploring the Antecedents and Consequences of Consumer Attitudes toward V-Commerce. *Journal of Internet Commerce*, *20*(2), 167–194. https://doi.org/10.1080/15332861.2021.1875766

Lundqvist, M. (2019). Post-war memorialisation as everyday peace? Exploring everyday (dis-) engagements with the Maoist martyrs' gate of Beni Bazaar in Nepal. *Conflict, Security & Development*, *19*(5), 475–496. https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2019.1658970

Lundy, P., & McGovern, M. (2008). Whose Justice? Rethinking Transitional Justice from the Bottom Up. *Journal of Law & Society*, *35*(2), 265–292. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6478.2008.00438.x

Mabrook, R., & Singer, J. B. (2019). Virtual Reality, 360° Video, and Journalism Studies: Conceptual Approaches to Immersive Technologies. *Journalism Studies*, *20*(14), 2096–2112. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2019.1568203

Mac Ginty, R. (2013). Indicators+: A proposal for everyday peace indicators. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, *36*(1), 56–63. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evalprogplan.2012.07.001

Mac Ginty, R. (2014). Everyday peace: Bottom-up and local agency in conflict-affected societies. *Security Dialogue*, *45*(6), 548–564. https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010614550899

Mac Ginty, R., & Richmond, O. (2013). The Local Turn in Peace Building: A critical agenda for peace. *Third World Quarterly*, *34*(5), 763–783. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2013.800750

Maister, L., Slater, M., Sanchez-Vives, M. V., & Tsakiris, M. (2015). Changing bodies changes minds: Owning another body affects social cognition. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, *19*(1), 6–12. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2014.11.001

Milk, C. (Director). (2015, March). *How virtual reality can create the ultimate empathy machine*. https://www.ted.com/talks/chris_milk_how_virtual_reality_can_create_the_ultimate_empathy_machine

Milk, C. (Director). (2016, February). *The birth of virtual reality as an art form*. https://www.ted.com/talks/chris_milk_the_birth_of_virtual_reality_as_an_art_form

Muhanna, M. A. (2015). Virtual reality and the CAVE: Taxonomy, interaction challenges and research directions. *Journal of King Saud University - Computer and Information Sciences*, *27*(3), 344–361. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jksuci.2014.03.023

Najib, K., & Hopkins, P. (2019). Veiled Muslim women's strategies in response to Islamophobia in Paris. *Political Geography*, *73*, 103–111. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2019.05.005

Niiranen, S., Rasinen, A., Rissanen, T., & Ikonen, P. (2021). Identifying Past and Current Trends in Technology Education in Finland. *Techne Serien - Forskning i Slöjdpedagogik Och Slöjdvetenskap*, *28*(2), Article 2.

Partis-Jennings, H. (2019). The 'third gender' in Afghanistan: A feminist account of hybridity as a gendered experience. *Peacebuilding*, *7*(2), 178–193. https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2019.1588455

Peck, T. C., Seinfeld, S., Aglioti, S. M., & Slater, M. (2013). Putting yourself in the skin of a black avatar reduces implicit racial bias. *Consciousness and Cognition*, *22*(3), 779–787. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.concog.2013.04.016

Petkova, V. I., & Ehrsson, H. H. (2008). If I Were You: Perceptual Illusion of Body Swapping. *PLoS One*, *3*(12), e3832. http://dx.doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0003832

Pimentel, D., & Kalyanaraman, S. (2022). The effects of embodying wildlife in virtual reality on conservation behaviors. *Scientific Reports*, *12*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-022-10268-y

Pimentel, D., Kalyanaraman, S., Lee, Y.-H., & Halan, S. (2021). Voices of the unsung: The role of social presence and interactivity in building empathy in 360 video. *New Media & Society*, *23*(8), 2230–2254. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444821993124

Randazzo, E. (2016). The paradoxes of the 'everyday': Scrutinising the local turn in peace building. *Third World Quarterly*, *37*(8), 1351–1370. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2015.1120154

Richmond, O. (2009). A post-liberal peace: Eirenism and the everyday. *Review of International Studies*, *35*(3), 557–580. http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.tuni.fi/10.1017/S0260210509008651

Richmond, O. (2011). *A Post-Liberal Peace*. Taylor & Francis Group. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=1020305

Robertson, A. (2017, May 3). *At Tribeca's VR showcase, artists are trying to move beyond empathy*. The Verge. https://www.theverge.com/2017/5/3/15524404/tribeca-film-festival-2017-vr-empathy-machine-backlash

Roswell, R. O., Cogburn, C. D., Martinez, J., Bangeranye, C., Bailenson, J. N., Wright, M., Mieres, J. H., & Smith, L. (2020). Cultivating Empathy Through Virtual Reality. *Academic Medicine*, *95*(12), 1882–1886.

Sánchez Laws, A. L. (2020). Can Immersive Journalism Enhance Empathy? *Digital Journalism*, *8*(2), 213–228. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1389286

Schlembach, R., & Clewer, N. (2021). 'Forced empathy': Manipulation, trauma and affect in virtual reality film. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *24*(5), 827–843. https://doi.org/10.1177/13678779211007863

Schrier, K. (2021). *We the Gamers: How Games Teach Ethics and Civics*. Oxford University Press.

Schutte, N. S., & Stilinović, E. J. (2017). Facilitating empathy through virtual reality. *Motivation and Emotion*, *41*(6), 708–712. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11031-017-9641-7

Scott, I. M. (2019). And what about the African Americans?: Peace and conflict studies neglect of the intractable conflict related to systemic racism in the United States. In *Routledge Companion to Peace and Conflict Studies*. Routledge.

Seinfeld, S., Arroyo-Palacios, J., Iruretagoyena, G., Hortensius, R., Zapata, L. E., Borland, D., de Gelder, B., Slater, M., & Sanchez-Vives, M. V. (2018). Offenders become the victim in virtual reality: Impact of changing perspective in domestic violence. *Scientific Reports*, *8*(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-018-19987-7

Slater, M. (Director). (2020, May 11). *Transforming the self through virtual reality*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9bMzM7g1h1E

Slater, M., Antley, A., Davison, A., Swapp, D., Guger, C., Barker, C., Pistrang, N., & Sanchez-Vives, M. V. (2006). A Virtual Reprise of the Stanley Milgram Obedience Experiments. *PLOS ONE*, *1*(1), e39. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0000039

van der Waal, N. E., van Bokhorst, J. A. W., & van der Laan, L. N. (2022). Identifying emotions toward an overweight avatar in Virtual Reality: The moderating effects of visuotactile stimulation and drive for thinness. *Frontiers in Virtual Reality*, *3*. https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/frvir.2022.989676

Väyrynen, T. (2018). *Corporeal Peacebuilding: Mundane Bodies and Temporal Transitions*. Springer International Publishing AG. http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/tampere/detail.action?docID=5517575

Won, A. S., Pandita, S., & Kruzan, K. P. (2020). Social Interaction and Pain Threshold in Virtual Reality. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, *23*(12), 829–845. https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2020.0055

Wu, L., Chen, K. B., & Fitts, E. P. (2021). Effect of body-gender transfer in virtual reality on the perception of sexual harassment. *Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society Annual Meeting*, *65*(1), 1089–1093. https://doi.org/10.1177/1071181321651094

Yee, N., & Bailenson, J. (2006). Walk A Mile in Digital Shoes: The Impact of Embodied Perspective-Taking on The Reduction of Negative Stereotyping in Immersive Virtual Environments. *Teleoperators and Virtual Environments - Presence*.

Yee, N., & Bailenson, J. (2007). The Proteus Effect: The Effect of Transformed Self-Representation on Behavior. *Human Communication Research*, *33*(3), 271–290. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2007.00299.x

Yee, N., & Bailenson, J. (2009). The Difference Between Being and Seeing: The Relative Contribution of Self-Perception and Priming to Behavioral Changes via Digital Self-Representation. *Media Psychology*, *12*(2), 195–209.

Yee, N., Bailenson, J. N., & Ducheneaut, N. (2009). The Proteus Effect: Implications of Transformed Digital Self-Representation on Online and Offline Behavior. *Communication Research*, *36*(2), 285–312. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650208330254

Zembylas, M., & Loukaides, L. (2021). Teachers' strategies of everyday diplomacy in peace education: A case study of the "infrapolitics" of peacebuilding in Greek-Cypriot schools. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, *16*(1), 43–63. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745499921991649

Zhang, Y., & Wildemuth, B. (2009). Qualitative Analysis of Content. *Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library Science*. https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Qualitative-Analysis-of-Content-by-Zhang-Wildemuth/b269343ab82ba8b7a343b893815a0bae6472fcca

Zhu, E., Lilienthal, A., Shluzas, L. A., Masiello, I., & Zary, N. (2015). Design of Mobile Augmented Reality in Health Care Education: A Theory-Driven Framework. *JMIR Medical Education*, *1*(2), e10. https://doi.org/10.2196/mededu.4443

Åhäll, L. (2019). Feeling Everyday IR: Embodied, affective, militarising movement as choreography of war. *Cooperation and Conflict*, *54*(2), 149–166. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836718807501