

HSPS and H&P TRIPOS
PART IIB 2019-2020
Pol 16 The Politics of Conflict and Peacebuilding

Course Organiser

Devon Curtis (dc403@cam.ac.uk)

Drop in office hours: Mondays 12-1pm

Lecturers and Supervisors

Devon Curtis (dc403@cam.ac.uk)-

Graham Denyer Willis (gdw27@cam.ac.uk)- For Latin America case

Burcu Ozcelik (b0244@cam.ac.uk)- For Kurdish case

Justin Pearce (jp663@cam.ac.uk)

Katrin Wittig (kw511@cam.ac.uk)

Outline of the Course

This paper explores issues of conflict and peacebuilding in contemporary international politics, with a particular focus on conflict and peace in the global south. It considers competing theories and claims about the causes of conflict and the relationship between the state, conflict, development and other international processes. It analyses the range of responses to conflict and how they are justified, and focuses on contests over the meanings and practices of peacebuilding. The possibilities and limitations of international institutions, including the United Nations, in ending conflict and maintaining peace are highlighted throughout the paper.

The paper pays particular attention to the connection between local, national, regional and international politics, economy and society. It looks at the ways in which regional and international dynamics may have a bearing on conflict and peace. What is the relationship between seemingly 'local' conflicts and the wider political structures in which they are embedded? Do institutions and programmes responding to conflict reproduce and reflect a state-centric system? What are the benefits and limits to existing approaches to peace and conflict? Is the state the primary actor in conflict and in its resolution? How can we best understand the multiple layers of conflict and how they interact? How is political agency exercised?

In Michaelmas, the lectures explore the origins and nature of contemporary conflict, and the relationship between conflict, the state, and the global system. We begin by discussing the contested meanings of concepts of security, war, and conflict, and how these are measured. We then turn to the relationship between the state and violence, including a discussion of rebel governance. Next, we will focus on a number of competing theories and claims about the causes and dynamics of conflict, looking at the state, economies, identities, gender, and refugees and population displacement. In Michaelmas we will also have lectures on three regional case studies to illustrate ideas, approaches, and practices of conflict and peace in diverse

settings around the world: the African Great Lakes region (Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi); Kurdish movements in Syria and Iraq; and war by other means in Latin America. Students should attend all the lectures, but they are expected to become highly familiar with **one** of these case study regions.

In Lent, the lectures will focus on peace and peacebuilding. We will start by questioning the concept of peace, and we will critically assess the institutions, ideas and practices underlying peacebuilding efforts. The lectures focus on different international and regional actors and their strategies and normative agendas. Topics include the politics of humanitarian assistance, governance and democratisation, security reform, justice and reconciliation, and post-war economies. The final lecture discusses the possibilities and limits of peacebuilding and transnational advocacy.

Throughout Michaelmas and Lent we will have seminar classes to discuss some of the key overarching readings. In Michaelmas there will be one seminar on questions of concepts, measurement and indicators, and one seminar on local (ie Cambridge's) connections to global conflict(s). In Lent there will be a seminar class on 'alternative' ideas and practices of peacebuilding and statebuilding.

In Easter term there will be one revision lecture, one revision seminar, and one revision supervision

Aims and Objectives

- to explore a range of ways of understanding possible connections between conflict and peace
- to provide a framework for thinking about the causes of conflict and the connections between local, regional and international processes
- to gain detailed knowledge of conflict and peace in at least one region
- to encourage critical reflection of theoretical assumptions regarding conflict, and peacebuilding, and available models and policy packages
- to teach students how to read closely primary texts such as international treaties, resolutions and official reports

Teaching and Assessment

In **Michaelmas**, students will have **2 thematic supervisions and 2 seminars**. Students will be allocated a supervisor at the beginning of Michaelmas term. For each supervision, students should prepare a 2000-2500 word essay. For the first **seminar**, students should submit two questions sparked by the readings. For the **second seminar**, students will be asked to prepare a short 1000-word brief. Details are in the relevant section of this paper guide.

There will also be **one supervision on the case study material**. Students can choose whether they will do this at the end of Michaelmas term, or beginning of Lent term (except the case study for Latin America, which will be in Lent).

In **Lent**, students will have **2 thematic supervisions and 1 seminar** (as well as the case study supervision if they did not do this in Michaelmas). For each supervision, students should write a 2000-2500 word essay. For the seminar, students will be asked to prepare an essay as outlined in the relevant section of the paper guide.

In **Easter** term, we will have one revision lecture, one revision seminar, and one revisions supervision

This paper is assessed by an **undivided** three-hour examination paper, from which students should answer three questions. **There is a mock exam at the end of the paper guide, as well as a past examination paper and an examiners' report.** Students can also find other previous examination papers and examiners' reports on moodle.

Michaelmas		
Conflict: Causes, dynamics, consequences – (D Curtis and J Pearce)	Case studies (D Curtis, B Ozcelik, G Denyer Willis)	Seminars (D Curtis and J Pearce)
Mondays (weeks 1-8) 11-12, SG1 Tuesdays (weeks 1-8), 11-12, Sidgwick lecture block room 8		
1. Introduction: conflict and peacebuilding: 14 October	African Great Lakes (D Curtis) 22 Oct: Background and state formation 29 Oct: Violence and conflict 5 Nov: Intervention and Peacebuilding	Seminar 1 (week 2) Concepts, measurement and indicators Group 1 Monday 21 Oct, 3-5pm room S2 in POLIS
2. Defining and measuring conflict, war and security: 15 October		
3. Conflict and states in the contemporary world 21 Oct	Kurds: Syria and Iraq (B Ozcelik) 12 Nov: Transnational, state and local histories 19 Nov: Prospects for autonomy, federalism and statehood in Iraq, Syria, Turkey 26 Nov: The role of the US, Turkey and Russia over the settlement of Kurdish claims	Group 2 Tuesday 22 Oct, 3-5pm, room S2 in POLIS
4. Security, development and constructing failed states: 28 October		
5. Economies of conflict: 4 Nov		
6. Identities: Ethnicity, religion, nation and conflict 11 November		Seminar 2 (week 8) Cambridge in conflict
7. Gender: Masculinities, patriarchy and conflict: 18 November		Group 1 and 2 Mon 2 Dec, 3-5:30pm, Emmanuel college Old JCR
8. Refugees and population displacement as a cause and consequence of conflict: 25 November	Latin America: War by Other Means (G Denyer Willis) L1 2 Dec L2 3 Dec L3 20 Jan	

Note: In Michaelmas, students will have 2 thematic supervisions and 2 seminars. They may also have 1 case study supervision (but they may do this in Lent instead).

Lent		
Peacebuilding (D Curtis) Thursdays (weeks 1-8) 11-12, SG1 Mondays (weeks 1-4) 11-12, SG1	Cases	Seminars (D Curtis and K Wittig)
1. Introduction: peace studies (16 Jan) 2. What is peacebuilding? (23 Jan) 3. Who keeps the peace and why? (27 Jan) 4. The politics of humanitarian assistance (30 Jan) 5. Negotiations, mediation and peace agreements (3 Feb) 6. Governance: Democratisation and the governance of divided societies (6 Feb) 7. Security: Ex-combatants, security and stabilisation (10 Feb) 8. Society: Justice and post-war reconciliation (13 Feb) 9. Economy: Post-conflict economic policies and development (20 Feb) 10. Opportunities and limits of peacebuilding and transnational advocacy (27 Feb)	Latin America: War by Other Means Jan 20, 11-1pm, ARB room S3	Guest seminar (Prof Richard Caplan, Oxford) Measuring Peace: Principles, Practices and Politics Fri 24 Jan, 3-4:30pm Room S3 in POLIS All welcome
		Seminar 3 Alternatives to PB and Statebuilding Group 1 Mon 9 Mar, 3-5pm, room S2 in POLIS Group 2 Fri 6 March, 3-5pm, room S3 in POLIS

Note: In Lent, examination students will have 2 supervisions (and a third supervision on a case study if they did not do this in Michaelmas) and 1 seminar. The Easter term revision lecture is Mon 27 April in room S2 from 11-12. Seminars will be held on Monday 4 May (11-1pm for Group 1, 2-4pm Group 2) in room S2.

Supervision Questions

Michaelmas Term (choose 2)

1. Do states still matter in understanding contemporary conflict?
2. What is the relationship between globalisation and state failure?
3. What is the relationship between economics and politics in understanding conflict?
4. Why are some interactions between identity groups peaceful and others violent? Answer with reference to one of the following: ethnicity, religion, nation or gender.
5. Is population displacement a cause or a consequence of conflict?

Case study supervision (either MT or LT) (choose 1)

1. Can conflict in the Great Lakes region of Africa be understood as the consequence of states that are too strong or too weak?
2. Who benefits from international peacebuilding interventions in the Great Lakes region of Africa?
3. To what extent has war served as an opportunity or a constraint for the dominant Kurdish national movements in Iraq and Syria?
4. Would the creation of an independent Kurdistan likely resolve intra-Kurdish rivalries and tensions with central 'host' states, or would it escalate them?
5. What are the key variations in the relationship between violence, law and politics in Latin America?

Lent supervisions (choose 2)

1. Is it possible for outside actors to do no harm to the populations they seek to help? Answer with reference to peace operations or humanitarian aid.
2. Do peace negotiations always privilege the powerful?
3. Is peace a matter of appropriate institutions?
4. Should policies targeting ex-combatants prioritise peace or justice?
5. How can war economies be transformed into peace economies?

Seminars (see sections in the paper guide for readings and seminar assignments):

Seminar 1: How do debates over definitions and measurement affect the study of comparative political violence and peace?

Seminar 2: How is Cambridge implicated in global conflict and peace?

Seminar 3: Are there alternatives to peacebuilding and statebuilding?

READINGS and COURSE MATERIALS

Both the University Library and the Seeley library hold most of the items listed here. Much of the literature also exists in college libraries. Most of the material is available on-line. Students should make sure that they know how to access journal material through the University Library ejournals portal. Items marked (M) are on the library moodle site.

Books and articles that are strongly recommended are indicated with an asterisk (*). Please note that although this paper guide is very long, students are not expected to do ALL the readings. The list of further readings (items without an asterisk) in each section is for students who wish to go into more depth on a particular topic. Several lecture topics also include a 'case' section to highlight the lecture theme in one or two cases. Also, many of the same readings are relevant for different sections of the paper, so they will turn up in multiple sections of the paper guide.

Powerpoint slides will be placed on the Moodle website.

General Readings

These are general readings that deal with the main themes in this paper.

David Keen, *Complex Emergencies* (London: Polity, 2007) [M: ch 1]

Christine Sylvester, *War as Experience*. London: Routledge, 2013.

S  verine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of Intervention*, Cambridge University Press, 2014.

David Chandler, *Peacebuilding: The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1997-2017*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

MICHAELMAS TERM

Conflict: Causes and Dynamics

Lecture 1: Introduction: Conflict and peacebuilding

What are the key themes of the course? How can we think about these different levels of analysis in thinking about conflict and peace, and what are the interactions between these levels? What is the role of the state? What is the role of 'outside' actors in war and peacebuilding?

Thomas M Callaghy, Ronald Kassimer, Robert Latham (eds), *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa: Global-Local Networks of Power*, Cambridge University Press, 2001. [Intro: Transboundary Formations, Intervention, Order and Authority] ([online](#))

Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*, (London: Polity, 2007). **[Intro: M]**

Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton University Press, 1985). ([online](#))

David Keen, *Complex Emergencies* (London: Polity 2008), **[Ch. 1 on War: M]**

Andrew Mack, "Civil War, Academic Research and the Policy Community", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39, No. 5, Sept 2002, pp. 515-525

Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*, London: Routledge, 2006. **[Intro: M]**

Lecture 2: Defining and Measuring Conflict, War and Security

What are the differences between 'conflict', 'war', 'violence', peace? Who uses them, and for what purposes? How, if at all, should these phenomena be measured and compared? Should scholars prioritise one of them for research? Why did the term 'human security' emerge and to what extent does it represent an alternative to state security or international security?

*Chris Cramer, *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries*, Hurst Publishers, 2006. **[M: Ch. 2: Categories, Trends and Evidence of Violent Conflict]**

*Sally Engle Merry, *The Seductions of Quantification: Measuring Human Rights, Gender Violence and Sex Trafficking*, University of Chicago Press, 2016. **[M: Ch 1: A World of Quantification]**

*Richard Rottenburg, Sally Merry, Sung-Joon Park and Johanna Mugler (eds), *The World of Indicators: The Making of Governmental Knowledge through Quantification*, Cambridge University Press, 2015.

*Adam Roberts, "Lives and Statistics: Are 90% of War Victims Civilians?" *Survival*, June-July 2010, pp. 115-136.

*Tanisha Faisal, 'Dead Wrong? Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War's Demise', *International Security*, 39, 1, 2014.

*Report on Global Peace 2019:

<http://visionofhumanity.org/indexes/global-peace-index/>

Maria Stern and Joakim Öjendal, 'Mapping the Security-Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence', *Security Dialogue*, 41, 1, 2010: 5-30.

Stephen Walt, 'The Renaissance of Security Studies' *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No 2, June 1991, pp. 211-239.

Barry Buzan, "New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-first Century" *International Affairs*, 67.3 (1991), pp. 432-433.

Sambanis, Nicholas. "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 1, 2004): 814–858.

Christine Sylvester, *War as Experience*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Sinisa Malesevic, "The contemporary sociology of organised violence," Ch. 2 in *The Sociology of War and Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).
<http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=eresources|218247>

Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 3rd edition (London: Polity, 2011), **(Chap 2: M)**

Vittorio Bufacchi, 'Two Concepts of Violence', *Political Studies Review* (3:2 2005), pp.193-204

Slavoj Zizek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections*. 1st ed. Picador, 2008.
<http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=eresources|218247>

Ruth Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, World Priorities, 1991

Human Security (and debates):

*Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26.2 (Spring 2001), pp. 87-102.

United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1994*, particularly chapter 2, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr1994/>

Human Security Report 2009. "Shrinking Costs of War", Vancouver: HSRP, 2010.

Human Security Report 2005. "War and Peace in the 21st Century", Vancouver: HSRP, 2005.
<http://www.hsrgroup.org/human-security-reports/2005/overview.aspx>

Des Gasper, 'Human Rights, Human Needs, Human Development, Human Security: relationships Between Four International 'Human' Discourses', *Forum for Development Studies* (1:07 2007), pp. 9-44.

Christie Ryerson, 'Critical Voices and Human Security: To Endure, To Engage or To Critique?' *Security Dialogue* (41:2 2010) pp.169-190

Astri Suhrke, "Human Security and the Interests of States." *Security Dialogue* 30, no. 3 (September 1, 1999): 265–276.

David Chandler, 'Human Security: The Dog That Didn't Bark', *Security Dialogue* (39:4 2008), pp.427-438;

Taylor Owen, 'The Critique That Doesn't Bite: A Response to Chandler' *Security Dialogue* (39:4 2008), pp.445-453

Nicholas Thomas and William Tow, 'The Utility of Human Security: Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention', *Security Dialogue* (33:2 2002), pp.177-192

Alex Bellamy and Matt McDonald, 'The Utility of Human Security: Which Humans? What Security? A Reply to Thomas and Tow', *Security Dialogue* (33:3 2002): 373-377

Seminar 1: Concepts, Definitions and Measurement

Seminar readings

*1) Chris Cramer, *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries*, Hurst Publishers, 2006. **[Read: Ch. 2: Categories, Trends and Evidence of Violent Conflict]**

*2) Sally Engle Merry, *The Seductions of Quantification: Measuring Human Rights, Gender Violence and Sex Trafficking*, University of Chicago Press, 2016. **[Read: Ch 1: A World of Quantification]**

*3) Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1969, pp. 167-191

*4) Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26.2 (Spring 2001), pp. 87-102.

Seminar assignment:

After you have done the readings, please write two questions or observations that have been sparked by one or more of the readings. Please email these to your seminar leader at least 12 hours before your seminar.

Lecture 3: Conflict and states in the contemporary world

Do the wars of the last three decades represent change from or continuity with historical patterns? Is the state central or marginal to contemporary conflict? Is the idea of a nation state relevant in a situation of sub-national or cross-national conflict? How has 'globalisation' affected the nature and conduct of political violence, and in what dimensions?

Essay question: Do states still matter in understanding contemporary conflict?

*Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, Second Edition. Stanford University Press, 2007, **(Intro M)**

*Stathis Kalyvas, "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (October 1, 2001): 99–118.

*Anna Leander (2004), "Wars and the un-making of states: taking Tilly seriously in the contemporary world", in S. Guzzini and D. Jung (eds), *Copenhagen Peace Research: Conceptual Innovations and Contemporary Security Analysis*, London and New York: Routledge, pp.69-80.

*Zachariah Mampilly (2011), *Rebel rulers: Insurgent governance and civilian life during war* [Introduction] (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London).

*Christine Cheng, *Extralegal Groups in Post-Conflict Liberia: How Trade Makes the State*. OUP 2019.

Michael Mann, 'The Dark Side of Democracy: The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing', *New Left Review*, 1-235, (May-June 1999).

Charles Tilly, 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime' in P Evans et al (eds) *Bringing the State Back In* (CUP, 1985)

Jacob Mundy, "Deconstructing Civil Wars Beyond the New Wars Debate." *Security Dialogue* 42, no. 3 (June 1, 2011): 279–295.

Philip Abrams, 'Notes on the difficulty of studying the state'. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1.1 March 1988.

Rita Abrahamsen and Michael Williams. "Public/Private, Global/Local: The Changing Contours of Africa's Security Governance." *Review of African Political Economy* 35, no. 118 (2008): 539–553.

Mancur Olson (2000), "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development", Ch.4 in Olson, M. and S. Kähkönen (eds.), *A Not-So-Dismal Science: A Broader View of Economies and Societies*, Oxford University Press: Oxford. (ISBN 0-19-829369-0)

Justin Pearce (2012), 'Control, Politics and Identity in the Angolan Civil War', *African Affairs* 111.444.

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*, Cambridge University Press, 2007.

-John Burton (ed), *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*, London: Macmillan, 1990.

-Oliver Ramsbotham, 'The analysis of protracted social conflict: A tribute to Edward Azar', *Review of International Studies*, 31, 2005.

David Keen, *Complex Emergencies*, Chapters 2 and 3 (London: Polity, 2007)

Rita Braahamsen and Michael Williams, *Security Beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Vivienne Jabri, *War and the Transformation of Global Politics*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Tarak Barkawi, *Globalization and War*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.

Christopher Coker. *Humane Warfare*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Deborah D. Avant *The Market for Force: The Consequences of Privatizing Security*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

James Der Derian, *Virtuous War: Mapping The Military- Industrial-media-entertainment Network*. Basic Books, 2001.

E Krahmman, *States, citizens and the privatisation of security*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T Washington, the German Empire and the Globalization of the New South*, Princeton University Press, 2010.

Lecture 4. Security, development and constructing failed states

How do ideas about development, aid and security play into post-conflict policy? What is the relationship between aid and globalisation? What does it mean to say a state is 'failed' or 'collapsed'? What are the political implications of the term? What are the broader structures of production and profit in which violent conflicts are embedded? What are the implications of global war industries for our understanding of the dynamics of conflict?

Essay question: What is the relationship between globalisation and state failure?

*Susan Woodward, *The Ideology of Failed States: Why Intervention Fails*, Cambridge University Press, 2017 **(Introduction on M)**

*William Reno, 'The privatisation of sovereignty and the survival of weak states', in Béatrice Hibou (ed), *Privatising the State* (London: Hurst, 2004), pp.95-119. **[M]**

*Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: The Merging of Development and Security*. Zed Books Ltd, 2001. **(Intro M)**

*James Ferguson, 'Seeing like an oil company: space, security, and global capital in neoliberal Africa', *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 107, 3, September 2005, pp. 377-382.

* Christopher Cramer *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing*, chapter 6, 'Passionate interests'.

*Patrick Bond (2008) Global Uneven Development, Primitive Accumulation and Political- Economic Conflict in Africa: The Return of the Theory of Imperialism. *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 4, no. 2: 1-10

Mary Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid can Support Peace or War*. (Lynne Rienner, 1999).

Charles Call, "Beyond the 'failed state': Toward conceptual alternatives." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 2 (June 1, 2011): 303–326.

Mark Duffield, "Post-modern Conflict: Warlords, Post-adjustment States and Private Protection." *Civil Wars* 1, no. 1 (1998): 65–102.

Anna Stavrianakis, "Small Arms Control and the Reproduction of Imperial Relations." *Contemporary Security Policy* 32, no. 1 (2011): 193–214.

David Wearing, 'Britain is behind the slaughter in Yemen. Here's how you could help end it'. *The Guardian*, 6 September 2019
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/sep/06/britain-slaughter-yemen-planes-bombs-politicians-media?>

Campaign Against Arms Trade www.caat.org.uk : some useful research and arguments on their website.

Francis Deng, *Sovereignty as Responsibility*, Brookings Institution Press, 1996.

Rita Abrahamsen, *Disciplining Democracy: Development Discourse and Good Governance in Africa*, London: Zed Books, 2000.

Philippe Le Billon, "Buying Peace or Fuelling War: The Role of Corruption in Armed Conflicts." *Journal of International Development* 15, no. 4 (2003): 413–426.

Leo Scherer, 'The OECD's Fragility index is surprisingly fragile and difficult to reproduce, Monkey Cage blog, *Washington Post*, 17 May 2015.

Joel Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capacities in the Third World*, Princeton University Press, 1988.

Wayne Nafziger, Frances Stewart and Raimo Vayrynen (eds), *War, Hunger and Displacement: The Origins of Humanitarian Emergencies* (Oxford University Press, 2000),

Pinar Bilgin and Adam D Morton. "Historicising Representations of 'Failed States': Beyond the Cold-War Annexation of the Social Sciences?" *Third World Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (February 1, 2002): 55–80.

Rethinking State Fragility, British Academy Report, 2015 - download report from:
<http://www.britac.ac.uk/intl/rethinking-state-fragility.cfm>

*Fund for Peace, *The Fragile States Index 2017*, particularly section on 'Indicators'
<http://fundforpeace.org/fsi/2017/05/14/fragile-states-index-2017-annual-report/>

Robert I Rotberg. "The New Nature of Nation-state Failure." *The Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (September 2002): 83–96.

Robert Rotberg (ed), *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton University Press, 2003

William I Zartman, ed. *Collapsed States: The Disintegration and Restoration of Legitimate Authority*. Lynne Rienner Pub, 1995 (**Intro on M**)

Gerald Helman and Steven Ratner, "Saving Failed States", *Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1992-1993.

Brian Atwood, "Suddenly Chaos", *The Washington Post* 31 July 1994, C9.

Stewart Patrick, "Weak States and Global Threats: Assessing Evidence of Spillovers" Working Paper 73, Center for Global Development, Washington, 2006.

Aiden Hehir, 'The myth of the failed state and the war on terror', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 1, 3, November 2007, 307-332.

Morten Bøås and Kathleen M. Jennings. "'Failed States' and 'State Failure': Threats or Opportunities?" *Globalizations* 4, no. 4 (2007): 475–485.

Bronwen Gruffydd Jones. "The Global Political Economy of Social Crisis: Towards a Critique of the 'failed State' Ideology." *Review of International Political Economy* 15, 2 (2008): 180–205.

Jennifer Milliken and Keith Krause. "State Failure, State Collapse, and State Reconstruction: Concepts, Lessons and Strategies." *Development and Change* 33, no. 5 (2002): 753–774.

Robert Jackson, *Quasi-States: Sovereignty, International Relations and the Third World*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Jordan Branch, "'Colonial Reflection' and Territoriality: The Peripheral Origins of Sovereign Statehood," *European Journal of International Relations* 18.2 (2012): 277-97.

Bickerton, C. 'State-building: exporting state failure', *Politics Without Sovereignty: A Critique of Contemporary International Relations Theory*, C. Bickerton, P. Cunliffe and A. Gourevitch (eds.), London: UCL Press, 2007.

John G. Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations," *International Organization* 47.1 (1993): 139-74.

United States Agency for International Development, *Fragile States Strategy* (2005),

Department for International Development (DFID), *Why we need to work more effectively in fragile states*, 2005

http://www.jica.go.jp/cdstudy/library/pdf/20071101_11.pdf

OECD, *Concepts and dilemmas of statebuilding in fragile situations: From fragility to resilience*, 2008.

<http://www.oecd.org/dac/governance-peace/conflictandfragility/docs/41100930.pdf>

OECD-DAC, *States of Fragility 2015*, <http://www.oecd.org/dac/governance-peace/publications/documentuploads/SOF2015.pdf>

Chopra, Jarat "Building state failure in East Timor", *Development and Change* 33(5): 979-1000 (2002).

Leznev, Sasha "Why you can't call Congo a failed state", *Time*, 27 Oct 2016.

At: <http://time.com/4545223/why-you-cant-call-congo-a-failed-state>

Tiitmamer, Nhial "The flaws in Kate Almquist Knopf's call for trusteeship in South Sudan". *The Sudd Institute Policy Brief*, 18 October 2016.

At: https://www.suddinstitute.org/assets/Publications/5809bbc36cf6b_TheFlawsInKateAlmquistKnopfsCall_Full.pdf

Lecture 5: Economies: poverty, inequality, resources and conflict

Do poverty and economic marginalisation lead to rebellion? How do development processes interact with conflict? How do economic issues become politicised? Do particular kinds of economic endowment or scarcity lead to particular patterns of violence?

Essay question: What is the relationship between economics and politics in understanding conflict?

*Jonathan Goodhand, 'Enduring disorder and persistent poverty: a review of the linkages between war and chronic poverty', *World Development*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2003), pp.629-646.

*Frances Stewart (ed) (2008) *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies* (Palgrave Macmillan). (Introduction plus case studies in individual chapters)

* Paul Collier (2000) 'Doing Well out of War: an Economic Perspective' in Mats Berdal and David Malone, *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. (Lynne Rienner, Boulder).

The former is a readable, non-technical exposition of Collier's thinking. See also the various articles by Collier and Hoeffler that give a more detailed account of their quantitative methodology, for example:

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler 'Greed and Grievance in Civil War', *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (2004)

*Christopher Cramer (2002), 'Homo Economicus Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War', *World Development*, 30:11.

*James Ron (2005), 'Paradigm in Distress? Primary Commodities and Civil War', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 443-450
(Also browse other articles in this edition of *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*.)

Case studies: familiarise yourself with some of these:

Kathryn Nwajiaku-Dahou (2012), 'The political economy of oil and 'rebellion' in Nigeria's Niger Delta'. *Review of African Political Economy* 39,132.

Elisabeth J. Wood (2001). *An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador*. *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(8), 862–888.

José Jaime Macuane, Lars Buur, Carlos Monjane, 'Power, conflict and natural resources: The Mozambican crisis revisited', *African Affairs*, 117, 468 (July 2018) pp. 415–438.

Denis Tull, (2003) 'A reconfiguration of political order?: The state of the state in North Kivu' *African Affairs*, 103. 408.

Philip Le Billon (2001), 'Angola's Political Economy of War: The Role of Oil and Diamonds.' *African Affairs* 100.

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Lecture 6: Identities: Religion, ethnicity, nation and conflict

What is the role of identity in conflict? Which particular interactions produce 'ethnic' or 'religious' violence? Is 'ethnic conflict' a misleading term? What is the role of national identity in driving conflicts today? How do armed groups seek legitimacy for their struggles?

Essay question: Why are some interactions between identity groups peaceful and others violent? (Answer with reference to one of the following: ethnicity, religion, nation and gender.)

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Justin Pearce (2012), 'Control, Politics and Identity in the Angolan Civil War', *African Affairs* 111.444.

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Lecture 7: Gender: Masculinities, Patriarchy and Conflict

How is the production of conflict and violence gendered? Does war subvert or reinforce peace-time gender dynamics? Should sexual violence in war be treated differently to other forms of violence? To what extent is 'patriarchy' relevant to understanding political violence and conflict?

Essay question: Why are some interactions between identity groups peaceful and others violent? (Answer with reference to one of the following: ethnicity, religion, nation or gender.)

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-Laura Sjoberg, *Gendering Global Conflict: Towards a Feminist Theory of War*, Columbia University Press, 2013.

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Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern, *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*, London: Zed Books, 2013.

-Chris Dolan, 'Collapsing Masculinities and Weak States- a Case study of Northern Uganda', in F Cleaver (ed), *Masculinity Matters: Men, Masculinities and Gender Relations in Development*, Zed Book, London, 2003.

-Séverine Autesserre, 'Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on Congo and their Consequences' *African Affairs*, 443, 2012.

Valerie Hudson and Andrea de Boer, *Bare Branches: The Security Implications of Asia's Surplus Male Population*, MIT Press 2004.

Lina Abirafeh, *Gender and International Aid in Afghanistan: The Politics and Effects of Intervention*, 2009.

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Hilary Matfess, *Women and the War on Boko Haram, Wives, Weapons, Witnesses*, Zed Books, 2017.

Lecture 8: Refugees and Population Displacement as a Cause and Consequence of Conflict

Do refugees and displaced populations cause inter-state conflict? What are the political, security, economic and social determinants of refugee and migration flows? Are international regimes and donor agencies adequately equipped to deal with migrants and refugees? Is it possible to reconcile state sovereignty with the 'rights of others'?

Essay question: Is population displacement a cause or a consequence of conflict?

*Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. *Dangerous Sanctuaries: Refugee Camps, Civil War and the Dilemma of Humanitarian Aid* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP 2005)

*Loescher, Gil. *Refugee movements and international security*, Adelphi Paper 268, London: International Institute for Strategic Studies. 1992.

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*Smith, Merrill. 2004. 'Warehousing refugees: a denial of rights, a waste of humanity', World Refugee Survey 2004, Washington DC, US Committee for Refugees.

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*Myron Weiner, "Bad Neighbors, Bad Neighborhoods: An Inquiry into the Causes of Refugee Flows" *International Security*, vol. 21, no. 1, Summer 1996, pp. 5-42.

*Alex Betts and Gil Loescher (eds), *Refugees in International Relations*, Oxford University Press, 2011.

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*Alex Betts, *Survival migration: Failed governance and the crisis of displacement* (Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press, 2013). Ebook.

Tobias Böhmelt, Vincenzo Bove, Kristian Gleditsch, 'Blame the Victims? Refugees, State Capacity and Non-State Actor Violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, 56, 1, 2019, pp. 73-87.

Kerstin Rosenow-Williams and Katharina Behmer, 'A Gendered Human Security Perspective on Humanitarian Action in IDP and Refugee Protection' *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 34, Issue 3, September 2015.

Guy Abel et al, 'Climate, Conflict and Forced Migration' *Global Environmental Change*, Vol. 54, January 2019, pp. 239-249.

Heidren Bohnet, Fabien Cottier, Simon Hug 'Conflict-induced IDPs and the Spread of Conflict', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 62, 4, 2016, pp. 691-716.

Seraina Rüegger, 'Refugees, Ethnic Power Relations and Civil Conflict in the Country of Asylum', *Journal of Peace Research*, 56, 1, 2019, pp. 42-57.

David Andersen-Rodgers, 'Back Home Again: Assessing the Impact of Provisions for Internally Displaced Persons in Comprehensive Peace Accords', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol 34, No. 3, September 2015.

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Mogire, Edward. *Victims as Security Threats: Refugee Impact on Host State Security in Africa* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate 2011).

Morris, Eric and Stephen John Stedman. 2008. 'Protracted refugee situations, conflict and security: The need for better diagnosis and prescription', in G. Loescher, J. Milner, E. Newman, and Gary Troeller (eds), *Protracted refugee situations: political, human rights and security implications*, Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

Kelly Greenhill, *Weapons of Mass Migration: Forced Displacement, Coercion and Foreign Policy*, Cornell, 2010.

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Further case study readings:

William Young, David Stebbins, Bryan A. Frederick, Omar Al-Shahery, *Spillover from the Conflict in Syria An Assessment of the Factors that Aid and Impede the Spread of Violence*, RAND National Defense Research Institute, 2014. Available: http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR600/RR609/RAND_RR609.pdf

Howard Adelman, "The Use and Abuse of Refugees in Zaire," in Stephen John Stedman and Fred Tanner, eds. *Refugee Manipulation: War, Politics, and the Abuse of Human Suffering* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2003).

Juan S. Morales, The Impact of Internal Displacement on Destination Communities: Evidence from the Colombian Conflict, *Journal of Development Economics*, 131, March 2018, pp. 132-150.

Somalia's Displacement Camp 'Gatekeepers: Parasites or aid partners?' <http://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news-feature/2019/07/18/Somalia-internally-displaced-people-private-camps>

Seminar 2: Cambridge in Conflict: The Global-local Dimensions of Conflict and Peace

Seminar readings

Look at the following two articles for different views about the ways in which the local and global connect:

- 1) Nick Srnicek, 'Conflict Networks: Collapsing the Global into the Local', *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies*, 2, 2010, pp. 30-64.
- 2) Caitriona Dowd and Clionadh Raleigh, 'The Myth of Global Islamic Terrorism and Local Conflict in Mali and the Sahel', *African Affairs*, 112, 448, 2013, pp. 498-509.

Seminar assignment:

Write a brief essay of **one** way in which Cambridge connects to global conflict or peacebuilding. Examples include: conflict resources in your mobiles such as coltan, the arms trade, the illegal drugs trade, local branches of an NGO such as Amnesty, war memorial sites in Cambridge. In your paper, explain the mechanisms linking

Cambridge to the 'global' and be prepared to discuss in the seminar. Please send your paper to your seminar leader 24 hours before the seminar.

CASES:

Case study: The Great Lakes Region of Africa (D Curtis)

The Great Lakes region of Africa is often represented as a site of brutal violence, and it is known for its experiences of genocide, high levels of sexual violence, 'resource wars' and other forms of atrocities. All three countries, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo have suffered from repeated cycles of violence, and, at times, have been labelled 'failed states'. This option will allow students to better understand the violence in the region, and the ways in which local, regional and international drivers of conflict interact. It will question whether the media and policy depictions of conflict in the Great Lakes adequately capture the complexity of politics in the region and the reasons for violence and peace. The module will explore the historical underpinnings of violence in the region, and will discuss the particular patterns of violence in different parts of the region, and how these are connected to wider international processes. The last lecture focuses on responses to conflict in the Great Lakes. It will explore the impact of different peacebuilding initiatives along with the assumptions guiding these peacebuilding activities and transnational activist campaigns.

Lecture 1: A brief history of the region

It will be useful for you to read at least one of the books outlining the history of the region and the background to the conflicts. I would suggest reading either Prunier, Lemarchand, or Reyntjens as a starting point to get a sense of the broad history of the region. These are fairly detailed books- you are not expected to know all these details, but it will be useful to you to have a broad understanding of background history.

Most of the literature focuses on one country. After reading one of the regional histories, take a look at one or two readings in the country-specific literature.

On Congolese history, Young and Turner's book is a classic, which deals with the colonial underpinnings of conflict in the Congo. Hochschild's book is an excellent introduction to international involvement in the Congo, and provides a gripping account of the colonial period. Dunn specifically addresses the representation of Congo's past and present. Nzongola-Ntalaja's book is good on the end of the Mobutu period and attempts at democratisation. Deibert is a journalist and his book offers an introduction to Congo. Williams addresses the period of the immediate post-independence period in Congo, and the UN peacekeeping mission from 1960-64. The Stearns book is very good on the more recent Congo wars and Berwouts examines conflict in Congo since the 2000s.

There is a vast literature explaining the history of Rwanda, much of it written after the genocide. Mamdani's book is an interesting and provocative account of the history of ethnicity in Rwanda. Newbury's work is important in terms of its focus on rural populations. On Burundi, Lemarchand's book is an excellent introduction.

Regional Histories (skim through one of these in order to understand background)

Gerard Prunier, *Africa's World War. Congo, the Rwandan Genocide, and the Making of a Continental Catastrophe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Rene Lemarchand, *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

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Filip Reyntjens, *The Great African War: Congo and Regional Politics, 1996-2006*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

DR Congo

*Kevin Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*, (Palgrave 2003). <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C70190>

*Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Houghton, 1998.

Crawford Young and Thomas Turner, *The Rise and Decline of the Zairian State*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

G. Nzongola-Ntalaja, *A People's History of the Congo*, (London: Zed Books, 2002). <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C276385>

David van Reybrouck, *Congo: The Epic History of a People*, London: Harper Collins, 2015.

Denis Tull, "A reconfiguration of political order?: The state of the state in North Kivu" *African Affairs*, Vol. 103, No. 408, 2003.

Susan Williams, *Who Killed Hammarskold: The UN, the Cold War and White Supremacy in Africa*, London Hurst Publishers, 2011.

Michael Deibert, *The Democratic Republic of the Congo: Between Hope and Despair* Zed Books, 2013.

Rwanda and Burundi

Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (London: Hurst, 1998).

*Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002). <http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C400845>

*Hintjens, Helen. "When identity becomes a knife: reflecting on the genocide in Rwanda", *Ethnicities*, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 2001.

*Newbury, Catharine. "Ethnicity and the Politics of History in Rwanda", *Africa Today*, Vol. 45. No. 1, 1998.

Newbury, Catharine and David Newbury. Bringing the peasants back in: agrarian themes in the construction and corrosion of statist historiography in Rwanda. *American Historical Review* (Vol. 105, No. 3, 2000), 832-877.

*Rene Lemarchand, *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide*, Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Lecture 2: Conflict and international relations

There are contrasting arguments accounting for violence in the region. Clark's edited volume provides a good overview of the regional political dynamics in the 1990s. Explanations for conflict in the DRC tend to focus on economic factors (Nest et al., Kabamba, Samset), local political issues (Vlassenroot, Jackson, Autesserre), politics and regional connections (Stearns, Reyntjens). Some authors also focus on the interaction of these factors (Raeymaekers). There is an excellent blog that students will find interesting for an analysis of current events: <http://congoresearchgroup.org/> There are plenty of books and articles to choose from in order to understand the Rwandan genocide. Straus and Uvin's books are particularly recommended.

Essay: Can conflict in the Great Lakes region of Africa be understood as the consequence of states that are too strong or too weak?

*John F. Clark (ed), *The African Stakes of the Congo War* (Palgrave, 2004).
<http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C83632>

Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke (eds). *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (Somerset NJ: Transaction, 1999). (see chapters by Kakwenzire and Kamukama, and Otunnu)

Lischer, Sarah Kenyon, Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict" *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2003.

DR Congo:

*Maria Baaz and Maria Stern, "Making Sense of Violence: Voices of Soldiers in the Congo (DRC)," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 46, No. 1, 2008.

*William Reno, 'Congo: from State Collapse to Absolutism to State Failure', *Third World Quarterly*, 27 (1) February 2006.

*All the President's Wealth: The Kabila Family Business, Congo Research Group, July 2017, <https://allthewealth.congoresearchgroup.org/dist/assets/all-the-presidents-wealth-ENG.pdf>

Kris Berwouts, *Congo's Violent Peace: Conflict and Struggle since the Great African War*, Zed Books, 2017.

Theodore Trefon, *Congo's Environmental Paradox: Potential and Predation in a Land of Plenty*, London: Zed Books, 2016.

UN Panel of Experts on the Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and Other Forms of Wealth of DR Congo, *Final Report* (16 October 2002), at: <http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/AllDocsByUNID/706b89b947e5993dc1256c590052b353>

Timothy Raeymaekers, "Protection for Sale? War and the Transformation of Regulation on the Congo-Ugandan Border, *Development and Change*, August 2010.

Special Issue: Neither War Nor Peace in the Democratic Republic of the Congo: Profiting and Coping amid Violence and Disorder, *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 40, Issue 135, 2013.

Michael Nest, Francois Grignon and Emizet Kisangani, *The Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace*, (Lynne Rienner, 2005).

Patience Kabamba 'External Economic Exploitation in the DRC: 1990–2005' *African Studies Review*, Volume 55, Number 1, April 2012, pp. 123-130.

Koen Vlassenroot, "Citizenship, Identity Formation and Conflict in South Kivu: The Case of the Banyamulenge" *Review of African Political Economy*, 93/94, 2002.

Stephen Jackson, "Sons of Which Soil? The Language and Politics of Autochtony in Eastern DR Congo" *African Studies Review* 49 (2), 2006.

Jason Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and the Great War of Africa*, New York: Public Affairs, 2011.

I. Samset, "Conflict of Interests or Interests in Conflict? Diamonds and the War in the DRC," *Review of African Political Economy*, 29, no. 93/4, 2002.

Jeffrey W Mantz, "Improvisational economies: Coltan production in the eastern Congo, *Social Anthropology*, Vol. 16, Issue 1, February 2008.

Rwanda and Burundi

*Straus, Scott. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power and the War in Rwanda* (Cornell University Press, 2006).

<http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C310190>

Uvin, Peter. *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Bloomfield CT: Kumarian, 1998).

US National Security Archive (Sixteen declassified documents related to US and the Rwandan genocide)
<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB53/index.html>

Des Forges, Alison. *Leave None to tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999).

Newbury, David. "Understanding Genocide" *African Studies Review*, April 1998.

Storey, Andy. "Structural adjustment, state power and genocide: the World Bank and Rwanda." *Review of African Political Economy*, Sept. 2001, Vol. 28, No. 89.

Dallaire, Romeo. *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* (New York: Random House, 2004).

A Mackintosh, "Beyond Ethnic Conflict", *Development in Practice* (Vol. 7, 4, Nov 1997)

Lee Ann Fujii, "The Power of Local Ties: Popular Participation in the Rwandan Genocide" *Security Studies*, Vol. 17, 2008.

Patricia Daley, *Gender and Genocide in Burundi*. Oxford: James Currey, 2008.

Aymar Bisoka Nyenyezi and Ansoms An (2014) Land grabbing and power relations in Burundi. In: An A and Hilhorst T (eds) *Losing Your Land: Dispossession in the Great Lakes*. Woodbridge: James Currey, pp. 125–140

Lecture 3: Peacebuilding and transnational advocacy

The region has been the focus of a number of peacebuilding initiatives and advocacy campaigns. In the DRC, international campaigns have especially targeted conflict minerals, sexual violence, and environmental conservation. Seay and Baaz/Stern discuss the limitations of these campaigns. A number of authors provide more general critiques of peacebuilding strategies in the DRC. For instance, Autesserre has written extensively on this topic.

There are big debates about how international and regional actors have responded to conflict in Rwanda and Burundi, and the different trajectories that these two countries have taken. The chapters in the edited volume by Straus and Waldorf highlight different aspects of the debate about international involvement in post-genocide Rwanda. There are fewer articles on Burundi, but Vandeginste provides a very interesting comparison of the two countries.

Essay: Who benefits from international peacebuilding interventions in the Great Lakes region of Africa?

S Marysse, A. Ansoms, and D. Cassimon. "The Aid Darlings and Orphans of the Great Lakes Region of Africa." *European Journal of Development Research*. 19, no. 3 (2007): 433–458.

Rene Lemarchand, 'Consociationalism and Power-sharing in Africa: Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo', *African Affairs*, 106, 422, 2007.

DR Congo

*Laura Seay, 'Conflict Minerals in Congo: The Consequences of Oversimplification', in Alex de Waal (ed), *Advocacy in Conflict: Critical Perspectives on Transnational Activism*, Zed Books, 2015. [M]

*Séverine Autesserre, "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention", *International Organization*, Vol. 63, 2009: 249-280.

*Maria E Baaz and Maria Stern, *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War?: Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*, London: Zed Books, 2013.

*Séverine Autesserre, 'Dangerous Tales: Dominant Narratives on Congo and their Consequences' *African Affairs*, 443, 2012.

Séverine Autesserre, *The Trouble with Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2010.

Jeffrey Herbst and Greg Mills, "There is No Congo" *Foreign Policy*, 18 March 2009; See reply by Timothy Raeymaekers, "Who Calls the Congo"

Catherine Gegout, 'The West, realism and intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo (1996-2006), *International Peacekeeping*, 16, 2, 2009.

David Aronson, 'How Congress Devastated Congo', *New York Times*, 7 August 2011. See debate in *New York Times* 15 August 2011, 'A Conflict over Conflict Minerals' and also on Jason Stearns' blog: <http://congosiassa.blogspot.com/2011/08/>

'Applying the HIPPO Recommendations to the DRC: Toward Strategic, Prioritized, and Sequenced Mandates', *International Peace Institute Report*, August 2017, https://www.ipinst.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/1707_Applying-HIPPO-to-DRC.pdf

Judith Verweijen and Esther Marijnen, 'The counterinsurgency/ conservation nexus: guerrilla livelihoods and the dynamics of conflict and violence in the Virunga National Park, Democratic Republic of the Congo', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 48, 2, 2018.

Kris Berwouts and Filip Reyntjens, *The Democratic Republic of the Congo: The Great Electoral Robbery (and how and why Kabila got away with it)*. Africa Policy Brief, No. 25, 19 April 2019.

Rwanda and Burundi

*Clapham, Christopher. "Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking". *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 35, No. 2, March 1998.

*Rachel Hayman, "Rwanda: Milking the Cow – Creating Policy Space in Spite of Aid Dependence." In *The Politics of Aid: African Strategies for Dealing with Donors*, edited by L. Whitfield, 156–184. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

<http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C298125>

*Stef Vandeginste, "Governing Ethnicity after Genocide: Ethnic Amnesia in Rwanda versus Ethnic Power-sharing in Burundi." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 2 (2014): 263–277.

Olivia Rutazibwa, 'Studying Agaciro: moving beyond Wilsonian interventionist knowledge production on Rwanda.' *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 8(4): 291–302, 2014.

Scott Straus and Lars Waldorf, *Remaking Rwanda: Statebuilding and Human Rights after Mass Violence*, University of Wisconsin Press, 2011.

Filip Reyntjens, "Constructing the Truth, Dealing with Dissent, Domesticating the World: Governance in Post-Genocide Rwanda", *African Affairs* (110/438, 2011).

Pottier, Johan. *Re-Imagining Rwanda. Conflict, Survival and Disinformation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

<http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C17849>

Oomen, Barbara, "Donor-Driven Justice and its Discontents: The Case of Rwanda", *Development and Change* (Vol. 36, No. 5, 2005).

Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Cornell University Press, 2002).

Waldorf, Lars, "Mass Justice for Mass Atrocity: Rethinking Local Justice as Transitional Justice," *Temple Law Review* 79:1 (August 2006).

An Ansoms, 'Re-engineering rural society: The visions and ambitions of the Rwandan elite', *African Affairs*, 108, 431, 2009, 289-309

Andrea Purdeková, Filip Reyntjens, Nina Wilén, 'Militarisation of governance after conflict: beyond the rebel-to-ruler frame- the case of Rwanda', *Third World Quarterly*, 39, 1, 2018, pp. 158-174.

Sara Kendall and Sarah M. H. Nouwen, 'Speaking of Legacy: Towards an Ethos of Modesty at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda', *American Journal of International Law*, Vol 110, 2016.

Devon Curtis, The International Peacebuilding Paradox: Power-sharing and Post-conflict Governance in Burundi, *African Affairs*, 112, 446, 2013.

Andrea Purdekova 'Respacing for peace? Resistance to integration and the ontopolitics of rural planning in post-war Burundi.' *Development and Change* 48(3): 534–566, 2017.

Marie Saiget '(De-)Politicising women's collective action: international actors and land inheritance in post-war Burundi.' *Review of African Political Economy* 43(149): 365–381, 2016.

Katrin Wittig 'Politics in the shadow of the gun: revisiting the literature on 'Rebel-to-Party Transformations' through the case of Burundi. *Civil Wars* 18(2): 137–159, 2016.

Mathijs van Leeuwen, Joseph Nindorera, Jean-Louis Kambale Nzweve and Corita Corbijn, 'The local turn and notions of conflict and peacebuilding- Reflections on local peace committees in Burundi and eastern DR Congo', *Peacebuilding*, 2019.

Case study: The Kurds in Syria and Iraq (B Ozcelik)

The Kurds are the largest ethnic group without a state, a product of the post-World War I peace settlement that followed the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Entangled in one of the most protracted conflicts in the Middle East, the future of the Kurdish peoples is deeply intertwined with questions of recognition, political representation and self-determination. Precipitated by the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the ongoing conflict in Syria, the rights struggle of the Kurds reverberates across a transnational geography through evolving, fluid political relations. More recently empowered by their role in the fight against Islamic State (IS), the Kurds have entered the stage as the Middle East's new democratisers. Kurdish claims for autonomy and independence pose a challenge to state resilience in Turkey, Iraq and Syria (as well as wider regional stability), meriting analyses at the state, transnational, and sub-state levels.

While this case study option provides a general background on contemporary Kurdish trans-border politics, the specific focus is on how sub-state movements can redefine dominant conceptions of nationalism and state sovereignty, while introducing new debates to the task of democracy. The three lectures offer a glimpse at the many voices that speak out at competing and overlapping sites of power and resistance in the Kurdish nationalist-liberation movements in Syria and Iraq (and to an extent, Turkey). In a region in flux, the Kurds have become a key determinant in equations over the future of the state system in the region and possibly its borders. Rather than look at each country on an individual basis, this option explores tensions, key themes and

debates within and among Kurdish territories, armed groups, political parties and ideologies.

It would be useful to browse a number of the general readings below on the genesis and evolution of Kurdish nationalism. Given the fast pace of political and military developments in the region against the backdrop of the war in Syria, it is advisable to keep up to date on current events.

*Bengio, Ofra, ed. *Kurdish Awakening: Nation building in a fragmented homeland* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2014) Ebook. **[Read Part I for a broad overview]**

Entessar, Nader. *Kurdish Politics in the Middle East*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010.

Halliday, Fred. "Can we write a modernist history of Kurdish nationalism?" in *The Kurds: Nationalism and Politics*, edited by Faleh A. Jabar and Hosham Dawod, (London: Saqi, 2006): 11–19.

Kirişçi, Kemal, and Gareth M. Winrow. *The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of a Trans-State Ethnic Conflict*. London: Frank Cass, 1997.

*McDowall, David. *A Modern History of the Kurds*. I.B. Taurus, 2004.

The role of political Islam among the Kurds is generally understudied, however, religion (mainly Sunni Islam) plays a significant role in Kurdish politics and society. For a useful historical overview see Michiel Leezenberg, 'Political Islam among the Kurds', in Faleh Jabbar and Hosham Dawod (eds), *The Kurds: Nationalism and Politics* (London: Saqi Books, 2006): 203-30. [A version of this chapter appears here <http://home.hum.uva.nl/oz/leezenberg/PolIslamKurds.pdf>]

Lecture 1: Transnational, state and local histories

This lecture explores the crystallization of the Kurdish national question at the end of World War I and traces key moments in the evolution of regional Kurdish politics in conjunction with state-building exercises in Turkey, Iraq and Syria. Over the past decade, and hastened by the war against so-called Islamic State, the Kurds in Iraq and Syria, especially, have been described as sitting at the cusp of their golden moment and 'surprise winners'. The focus here is on macro-level processes taking place across borders to reimagine the 'State' as the desired (and contested) form of political organization, forms of governance and identity in the Middle East as experienced by Kurdish groups. Attention will also be given to the heterogeneity in the state-building projects defended by rival Kurdish liberation-nationalist movements, including tensions between secular and Islamist ideologies among the Kurds. By looking at trans-border solidarity that challenges norms of situatedness, from Diyarbakir to Erbil to Kobane, the broad aim is explore how millions of Kurds live simultaneously 'there' and 'here', both within and beyond borders, and across multiple identities at once.

Culcasi, Karen. "Locating Kurdistan: Contextualizing the Region's Ambiguous Boundaries" in *Borderlines and Borderlands: Political Oddities at the Edge of the Nation-State*, edited by Alexander C. Diener and Joshua Hageneds, 107–20. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010.

Jwaideh, Wadie. *The Kurdish national movement: Its origins and development* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006). [See especially Chapters 1, 3 and 8].

Natali, Denise, *The Kurds and the state: evolving national identity in Iraq, Turkey, and Iran*. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2005).

Unver, H. Akin. "Schrodinger's Kurds: transnational Kurdish geopolitics in the age of shifting borders," *Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 69, Issue 2, 2016.

Lecture 2: State-determination or Self-determination? Prospects for autonomy, federalism and statehood in Iraq, Syria, Turkey

In this lecture the focus shifts to the state of intra-Kurdish rivalries within and between competing Kurdish liberationist-nationalist movements in Syria and Iraq. Specifically, this entails an analysis of the agendas for self-rule and federalisation advanced by dominant actors and the corresponding opportunities and challenges for democratisation and peace-making. The lecture looks at how each of these models can be considered effective power-sharing schemes that aim to both share and consolidate authority over contested territories and diverse societies that include Arabs, Turkoman and ethnic minorities. Core themes and questions that are addressed are: What are the dynamics between the Kurdistan Region in Iraq and the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)-dominated groups that are active in Turkey and Syria? What are the main features of the project of democratic autonomy/confederalism in Syria versus the standard state-building model in Iraqi Kurdistan? Is territorial autonomy a necessary pre-condition for peace? What were the goals of Kurdish armed violence and what has been achieved by political violence, if anything? How are citizenship rights, political pluralism and questions around 'who are we, and what do we want to achieve together' treated by the authors of these autonomy projects?

There is a rich literature on the emergence of a Kurdish de facto or quasi state in Iraq. Much of this scholarly work deals with local histories and KDP-PUK rivalry for rule over Iraqi Kurdistan. A portion of this body of work is situated within conceptual and empirical approaches to non-state recognition in international law and diplomacy. On this, see Nina Caspersen and Gareth Stansfield, eds. *Unrecognized States in the International System* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Natali, Denise. *The Kurdish quasi-state: Development and dependency in post-Gulf War Iraq* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2010).

Bengio, Ofra, ed. *Kurdish Awakening: Nation-building in a fragmented homeland* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2014) Ebook. [A useful edited volume. In particular, chapter by Sherko Kirmanj on Iraq in Part II, and Part IV on Syria]

-- *The Kurds of Iraq: Building a State within a State*. (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2012).

As a background piece, see Gunter, Michael M. "A De Facto Kurdish State in Northern Iraq," *Third World Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (1993): 295–319.

Romano, David. "Chapter 6- Kurdish nationalist challenges to the Iraqi state" in *The Kurdish nationalist movement: Opportunity, mobilization, and identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Voller, Yaniv. *The Kurdish Liberation Movement in Iraq: From Insurgency to Statehood*. Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics 69. London: Routledge, 2014.

On the democratic autonomy/confederalism ideological model attempted in northern Syria, see:

Akkaya, Ahmet Hamdi and Joost Jongerden, "Confederalism and autonomy in Turkey: The Kurdistan Workers' Party and the Reinvention of Democracy" in *The Kurdish Question in Turkey: New Perspectives on Violence, Representation and Reconciliation* by Cengiz Gunes and Welat Zeydanlioglu, (London : Routledge, 2013): 186-204.

On the PKK and nationalist mobilization, see Aliza Marcus for what is still considered the authoritative history of the militant group: *Blood and Belief: The PKK and the Kurdish fight for independence* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2007).

Güneş, Murat Tezcür, "Violence and nationalist mobilization: the onset of the Kurdish insurgency in Turkey," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 43, Issue 2, 2015.

Özcelik, Burcu. "Will the PKK disarm?" *Sada Journal*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, March 19, 2015. <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=59430>

Özpek, Burak. *The peace process between Turkey and the Kurds : Anatomy of a failure* (1st. ed., Routledge focus on the Middle East ; 2017).

On the Kurds of Syria:

Allsopp, Harriet. *The Kurds of Syria: Political Parties and Identity in the Middle East* (I.B. Tauris, 2015).

Cole, Juan. [Are Leftist, Feminist Kurds About to Deliver the Coup de Grâce to ISIL in Syria?](#) *The Nation* June 26, 2015.

*McGee, Thomas. "The Stateless Kurds of Syria," *Tilburg Law Review*, 2014. Volume 19, Issue 1-2, pp. 171 – 181.

Ozçelik, Burcu. 'Explaining the Kurdish Democratic Union Party's self-governance practices in northern Syria (2012-2018),' *Government and Opposition*, 54(3), 2019 (forthcoming)

*Paasche, T. F. "Syrian and Iraqi Kurds: Conflict and Cooperation," *Middle East Policy*, 2015. 22: 77–88.

*Tejel, Jordi. *Syria's Kurds: History, Politics and Society* (Routledge, 2008).

On gender, nationalism and conflict:

Ahmet Serdar Aktürk (2016) Female Cousins and Wounded Masculinity: Kurdish Nationalist Discourse in the Post-Ottoman Middle East, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 52:1, 46-59, DOI: 10.1080/00263206.2015.1078793

Andrea Fischer-Tahir, 'Gendered Memories and Masculinities: Kurdish Peshmerga on the Anfal Campaign in Iraq' *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, (Winter 2012), pp. 92-114

Lecture 3: The role of external actors: Kingmakers or spoilers?

This lecture takes up the role of external actors—new allies and former enemies—as drivers of Kurdish regional politics in Iraq and Syria, including the US and the more recent involvement of Russia. The foreign relation strategies of the Kurdistan Regional Government in Iraq and the Rojava federal administration in northern Syria is also scrutinized, particularly in light of the battle against IS as a source of external recognition and international legitimization for Kurdish actors. Additionally, Turkey's foreign policy toward the KRG and Rojava is explored to highlight the complex and multifaceted relationship between domestic and foreign policy.

*Barkey, Henri J. *Turkey's New Engagement in Iraq: Embracing Iraqi Kurdistan*. United States Institute of Peace Special Report 237, 2010.

*Çağaptay, Soner, and Tyler Evans. *Turkey's Changing Relations with Iraq: Kurdistan Up, Baghdad Down*. Washington Institute Policy: Focus 122. (2012).

*Gunter, Michael. "Iraq, Syria, Isis and the Kurds: Geostrategic Concerns for the U.S. and Turkey," *Middle East Policy*, 22: 102–111, 2015.

*Park, Bill. "Turkey, the US and the KRG: Moving parts and the geopolitical realities" *Insight Turkey*, Volume 14, Issue 3, 2012 p. 109.

Sugarman, Eli, and Joshua Walker. *Iraqi Kurdistan and Turkey: America's Middle Eastern Silver Lining*. [Washington, DC]: Centre for National Policy, 2013. <http://cnponline.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Iraqi-Kurdistan-and-Turkey-America%E2%80%99s-Middle-Eastern-Silver-Lining.pdf>.

Case study: Latin America: War by other Means?

Readings:

Alves, J. A. (2014). From necropolis to blackpolis: Necropolitical governance and black spatial praxis in São Paulo, Brazil. *Antipode*, 46(2), 323-339.

Auyero, J. (2011). Patients of the state: An ethnographic account of poor people's waiting. *Latin American Research Review*, 5-29.

Biondi, K. (2016). *Sharing this walk: An ethnography of prison life and the PCC in Brazil*. UNC Press Books.

Bueno, Samira and Denyer Willis, G. (2019). The exceptional prison. *Public Culture*, 39 (3).

Cruz, J. M., & Durán-Martínez, A. (2016). Hiding violence to deal with the state: Criminal pacts in El Salvador and Medellín. *Journal of Peace Research*, 53(2), 197-210.

Denyer Willis, G. (2017). Before the body count: Homicide statistics and everyday security in Latin America. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 49(1), 29-54.

Fontes, A. W. (2016). Extorted Life: Protection Rackets in Guatemala City. *Public Culture*, 28(3 (80), 593-616.

Holland, A. C. (2016). Forbearance. *American Political Science Review*, 110 (2), 232-246.

Mbembé, J. A., & Meintjes, L. (2003). Necropolitics. *Public culture*, 15(1), 11-40.

McAllister, C., & Nelson, D. M. (Eds.). (2013). *War by other means: Aftermath in post-genocide Guatemala*. Duke University Press. (Introduction and chapters selected by you)

O'Neill, K. L. (2017). On Hunting. *Critical Inquiry*, 43(3), 697-718.

LENT TERM

Peacebuilding

Lecture 1. Introduction: peace studies

How did peace studies evolve as a distinct area of study? What are the key methodological and theoretic commitments in the field of peace studies, and how have these changed over the past sixty years? How does peace studies relate to the study of international relations?

*Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 3rd edition (London: Polity, 2011), see Chapter 2. [M: ch. 2]

Oliver Ramsbotham, 'The analysis of protracted social conflict: A tribute to Edward Azar', *Review of International Studies*, 31, 2005.

Heikki Patomaki, "The Challenge of Critical Theories: Peace Research at the Start of the New Century", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 38, No. 6, 2001.

Oliver Richmond, *Peace in International Relations* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008). [M: intro, 1-18]

Peter Wallensteen, *Peace Research*, London: Routledge, 2011. [Intro]
<http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C83625>

Lecture 2. What is peace? What is peacebuilding?

What is peace? Who are 'peacebuilders'? Can you measure peace? What kinds of goals, interests and assumptions are held by different peacebuilding organisations, and what happens when their visions clash? Is peacebuilding intervention a form of domination? Is there an international peacebuilding 'culture'?

*Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1969, pp.167-191.

*Joan Cocks, "The Violence of Structures and the Violence of Foundings", *New Political Science*, 34, 2, 2012.

*David Keen, "War and peace: what's the difference", *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2000, pp.1-22.

*Institute for Economics and Peace, Global Peace Index 2019:
<http://visionofhumanity.org/app/uploads/2019/07/GPI-2019web.pdf>

*Michael Barnett, Hunjoon Kim, Madalene O'Donnell, and Laura Sitea.
Peacebuilding: What is in a Name? *Global Governance* 13, no. 1 (2007): 35-58

*Constanze Schellhaas and Annette Seegers, Peacebuilding: Imperialism's new disguise? *African Security Review*, 18: 2, 2009, 1-15.

*Michael Banks, 'Four conceptions of peace' in Dennis Sandole and Ingrid Sandole-Staroste (eds), *Conflict Management and Problem-Solving* (Pinter, 1987) [M]

-Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*, Cambridge University Press, 2004.

-Michael Doyle, 'Liberalism and World Politics', *The American Political Science Review*, 80, 4, December 1986.

Andrew Dilts, Yves Winter , Thomas Biebricher , Eric Vance Johnson, Antonio Y. Vázquez-Arroyo & Joan Cocks "Revisiting Johan Galtung's Concept of Structural Violence," *New Political Science* 34:2, 2012.

Devon Curtis, "The Contested Politics of Peacebuilding", in Devon Curtis and Gwinyayi A. Dzinesa (eds), *Peacebuilding, Power and Politics in Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2012. **available on-line at**
http://www.ohioswallow.com/extras/9780821420133_intro_and_toc.pdf

-Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples*, (London: Polity, 2007). **[Intro: M]**

Cases:

Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). (online)

Lecture 3: Who keeps the peace and why?: The United Nations, and regional organisations

Is the use of force necessary to bring about peace/stability? How has UN peacekeeping evolved? On what basis do the United Nations and regional organisations involved in peace operations derive their legitimacy? What are the advantages and disadvantages of different regional organisations in conducting peace operations? Are multilateral organisations equipped to deal with the transnational nature of conflict?

Essay: Is it possible for outside actors to do no harm to the populations they seek to help? Answer with reference to peace operations or humanitarian aid.

*Report of the Independent Panel on Peace Operations, June 2015
http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2015/446

*Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping*, Report of the Secretary-General, January 1992,
www.un.org/Docs/SG/agpeace.html

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*Mateja Peter and Cedric de Coning (eds), *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing World Order*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019 (open access online). See chapters on Africa and UN Peace Operations; the European Union and UN Peace Operations, China and UN Peacekeeping.

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Lecture 4: The politics of humanitarian assistance

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Essay: Is it possible for outside actors to do no harm to the populations they seek to help? Answer with reference to peace operations or humanitarian aid.

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Lecture 5: Negotiations, mediation and peace agreements

Are peace negotiations best understood as an exercise in bargaining between belligerents? On what basis are participants in peace negotiations chosen? Why do peace agreements so often break down? Is it possible for outsiders to 'manage spoilers' in peace processes?

Essay: Do peace negotiations always privilege the powerful?

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Lecture 6 The Politics of Governance:

Democratisation and the governance of divided societies

Is there an immediate trade-off between democracy and order in highly divided countries emerging from civil war? Is it possible for outsiders to 'institutionally engineer' states and societies in order to reach desired outcomes? When, if ever, is partition necessary? Are certain kinds of institutions more conducive to peace? Is it possible to build domestic accountability

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Essay: Is peace a matter of appropriate institutions?

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Lecture 7: Security: Ex-Combatants, Security and Stabilisation

Is security and stability the first priority for peacebuilding? Are there tensions between stabilization operations and sovereignty and if so, can these be resolved? Do disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes achieve their objectives? Do security reforms help or undermine peace? What are the obstacles to regional security?

Essay: Should policies targeting ex-combatants prioritise peace or justice?

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Lecture 8: Society: Justice and post-war reconciliation

Can there be anything more than a victor's justice after conflict? Who benefits from international courts? Is there a trade-off between reconciliation and justice? Do truth commissions succeed in uncovering the truth? How can the transnational dimensions of conflict be addressed in post-war justice and reconciliation initiatives?

Essay: Should policies targeting ex-combatants prioritise peace or justice?

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Lecture 9: Economy: Post-Conflict Economic Policies and Development

To what extent are the governments of countries emerging from conflict constrained in their economic choices? When is post-conflict reconstruction assistance helpful? Which development models are chosen and why?

Essay: How can war economies be transformed into peace economies?

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Lecture 10: The Possibilities and Limits of Peacebuilding, Statebuilding and Transnational Advocacy

What accounts for the success and failure of advocacy campaigns? Is there a trade-off between integrity and influence? Do international campaigns buttress or marginalize local political agency? Are there alternatives to peacebuilding and statebuilding?

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Chris Alden and Dan Large, 'China's Evolving Policy Towards Peace and Security in Africa: Constructing a New Paradigm for Peacebuilding? In Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Liu Hongwu (eds), *China-Africa Relations*, Addis Ababa: Institute for Peace and Security Studies, 2013. (online)

Cases

Kony 2012: "The Lessons of Kony 2012" Slate, 16 September 2016
http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/the_next_20/2016/09/kony_2012_quickly_became_a_punch_line_but_what_if_it_did_more_good_than.html

Max Fisher, "The Soft Bigotry of Kony2012" The Atlantic, March 2012
<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/03/the-soft-bigotry-of-kony-2012/254194/>

- "Was Kony 2012 a failure?" Washington Post, December 2014
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/12/16/was-kony2012-a-failure/?utm_term=.872001865b66

Jarat Chopra, 'The UN's Kingdom of East Timor', *Survival* 42(3): 27-39, 2002.

Seminar 3: Are there alternatives to international peacebuilding and statebuilding?

Seminar readings:

- Roland Paris, "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding" *Review of International Studies*, Vol 36, 2, April 2010.
- Susan Woodward, 'Do the Root Causes of Civil War Matter? On Using Knowledge to Improve Peacebuilding Interventions', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 2009.
- David Chandler, *Peacebuilding: The Twenty Years' Crisis 1997-2017*, Palgrave, 2017 (read chapter 8: The Rise of Resilience)- **[on M]**
- Séverine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*, Cambridge University Press, 2014 (read conclusion: transforming Peaceland, pp. 247-274)- **[on M]**

Seminar assignment: Write a short summary (approx. 1000 words) of the limits to international peacebuilding, and whether you think that there are viable alternatives. You can draw on the seminar readings but you may also want to look at one or two of the readings on the lecture list. Please send your assignment to the seminar leader 24 hours before the seminar.

Pol 16 Sample Examination 2019-20

Candidates must answer **three questions**.

1. To what extent are universal theories of conflict helpful? Answer with reference to EITHER identity OR economy OR both.
2. Are states particularly vulnerable under the pressures of contemporary wars?
3. Are global factors always implicated in local conflicts?
4. Does a gendered understanding of conflict have implications for peacebuilding?
5. Is population displacement only ever an indirect cause of conflict?
6. Is there always a trade-off between democracy and order in post-war political institutions?
7. To what extent does peacebuilding favour the powerful? Answer with reference to EITHER justice OR economic reconstruction OR disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR).
8. Can the limits of third party intervention be understood through accounts that focus on manipulation by local elites? Answer with reference to EITHER humanitarian aid OR peace operations.
9. Are spoilers the main obstacle to peace negotiations?
10. Is there a difference between war and peace?
11. If peacebuilding has failed, why does it continue?

12. To what extent is the Kurdish conflict one about territory, human rights and/or national identity? Answer with reference to the Kurds in either or both Iraq and Syria.
13. What, if anything, is lost if conflict and peacebuilding in the Great Lakes is studied at the regional level of analysis?
14. What role(s) does violence play in the reproduction of political order in Latin America?

Past examination (from 2017): But please note that the examination in 2019-20 will be undivided.

Answer *three* questions, including *at least* one question from each section.

Section A

1. Are there advantages to studying peace rather than studying conflict?
2. If the concept of state failure is problematic, why does it continue to be used?
3. Are ethnically homogeneous countries more peaceful?
4. When and how are gender identities mobilised for violence?
5. What would it mean to adopt a human security approach to the refugee crisis?
6. When, if ever, does peacekeeping increase the likelihood of conflict?
7. Does increased 'local' involvement lead to greater effectiveness of humanitarian relief efforts?
8. Are the most inclusive governance and military structures the most likely to bring about sustainable peace?
9. Are *either* post-conflict justice *or* reconciliation possible in the presence of structural violence?
10. Is economic development both a cause of conflict and a cause of peace?

Section B

11. Are there alternatives to statebuilding as a response to conflicts in the Great Lakes Region of Africa?
12. Can the Kurdish conflict be understood through a focus on the state?
13. Is it possible to end conflict in Colombia on a self-sustaining basis without taking into account regional and international factors?
14. To what extent do international policy responses resolve the underlying causes of conflict? Answer with reference to *one* of the following countries: Afghanistan, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, Libya, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Syria, Timor-Leste, Turkey.

Past examiners' reports

Pol. 16 2017

POL 16 had a particularly large number of students in 2016-17, and there was greater variation in the marks compared with previous years. There were 62 candidates for this paper. Ten candidates received a first class mark and ten candidates received a 2.2 mark, with the other candidates receiving 2.1 marks. The average mark was 64.8.

The best answers showed intellectual agility, a strong ability to assess different claims and arguments intelligently, and provided convincing evidence. There were some exceptional answers that had elements of originality and careful thought. Strong answers were able to make connections across the course material, and were able to effectively challenge or question some of the assumptions in some of the literature and policy documents. Weaker answers were polemical or lacked a logical structure, veered from the question, or made unsubstantiated assertions.

No candidate chose to answer Q1, but every other exam question was attempted by at least four candidates. The most popular questions were Q2 and Q12, each attempted by 26 students. Q9 was attempted by 22 students, and Q10 by 21 students. There were some excellent answers to Q2, but weaker answers spent too much time on the debate about whether the concept of state failure was problematic, without addressing the question of why the term is used. Only 5 candidates answered Q3 and marks ranged for this question tended to be lower than average, with one mark of 72 but several marks in the 2.2 range. Weaker answers did not engage with the literature and offered pre-packaged answers on ethnicity and conflict. On the other hand, Q4 tended to be very well done, with several first class marks. Candidates intelligently discussed the multiple connections between gender identities and violence, drawing on a wide range of readings and examples. Several candidates had difficulty with Q5 because they failed to explain what was meant by a 'human security approach'. Students are reminded to answer the specific question being asked, and to reflect on all aspects of the question, rather than producing an essay that resembles previous supervision essay work. Only 4 candidates attempted Q6 and again several of these answers suffered from a lack of precision. Many of the answers to Q7 were much better, with several candidates interrogating the meaning of 'local', and providing thoughtful critiques. Q8-Q9-Q10 were all popular questions. The best answers showed familiarity with a wide set of arguments and were able to refute or support different claims using appropriate evidence from the literature or from case study examples. There were some excellent answers to Q10, which drew upon general debates about causality. Weaker answers did not explain structural violence (in Q9) or were let down by insufficient attention to detail.

We were pleased to see that the case study answers were generally well done, and that students had proficiently deployed the case study material to make convincing arguments. The best scripts on Q11 discussed the relationship between the state and conflict in the Great Lakes, and persuasively argued what this meant for statebuilding and any possible alternatives. Stronger scripts on Q12 used an analytical approach to consider interaction and divergence across Syria and Iraq by considering a range of actors and histories. Weaker scripts retraced a basic descriptive account of the conflict(s). There were several excellent answers to Q13, which showed awareness of different kinds of factors influencing the Colombian conflict, and how these may be related. We were pleased to see that there were several strong answers to the different cases in Q14, but there was also one incomplete answer that received a 3rd class mark.

The paper was not taught in 2018-19. Other past examinations and examiners' reports can be found on Moodle.