HSPS and H&P TRIPOS
PART IIB 2024-5

Pol 12 - The Politics of Conflict and Peace

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Lecturers and Supervisors

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Outline of the Course

This paper explores issues of conflict and peace in contemporary international politics, with a particular focus on conflict, peace and migration in the Global South. It considers competing theories and claims about the causes of conflict and the relationship between conflict, development, migration 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 peace and peacebuilding. The possibilities and limitations of international law and institutions, including the United Nations, in managing or 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? How do international institutions, laws, and programmes respond to conflict? 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? Why do people migrate and what are the challenges they face? How is political agency exercised?

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 institutions, law, and processes
- to understand theories of mobility and migration, and how migration is governed
- 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 policy packages

- to teach students how to read closely primary texts such as international treaties, resolutions and official reports

The paper is taught by lectures, seminars, and supervisions, as explained below.

Lectures

In **Michaelmas**, we will have 10 lectures. These lectures will explore the origins and nature of contemporary conflict, the relationship between international laws and conflict, one specific transnational dynamic (migration) and one case study (the Rohingya crisis). We begin by discussing the contested meanings and dynamics of concepts of security, war, and conflict, and how scholars study them. We then turn to the relationship between international law, institutions, the state and conflict. Four lectures follow on mobility and migration, including the governance of migration and the politics of camps. Finally, we will have two lectures on the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar to illustrate some of concepts and dilemmas raised in the course so far.

In **Lent**, we will have 10 lectures focussing 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 next lecture will focus on different international and regional actors and their strategies and normative agendas, including China and other 'new' actors in peacebuilding. Next, we discuss different 'responses' to conflict, including 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 building peace and transnational advocacy.

In **Easter** term we will one revision lecture (and one revision supervision, see below).

Seminars

We will have two seminars, one in Lent and one in Easter to discuss key overarching concepts and readings in greater depth.

The **Lent** seminar will focus on concepts, measurement, indicators and methods in conflict, peace and migration studies.

The **Easter** seminar will be a revision class where we will discuss implications and 'alternative' ideas and practices of peace.

For both seminars, students should submit two questions sparked by the readings.

Supervisions and Assessment

Students will have 5 supervisions spread over Michaelmas and Lent terms, and 1 revision supervision in Easter term. For *four* of these (as agreed with your supervisor), students should hand in 4 essays of approximately 2000 words. For the remaining fifth supervision, students are *not* required to write an essay but should submit an *essay outline* and be prepared to discuss the topic and readings in supervision.

The **Easter** term revision supervision will be used discuss a mock exam answer essay.

This paper is assessed by an **undivided** examination paper, from which students should answer three questions. Students can also find previous examination papers and reports on Moodle but please note that some topics change every year. A recent past exam paper can be found at the end of this guide; others can be found on Moodle.

Michaelmas Term lectures (check dates below, as we <u>won't</u> have lectures every Tue/Thu) Tuesdays (weeks 1-8) 4-5pm Room SG2, Alison Richard Building Thursdays (weeks 2-8) 4-5pm Room S1, Alison Richard Building	
Giovanni Mantilla: **Conflict, International Law & Institutions** 1.Introduction: conflict and peace (Oct 15) 2. Defining and studying contemporary conflict dynamics (Oct 17) 3. International law of armed conflict, justice, and peace I (Oct 22) 4. International law of armed conflict, justice, and peace II (Oct 24) **Marthe Achtnich: Migration** 5. Migration, Mobility, and Journeys (Oct. 29) 6. Migration, Governance, and Borders (Oct. 31) 7. Migration, Health, and Economy (Nov. 5) 8. Migration and immobility (Nov. 7)	**Farhana Rahman:** **Lectures on the** **Rohingya Crisis as a case study** Rohingya Lecture 1: Forced Migration and Rohingya Refugees (Nov 19) Rohingya Lecture 2: Gender, Identities, and Rohingya Refugee Subjectivities (Nov. 21)

Lent lectures: Mondays 3-4pm, room SG2 ARB Wednesdays 10-11, room SG2 ARB	**Lent** **Seminar** Room 119 ARB	**Easter term** **Revision lecture and seminar**
Devon Curtis **Peace:** 1.The history of peace studies (Jan 27) 2. What is peacebuilding? (Jan 29) 3. Who keeps the peace and why? (Feb 3) 4. Politics of humanitarian assistance (Feb 5) 5. Gender, conflict and peace (Feb 10)	**Seminar 1** **Concepts, methods,** **measurement** **Group 1** Thurs 6 Feb, 1-3pm **Group 2** Thurs 6 Feb, 3-5pm **Group 3** Fri 7 Feb, 10.30-12.30	**Lecture** Revision lecture Monday 5 May, 3-4pm Room SG2

6. Negotiations, mediation and peace agreements (Feb 12) 7. Governance: Democratisation and the governance of divided societies (Feb 17) 8. Security: Ex-combatants and DDR (Feb 19) 9. Society: Justice and reconciliation (Feb 24) 10. Economy: Post-war economic policies and development (Feb 26)		**Seminar 2** Room 119, ARB **Limits and alternatives to PB and Statebuilding** **Group 1** Thurs 8 May, 1-3pm **Group 2** Thurs 8 May, 3-5pm **Group 3** Friday 9 May, 10:30-12:30

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. Many items that are not available in online journals or as e-books are on the library moodle site (ie- some book chapters).

Please note that although this paper guide is very long, students are not expected to do ALL the readings.

Please note also that many of the readings contain reference to, or descriptions of, violence and suffering in different forms, including sexual violence and death.

For each lecture, we clarify which are the **core required readings** and which are s*uggested* readings. The suggested readings in each section is for students who wish to go into more depth on a particular topic.

Lecture powerpoints will be uploaded to the POL 12 Moodle website.

General Readings

These are general readings that deal with the main themes in this paper. They are not required but we encourage you to read them at some point in the year.

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

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

Murad Idris, *War for Peace: Genealogies of a Violent Ideal in Western and Islamic Thought*, Oxford University Press 2018.

Marthe Achtnich, *Mobility Economies in Europe's Borderlands: Migrants' Journeys through Libya and the Mediterranean.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023. **We recommend you read this book prior to the lectures on Migration.**

LECTURE READING LIST

MICHAELMAS TERM - Conflict: Causes, "Solutions" and Dynamics

Lecture 1: Introduction: Conflict and peace

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

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

*David Keen, Complex Emergencies (London: Polity 2008). Chapter 1.

Suggested Readings:

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.

Lawrence Freedman, Why War Fails: Russia's invasion of Ukraine and the Limits of Military Power, *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 2022.

Lecture 2: Defining and studying contemporary conflict dynamics. *[There will be seminar in LT about this topic so remember to refer to these readings for that too!]*

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

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

Suggested Readings:

Sally Engle Merry, The Seductions of Quantification: Measuring Human Rights, Gender Violence and Sex Trafficking, University of Chicago Press, 2016.

Mahmood Mamdani, 'The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency'. *London Review of Books*, 29(5), 2007, pp. 5-8.

Pamina Firchow, *Reclaiming Everyday Peace: Local Voices in Measurement and Evaluation after War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018

Suda Perera, Bermuda triangulation: embracing the messiness of researching in conflict, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 11 (1), 2017

Jonathan Bright, John Gledhill, A Divided Discipline? Mapping Peace and Conflict Studies, *International Studies Perspectives*, 19 (2), 2018

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

Weidmann, N. B. (2015). 'On the Accuracy of Media-based Conflict Event Data'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59(6), 1129–1149. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002714530431

Weidmann, Nils B. (2016). "A Closer Look at Reporting Bias in Conflict Event Data." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 206-218. doi: 10.1111/ajps.12196

*2022 Global Peace Index: https://www.visionofhumanity.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/GPI-2022-web.pdf

Sinisa Malesevic, "The contemporary sociology of organised violence," Ch. 2 in *The Sociology of War and Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

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

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.

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.

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

Mahmood Mamdani, *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics and the War on Terror*, US: Three Rivers Press, 2010

Lecture 3: How does international law regulate violence, war, and conflict?

Teitel, Ruti G. *Humanity's Law*. Oxford University Press, 2011. [Read: Introduction]

Dayal, Anjali, and Lise Morjé Howard. "Peace Operations." In *Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, edited by Jason Katz-Cogan, Ian Hurd, and Ian Johnstone. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Richmond, Oliver P. "The Evolution of the International Peace Architecture." *European Journal of International Security*, no. February 2014 (2021): 1–22. doi:10.1017/eis.2021.12.

Simmons, Beth A. *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chapter 2, p. 23-56.

Janina Dill, "What International Law Can't Achieve in Gaza and Ukraine", *TIME* magazine, https://time.com/6588977/international-law-israel-gaza-ukraine-russia/

Suggested readings:

Eslava, Luis, and Sundhya Pahuja. "The State and International Law: A Reading from the Global South." *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 11, no. 1 (2019): 118–38. doi:10.1353/hum.2019.0015.

Bode, Ingvild, and John Karlsrud. "Implementation in Practice: The Use of Force to Protect Civilians in United Nations Peacekeeping." *European Journal of International Relations* 25, no. 2 (2019): 458–85. doi:10.1177/1354066118796540.

Sikkink, Kathryn. "From State Responsibility to Individual Criminal Accountability: A New Regulatory Model for Core Human Rights Violations." In *The Politics of Global Regulation*, edited by Walter Mattli and Ngaire Woods. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie. *Making Human Rights a Reality*. Princeton University Press, 2013 [Chapter 4 for a description of the international human rights legal system].

Sikkink, Kathryn, and Hun Joon Kim. "The Justice Cascade: The Origins and Effectiveness of Prosecutions of Human Rights Violations." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 9, no. 1 (2013): 269–85.

Beardsley, Kyle, and Holger Schmidt. "Following the Flag or Following the Charter? Examining the Determinants of UN Involvement in International Crises, 1945-2002." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2012): 33–49. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2478.2011.00696.x.

Blix, Hans. *A Farewell to Wars: The Growing Restraints on the Interstate Use of Force*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Lecture 4: How does international law regulate war and conflict? II

Jones, Craig. *The War Lawyers: The United States, Israel, and Juridical Warfare*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020. Read the Preface, p. xxiii-xxxii, and the Introduction, pp. 1-49]

Droege, Cordula. "War and What We Make of the Law", *Just Security* blog post, July 10, 2024. https://www.justsecurity.org/97582/war-law

ICRC. "International Humanitarian Law and the Challenges of Contemporary Armed Conflicts" Report submitted to the 34th International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (September 2024): https://t.co/gZh5fcbvDN (Read the Executive Summary only.)

Watch the "'Mistakes' in War" Lecture Video Recording by Prof. Oona Hathaway (Yale Law School) at the Cambridge University Lauterpacht Centre for International Law: https://upload.sms.cam.ac.uk/media/4618321. The lecture is based on this paper by Hathaway and Khan, which you may read if you wish to: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4799550

Listen to the *Just Security* Podcast episodes:

-"Assessing the Recent Response of International Law and Institutions in Palestine and Israel" (August 21, 2024): https://www.buzzsprout.com/2074610/episodes/15617703-assessing-the-response-of-international-law-and-institutions-to-the-israel-palestine-conflict

-"International Law in the Face of Russia's Aggression in Ukraine: The View from Lviv" (March 15, 2024): https://www.buzzsprout.com/2074610/episodes/14693807-international-law-in-the-face-of-russia-s-aggression-in-ukraine-the-view-from-lviv

Suggested readings:

Mantilla, Giovanni. "Social Pressure and the Making of Wartime Civilian Protection Rules." *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 2 (2020): 443– 468.

Kinsella, Helen M., and Giovanni Mantilla. "Contestation before Compliance: History, Politics, and Power in International Humanitarian Law." *International Studies Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2020): 649–56.

Ní-Aoláin, Fionnuala. "The Ever-Expanding Legislative Supremacy of the Security Council in Counterterrorism." In *9/11 and the Rise of Global Anti-Terrorism Law: How the UN Security Council Rules the World*, edited by Arianna Vedaschi and Kim Lane Scheppele, 34–55. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

The *Just Security* Podcast, "ICJ Provisional Measures in South Africa v. Israel): January 26, 2024 https://www.buzzsprout.com/2074610/14385110-icj-provisional-measures-in-south-africa-v-israel (includes transcript, click on the relevant tab)

Krisch, Nico. "Speaking the Law, Plausibly: The International Court of Justice on Gaza", EJIL Talk! blog post, January 27, 2024: https://www.ejiltalk.org/speaking-the-law-plausibly-the-international-court-of-justice-on-gaza/

Marko Milanovic, "ICJ Indicates Provisional Measures in South Africa v. Israel", EJIL Talk! blog post, January 26, 2024: https://www.ejiltalk.org/icj-indicates-provisional-measures-in-south-africa-v-israel/

Lecture 5: Migration, Mobility and Journeys

Achtnich, Marthe 2023. *Mobility Economies in Europe's Borderlands: Migrants' Journeys through Libya and the Mediterranean.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter: Introduction: Mobilities and Economies at the Edge of Europe).

Arango, Joaquín 2000. Explaining Migration: A Critical View. *International Social Science Journal* 52(165), pp. 283–296.

Belloni, Milena 2019. *The Big Gamble: The Migration of Eritreans to Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chapter: Introduction)

Malkki, Liisa H. 1995. Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24, pp. 495-523.

Vogt, Wendy 2018. *Lives in Transit: Violence and Intimacy on the Migrant Journey.* Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chapters: Introduction; 1. Circulations of Violence).

Suggested Readings

Glick Schiller, Nina and Salazar, Noel B. 2013. Regimes of Mobility across the Globe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39(2), pp. 183-200.

Lischer, Sarah Kenyon 2014. Conflict and Crisis Induced Displacement. In: Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Elena, Loescher, Gil, Long Katy, and Sigona, Nando (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Refugees and Forced Migration Studies*, pp. 317-329. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malkki, Liisa H. 1995. *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Simonsen, Anja 2023. *Tahriib – Journeys into the Unknown. An Ethnography of Uncertainty in Migration.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. (Chapters: 1 Introduction: Uncertainties of Migration; 2 A History of Lives on the Move).

Lecture 6: Migration, Governance and Borders

Rozaku, Katerina 2015. The Biopolitics of Hospitality in Greece: Humanitarianism and the Management of Refugees. *American Ethnologist* 39 (3), pp. 562-577.

Simonsen, Anja 2023. *Tahriib – Journeys into the Unknown. An Ethnography of Uncertainty in Migration.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. (Chapter: 7 Biometric Ambiguities)

Tazzioli, Martina 2020. *The Making of Migration: The Biopolitics of Mobility at Europe's Borders*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage. (Chapter: Introduction)

Walters, William 2011. Foucault and Frontiers: Notes on the Birth of the Humanitarian Border. In: Bröckling, Ulrich, Krasmann, Susanne, Lemke, Thomas (eds.) *Governmentality: Current Issues and Future Challenge*s, pp. 138-164. London: Routledge.

Suggested Readings:

Achtnich, Marthe 2021. Bordering Practices: Migrants, Mobility and Affect in Libya. *American Ethnologist* 48(3), pp. 314-326.

Amoore, Louise 2006. Biometric Borders: Governing Mobilities in the War on Terror. *Political Geography* 25, pp. 336–351.

De León, Jason 2015. *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail.* Oakland, California: University of California Press.

Fassin, Didier 2011. Policing Borders, Producing Boundaries: The Governmentality of Immigration in Dark Times. *Annual Review of Anthropo*logy 40, pp. 213–226.

Ghosh, Sahana 2023. *A Thousand Tiny Cuts. Mobility and Security across the Bangladesh-India Borderlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Heller, Charles and Pezzani, Lorenzo 2022. The Other Boats: State and Nonstate Vessels at the EU's Maritime Frontier. In: Walters, William, Heller, Charles and Pezzani, Lorenzo (eds.). *Viapolitics: Borders, Migration, and the Power of Locomotion,* pp. 211-234. Durham: Duke University Press.

Hyndman, Jennifer 2000. *Managing Displacement: Refugees and the Politics of Humanitarianism.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Minca, C., Rijke, A., Pallister-Wilkins, P., Tazzioli, M., Vigneswaran, D., van Houtum, H., & van Uden, A. 2022. Rethinking the Biopolitical: Borders, Refugees, Mobilities.... *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 40(1), pp. 3-30.

Lecture 7: Migration, Health and Economy

Abdelrahman, Maha 2023. Trauma Apps and the Making of the 'Smart' Refugee. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 41(3), pp. 513-528.

Andersson, Ruben 2018. Profits and Predation in the Human Bioeconomy. *Public Culture* 30(3), pp. 413-439.

De Genova, Nicholas 2022. Viral Borders: Migration, Deceleration, and the Re-Bordering of Mobility during the COVID-19 Pandemic. *Communication, Culture and Critique* 15, pp. 139-156.

Pallister-Wilkins, Polly 2018. Médecins Avec Frontières and the Making of a Humanitarian Borderscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 36(1), pp. 114-138.

Suggested Readings

Achtnich, Marthe 2022. Mobile Livings: On the Bioeconomies of Mobility. *Cultural Anthropology* 37(1), pp. 1-8.

Ticktin, Miriam I. 2011. *Casualties of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Vogt, Wendy 2018. *Lives in Transit: Violence and Intimacy on the Migrant Journey*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chapter: 4. Embodied Mobilities)

Lecture 8: Migration and Immobility

Belloni, Milena 2019. *The Big Gamble: The Migration of Eritreans to Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chapter: Hypermobile and Immobile: Diverse Responses to Protracted Displacement in Ethiopia and Sudan)

Lubkemann, Stephen C. 2008. Involuntary Immobility: On a Theoretical Invisibility in Forced Migration Studies. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21(4), pp. 454-475.

Martin, Diana, Minca, Claudio and Katz, Irit 2020. Rethinking the Camp: On Spatial Technologies of Power and Resistance. *Progress in Human Geography* 44(4), pp. 743-768.

Martin, Lauren L. and Tazzioli, Martina 2023. Value Extraction through Refugee Carcerality: Data, Labour and Financialised Accommodation. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 41(2), pp. 191-209.

Suggested Readings:

Achtnich, Marthe 2022. Waiting to Move On: Migration, Borderwork and Mobility Economies in Libya. *Geopolitics* 27(5), pp. 1376-1389.

Agier, Michel 2011. *Managing the Undesirables. Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Feldman, Ilana 2015. What is a Camp? Legitimate Refugee Lives in Spaces of Long-Term Displacement. *Geoforum* 66, pp. 244–252.

Jefferson, Andrew, Turner, Simon and Jensen, Steffen 2019. Introduction: On Stuckness and Sites of Confinement. *Ethnos* 84(1), pp. 1-13.

Scott Smith, Tom and Mark E. Breeze (eds.) 2020. *Structures of Protection? Rethinking Refugee Shelter*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.

Lectures 9 and 10 on the Rohingya Crisis as a case study

Despite significant trends in the effects of forced migration on various groups, there still remains a substantial lack of current knowledge on the everyday lives and subjectivities of the Rohingya community – particularly Rohingya women. In 2017, an escalation of violence in Rakhine State in Myanmar – where the Rohingya largely resided – reached a tipping point, with horrific reports of murder, kidnapping, and rape, resulting forced displacement to Bangladesh and a major humanitarian crisis. This module will explore forced migration processes more generally, and the reasons behind the Rohingya refugee crisis specifically. It will highlight the importance of the role of gender in forced migration and the ways in which Rohingya gender identities, roles, and relations have been affected as a result of displacement. Through the lived experiences and everyday negotiations of Rohingya refugee women, we will problematize deeply embedded gender ideologies regarding women's place in settings after forced migration.

Lecture 9: Forced Migration and Rohingya Refugees

Core readings

Farhana Afrin Rahman. (forthcoming Sept. 2024) *After the Exodus: Gender and Belonging in Bangladesh's Rohingya Refugee Camps*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters: 1, 2, 3.)

Doreen Indra. (ed.). (1998) *Engendering Forced Migration: Theory and Practice*. New York: Berghahn. Chapters 1 & 2 (pp. 1-39.)

Azeem Ibrahim. (2016) *The Rohingyas: Inside Myanmar's Hidden Genocide*. London: Hurst. Introduction (pp. 1-16) and Chapter 4 (pp. 79-98).

Suggested readings

Nasir Uddin. (2020) *The Rohingya: An Ethnography of 'Subhuman' Life*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Dawn Chatty. (2014) "Anthropology and Forced Migration." In: Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 74-85.

Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh. (2014) "Gender and Forced Migration." In: Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 395-408.

Elizabeth Colson. (2003) Forced Migration and the Anthropological Response. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 16 (1): 1-18.

Eleanor Albert and Lindsay Maizland. (2017) "The Rohingya Crisis." *Council on Foreign Relations*. Available from: https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/rohingya-crisis.

Al Jazeera (2016) *Rohingya Face Myanmar 'Ethnic Cleansing': UN Official*. Available from: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/11/25/rohingya-face-myanmar-ethnic-cleansing-un-official.

Nancy Clark. (2017) "The Unspeakable Horrors Endured by the World's Most Persecuted Minority." *Vice*. Available from: https://www.vice.com/en/article/gyxvv9/myanmar-burma-rohingya-worlds-most-persecuted-minority.

Kazi Fahmida Farzana. (2017) *Memories of Burmese Rohingya Refugees: Contested Identity and Belonging*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kazi Fahmida Farzana. (2015) Boundaries in Shaping the Rohingya Identity and the Shifting Context of Borderland Politics. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 15 (2): 292-314.

Hindstrom, H. (2012) "Burma's Monks Call for Muslim Community to be Shunned." *The Independent*. Available from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/burmas-monks-call-for-muslim-community-to-be-shunned-7973317.html.

Human Rights Watch. (2015) "Southeast Asia: Accounts from Rohingya Boat People." Available from: https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/05/27/southeast-asia-accounts-rohingya-boat-people.

Human Rights Watch. (2018) ""Bangladesh is Not My Country": The Plight of Rohingya Refugees from Myanmar." Available from: https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/08/05/bangladesh-not-my-country/plight-rohingya-refugees-myanmar.

Bhatia, A. et al. (2018) The Rohingya in Cox's Bazar: When the Stateless Seek Refuge. *Health and Human Rights*, 20 (2): 105-122.

Oxfam. (2019) "Rohingya People Still Trapped Two Years on From Exodus." Available from: https://www.oxfam.org/en/press-releases/rohingya-people-still-trapped-two-years-exodus.

Equal Rights Trust. (2014) *Equal Only in Name: The Human Rights of Stateless Rohingya in Malaysia*. The Institute of Human Rights and Peace Studies, Mahidol University.

de Chickera, A. (2018) Statelessness and Identity in the Rohingya Refugee Crisis. *Humanitarian Exchange*, 73: 7-10.

Lecture 10: Gender, Identities, and Rohingya Refugee Subjectivities

Core readings

Farhana Afrin Rahman. (forthcoming Sept. 2024) *After the Exodus: Gender and Belonging in Bangladesh's Rohingya Refugee Camps*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters: 4, 5, 6, 7)

Sarah J. Mahler and Patricia R. Pessar. (2006) Gender Matters: Ethnographies Bring Gender from the Periphery toward the Core of Migration Studies. *International Migration Review*, 40 (1): 27-63.

Judy El-Bushra. (2000) "Transforming Conflict: Some Thoughts on a Gendered Understanding of Conflict Processes." In: Jacobs, S. et al. (eds.), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*. London: Zed Books, pp. 66-86.

Suggested readings

Deniz Kandiyoti. (1988) Bargaining with Patriarchy. *Gender & Society*, 2 (3): 274-290.

Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo. (2000) Feminism and Migration. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 571 (1): 107-120.

Judy El-Bushra. (2000) "Transforming Conflict: Some Thoughts on a Gendered Understanding of Conflict Processes." In: Jacobs, S. et al. (eds.), *States of Conflict: Gender, Violence and Resistance*. London: Zed Books, pp. 66-86.

Elizabeth Colson. (1999) "Gendering Those Uprooted by Development." In: Indra, D. (ed.), *Engendering Forced Migration: Theory and Practice*. New York: Berghahn, pp. 23-39.

Akhter, S. and Kusakabe, K. (2014) Gender-Based Violence Among Documented Rohingya Refugees in Bangladesh. *Indian Journal of Gender Studies*, 21 (2): 225-246.

Daniel Coyle, Mohammed Abdullah Jainul, and Marie Sophie Sandberg Petterson. (2020) Honour in Transition: Changing Gender Norms Among the Rohingya. *Āarar Dilor Hota (Voices of Our Hearts) Series*. Bangladesh: IOM.

Jane Freedman. (2007) *Gendering the International Asylum and Refugee Debate*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

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?

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). Introduction, 1-18.

Bukavu Series: Invisible Voices in the Production of Knowledge
https://www.gicnetwork.be/introducing-the-bukavu-series-invisible-voices-in-the-production-of-knowledge/

Suggested readings

Peter Wallensteen, *Peace Research*, London: Routledge, 2011. **[Intro]**
https://idiscover.lib.cam.ac.uk/primo-explore/search?vid=44CAM_PROD&lang=en_US&tab=default_tab&query=any,contains,(UkCU)83625-erdb&search_scope=default_scope&sortby=rank

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.

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

Suggested readings

Sharath Srinivasan, *When Peace Kills Politics: International Intervention and Unending War in the Sudans*, Oxford, 2021
https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780197602720.001.0001/oso-9780197602720?rskey=qcGksu&result=9

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

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

Roberta Holanda Machietto (2020), 'Integrating Subjectivities of Power and Violence in Peacebuilding Analysis' *Third World Quarterly*, 41(3), 379-396.

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]**

Short video on 'Everyday peace indicators' (Roger MacGinty and Pamina Firchow)

Cases:

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

Seminar 1: Concepts, Definitions and Measurement (Lent Term)

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) Mahmood Mamdani, 'The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency' London Review of Books, 29(5), 8 March 2007

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

Lecture 3: Who 'keeps' the peace and why?
Is the use of force necessary to bring about peace/stability? How has UN peacekeeping evolved? Do 'new actors' in peacekeeping and peacebuilding, such as China, approach conflict and peace in different ways?

John Karlsrud, *The UN at War: Peace Operations in a New Era*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

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.

Alex de Waal, 'Mission without End: Peacekeeping in the African Political Marketplace", *International Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 1, 2009.

Philip Cunliffe, Still the Spectre at the Feast: Comparisons between Peacekeeping and Imperialism in Peacekeeping Studies Today, *International Peacekeeping*, Vol. 19, 4, 2012.

Beatrice Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen from Below: UN Missions and Local People,* (London: Hurst, 2006). **[M: Introduction: The UN, p 1-41.]**

Suggested readings

Ernst B. Haas, "Collective Conflict Management: Evidence for a New World Order?", in Thomas Weiss, ed., *Collective Security in a Changing World* (Lynne Rienner, 1993).

Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping: Women, Peace, and Security in Post-Conflict States,* Oxford University Press, 2017.

Katharina P. Coleman, *International Organisations and Peace Enforcement: The Politics of International Legitimacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Case readings

China:

*Miwa Hirono, Yang Jiang and Marc Lanteigne, "China's New Roles and Behaviour in Conflict- Affected Regions: Reconsidering Non-Interference and Non-Intervention", *The China Quarterly*, 239 (September 2019), pp. 573–593.

*Sunghee Cho, "China's Participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations since the 2000s", *Journal of Contemporary China* 2018.

*Christoph Zurcher, China as Peacekeeper: Past, Present and Future. *International Journal*, 75:2, 2020.

*Kwok Chung Wong, 'The rise of China's developmental peace: Can an economic approach to peacebuilding create sustainable peace? *Global Society*, 2021.

Courtney Fung, Rhetorical Adaptation and International Order-Making: China's Advancement of the Responsibility to Protect, *Cooperation and Conflict* 55, no. 2: 193–215, 2020.

Courtney Fung, Providing for Global Security: Implications of China's Combat Troop Deployment to UN Peacekeeping, *Global Governance* 25, no. 4: 509–34, 2020.

Podcast interview: "Chinese UN Peacekeeping in Africa", The China in Africa Podcast, 11 Oct. 2020,https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-china-in-africa-podcast/id484409506?i=1000494110338

Pascal Abb, 'From Peaceful Rise to Peacebuilder? How Evolving Chinese Discourses and Self-perceptions impact its growing influence in conflict societies, Journal of Contemporary China, 30: 129, 2020.

P. K. Lee, G. Chan, L-H. Chan, "China in Darfur: humanitarian rule-maker or rule-taker?", *Review of International Studies* 38:2 (April 2012)

Regional organisations:

Thierry Tardy, Hybrid Peace Operations: Rationale and Challenges, *Global Governance*, Vol 20, no 1, 2014

Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, 'Who's Keeping the Peace? Regionalization and Contemporary Peace Operations', *International Security,* (Vol. 29, No. 4, Spring 2005).

Gheciu, A. and Paris, R. 2011: NATO and the Challenge of Sustainable Peacebuilding. *Global Governance* 17 no. 1: 75-79.

Tim Murithi, 2009: The African Union's Foray into Peacekeeping: Lessons from the Hybrid Mission in Darfur. *Journal of Peace, Conflict and Development.*

Reports:

*Report of the Independent Panel on Peace Operations, June 2015

Updated: October 25, 2024

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

Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations ('the Brahimi report'), August 2001. *http://www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/*

Lecture 4: The politics of humanitarian assistance
Is the work of humanitarian aid agencies based on altruism? Is it possible for humanitarian relief to be neutral? What are the politics of humanitarianism and how has this changed over the last fifty years? What are the consequences of framing populations as 'victims'?

Larissa Fast and Christina Bennett, 'From the ground up: it's about time for local humanitarian action' London: Overseas Development Institute Report, May 2020, https://www.odi.org/publications/16991-ground-it-s-about-time-local-humanitarian-action

See also related blog posts including:
Thandie Mwape Villadsen, Aid Workers: It's time to practice what you preach, 8 June 2020, https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/opinion/2020/06/08/aid-work-black-lives-matter-racism-international-humanitarian-system

Hugo Slim, Is Racism Part of our Reluctance to Localise Humanitarian Action, 5 June 2020, https://odihpn.org/blog/is-racism-part-of-our-reluctance-to-localise-humanitarian-action/

Degan Ali and Marie-Rose Romain Murphy, 'Black Lives Matter is also a reckoning for foreign aid and international NGOs' blogpost Open Democracy, 19 July 2020.

Michael Barnett and Peter Walker, 'Regime change for humanitarian aid: How to make relief more accountable', *Foreign Affairs,* July-August 2015.

David Miliband and Ravi Gurumurthy, 'Improving humanitarian aid: How to make relief more efficient and effective', *Foreign Affairs,* July-August 2015.

Mary Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid can Support Peace or War.* (Lynne Rienner, 1999). Chapter 4.

Harrell-Bond B (2002) 'Can Humanitarian Work With Refugees Be Humane?', *Human Rights Quarterly* 24, 5185 www.unhcr.org/4d94749c9.pdf

Jenny Edkins, "Humanitarianism, Humanity, Human", *Journal of Human Rights,* Vol. 2, No. 2, 2003, pp.253-58

Bernard Hours, "NGOs and the victim industry", *Monde Diplomatique,* November 2008.

Suggested readings

David Rieff, *A Bed for a Night, Humanitarianism in Crisis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002). **[M: ch. 2 'Hazards of Charity']**

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

-Stephen Hopgood, 'Saying No to Wal-mart? Money and Morality in Professional Humanitarianism' in Michael Barnett and Tom Weiss, *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics,* Cornell University Press, 2008.

Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: a history of humanitarianism*, Cornell University Press, 2011.

David Kennedy, *The Dark Sides of Virtue: Reassessing International Humanitarianism* (Princeton University Press, 2004).

Devon Curtis, "Politics and humanitarian aid: debates, dilemmas and dissension", HPG Report 10, April 2001: http://www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/244.pdf

David Shearer, "Aiding or Abetting? Humanitarian Aid and Its Economic Role in Civil War", in Mats Berdal and David Malone, *Greed and Grievance,* Lynne Rienner 2000. (eBook)

David Keen, Th*e Benefits of Famine,* Princeton University Press, 1994.

Edward Luttwak, "Give War a Chance" *Foreign Affairs,* July-August 1999.

Ben Barber, "Feeding Refugees, or War? The Dilemmas of Humanitarian Intervention", *Foreign Affairs,* Vol. 76, No. 4, 1997.

Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action", *International Security,* (27: 1, 2002).

Mark Duffield, 'Social Reconstruction and the Radicalisation of Development: Aid as a Relation of Global Liberal Governance', *Development and Change,* 33, 5, 2002.

Alex de Waal, Democratizing the Aid Encounter in Africa' *International Affairs*, Vol 73, No. 4, October 1997.

Lisa Smirl, *Spaces of aid: How cars, compounds and hotels shape humanitarianism*, London: Zed Books, 2015.

Mark Duffield, 'Risk management and the fortified aid compound: Everyday life in post-interventionary society' *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding,* vol 4, 2010: 453-474.

David Campbell, *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity and Justice in Bosnia* (University of Minnesota Press, 1998)

Werlau, M. (2013). Cuba's Health Care Diplomacy: The Business of Humanitarianism. World Affairs, 175(6), 57-67.

Simon Turner, "Suspended Spaces- Contesting Sovereignties in a Refugee Camp", in Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat (eds) *Sovereign Bodies,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

Julia Pacitto and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, "Writing the "Other" into humanitarian discourse - Framing theory and practice in South-South humanitarian responses to forced displacement", 2013: https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/files-1/wp93-south-south-humanitarianism-contexts-forced-migration-2013.pdf.

Lecture 5, Gender: Conflict and Peace
How is the production of conflict and violence gendered? Should sexual violence in war be treated differently to other forms of violence? To what extent is 'patriarchy' relevant to understanding political violence and possibilities for peace? What does a gendered approach to peacebuilding entail?

Cynthia Enloe, "What if Patriarchy is the Big Picture? An Afterword' in Mazurana, Dyan E., Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane L. Parpart. *Gender, Conflict, And Peacekeeping*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2005.

Paul Kirby, 'Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict: The Preventing Sexual Violence Initiative and its Critics' *International Affairs*, 91, 3, 2015: pp. 457-472.

Carol Cohn (ed) *Women and Wars*. Polity Press 2013. **[ch. 1]**

Hagen, J. (2016) 'Queering women peace and security'. *International Affairs*. 92(2). pp. 313–332.

Carol Gentry and Laura Sjoberg, *Beyond Mothers, Monsters, Whores: Thinking about Women's Violence in Global Politics*, London: Zed Books, 2015. Chapters TBC.

Kathleen Jennings, 'Conditional Protection? Sex, Gender and Discourse in UN Peacekeeping', *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol 63, 1, March 2019, 30-42.

Suggested readings

Charli Carpenter, 'Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations', *Security Dialogue*, 37, 1, 2006, pp. 83-103.

Jasbir Puar, 'Rethinking Homonationalism' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45(2), 2013, pp. 336-339.

Angela Davis, 'A Vocabulary for Feminist Praxis: On War and Radical Critique', in Robin L Riley, Chandra Mohanty, Minnie Pratt (eds), *Feminism and War: Confronting US Imperialism*, London: Zed Books, 2008.

Jasmine-Kim Westendorf, *Violating Peace: Sex, Aid, and Peacekeeping*, Cornell University Press, 2020.

Catherine A. MacKinnon, *Are women human?*, Cambridge, Mass.; London : Harvard University Press, 2007.

-Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics [Updated Edition]*. Updated. University of California Press, 2000.

Joshua Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

-J Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

-Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When is Life Grievable?*, Verso Books, 2009.

-V. Spike Peterson (ed), *Gendered States: Feminist (Re) Visions of International Relations Theory*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1992.

Updated: October 25, 2024

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

Kimberley Hutchings, "Making Sense of Masculinity and War." *Men and Masculinities* 10, no. 4 (June 1, 2008): 389–404.

C. C. Confortini, 'Galtung, Violence and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/ Feminism Alliance, *Peace and Change*, 31 (2006): 333-367.

-M Caprioli, "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (2005): 161–178.

Cynthia Cockburn, "The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflicts and Political Violence" in Moser, Caroline N. O., and Fiona Clark. *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors?: Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.

Carlo Koos, 'What do we know about sexual violence in armed conflicts? Recent empirical progress and remaining gaps in peace and conflict research' GIGA working paper No. 275, June 2015.
http://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/publication/what-do-we-know-about-sexual-violence-in-armed-conflicts

Cohen, D.K. (2013). "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)" *American Political Science Review*.107 no. 3, pp. 461-477.

-Paul Kirby, "How Is Rape a Weapon of War?: Feminist International Relations, Modes of Critical Explanation and the Study of Wartime Sexual Violence." *European Journal of International Relations* (February 10, 2012).

-Elisabeth Jean Wood. "Variation in Sexual Violence During War." *Politics & Society* 34, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 307–342.

-Dara Cohen, *Rape during civil war*, Cornell University Press, 2016.

P Kirby and L Shepherd, The Futures Past of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda, *International Affairs*, Vol. 92, 2, March 2016.

-Laura Shepherd, 'Power and authority in the production of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325', *International Studies Quarterly*, 52, 2, 2008: 383-404.

Esther Luigi, 1325 and Beyond: Ways forward for the United Nations, https://www.wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/1325-and-Beyond-Ways-Forward-for-the-United-Nations-Esther-Luigi.pdf

Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Security the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of UNSC 1325, 2015.
http://wps.unwomen.org/~/media/files/un%20women/wps/highlights/unw-global-study-1325-2015.pdf

Fionnuala ni Aolain, The 'war on terror' and extremism: assessing the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, *International Affairs*, Vol 92, No. 2, March 2016.

Jasbir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, Duke University Press, 2008.

Nadine Puechguirbal, Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents, *International Peacekeeping*, 17, 2, 2010.

Karim S, Beardsley K, *Equal Opportunity Peacekeeping: Women, Peace and Security in Post-Conflict States*, Oxford University Press, 2017.

-Marsha Henry, 'Peacexploitation? Interrogating Labor Hierarchies and Global Sisterhood Among Indian and Uruguayan Female Peacekeepers' *Globalizations*, Vol. 9, 1, 2012: 15-33.

-Paul Higate, "Peacekeepers, Masculinities, and Sexual Exploitation." *Men and Masculinities* 10, no. 1 (July 1, 2007): 99–119.

Claire Duncanson, *Gender and Peacebuilding*. Polity Press, 2016.

Cases:

Dara Cohen, 'Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War', *World Politics*, 65(3), 2013, 383-415

West, H. G. 2000. 'Girls with Guns: Narrating the Experience of War of FRELIMO's "Female Detachment"'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 73(4): 180-195.

Chris Coulter, *Bush Wives and Girl Soldiers: Women's Lives Through War and Peace in Sierra Leone*. Cornell University Press, 2009.

Megan MacKenzie (2012), *Female Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Sex, Security and Post-Conflict Development*, NYU Press

-Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern, 'Why do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC), *International Studies Quarterly*, June 2009.

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.

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

Claudia Brunner, "Female Suicide Bombers – Male Suicide Bombing? Looking for Gender in Reporting the Suicide Bombings of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict." *Global Society* 19, no. 1 (2005): 29–48.

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.

G Bhattacharyya, *Dangerous Brown Men: Exploiting Sex, Violence, Feminism in the War on Terror.* London: Zed Books, 2008.

Anne-Kathrin Kreft, Civil society perspectives on sexual violence in conflict: patriarchy and war strategy in Colombia, *International Affairs*, Volume 96, Issue 2, March 2020, Pages 457–478

Lecture 6: 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?

Stephen Stedman, 'Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes', *International Security* (22:2, 1997).

Desirée Nilsson and Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs. 2011. "Revisiting an Elusive Concept: A Review of the Debate on Spoilers in Peace Processes." *International Studies Review* 13(4): 606-626.

Marie-Joelle Zahar, 'Reframing the Spoiler Debate in Peace Processes' in John Darby (ed), *Contemporary Peace Making: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes.* (London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2003). **[M]**

David Cunningham 2013. "Who Should be at the Table?: Veto Players and Peace Processes in Civil War." *Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs* 2, 1: 38-47.

Krause Jana, Werner Krause and Piia Bränfors. 2018. "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace." *International Interactions* 44(6): 985-1016.

Desiree Nilsson, 'Anchoring the Peace: Civil Society Actors in Peace Accords and Durable Peace' *International Interactions*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2012.

Alex de Waal, 'Inclusion in Peacemaking: From Moral Claim to Political Fact', In Pamela Aall and Chester Crocker (eds). *The Fabric of Peace in Africa, Looking Beyond the State,* Waterloo: CIGI, 2017.

Esra Cuhadar, Understanding Resistance to Inclusive Peace Processes, US Institute of Peace, *Peaceworks* 159, 2020

Suggested readings

Paul Salem, A Critique of Western Conflict Resolution from a Non-Western Perspective, *Negotiation Journal*, October 1993.

M.A. Kleiboer, "Understanding Success and Failure of International Mediation," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, (Vol. 41, 1996): 360-389.

Introductory/general readings on mediation:
Jacob Bercovitch, Mediation and Conflict Resolution, *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*, Bercovitch, Kremenyuk, Zartman (eds), 2009

Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, Pamela Aall, The Shifting Sands of Peacemaking: Challenges of Multiparty Mediation, *International Negotiation*, 20 (2015) Mikael Eriksson, Roland Kostic, *Mediation and liberal peacebuilding: peace from the ashes of war?* Abington: Routledge, 2013

Sara Hellmüller, Julia Palmiano Federer, Mathias Zeller, The Role of Norms in International Peace Mediation, Bern: Swisspeace/NOREF, 2015

Sean William Kane, Making Peace When the Whole World Has Come to Fight: The Mediation of Internationalized Civil Wars, *International Peacekeeping*, 2020

On specific aspects of mediation
Elodie Convergne, 'Learning to Mediate? The Mediation Support Unit and the Production of Expertise by the UN', *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 10(2), 2016, p. 181-199.

Ashraf Ghani, Clare Lockhart, Writing the History of the Future: Securing Stability through Peace Agreements, *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 1 (3), 2007

C. Bell, C. O'Rourke, The People's Peace? Peace Agreements, Civil Society, and Participatory Democracy, *International Political Science Review*, 28 (3), 2007

Julia Palmiano Federer, Julia Pickhardt et al., Beyond the Tracks? Reflections on Multitrack Approaches to Peace Processes, HD/CSS/Swisspeace/FBA, 2019

Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, Simon Mason, *Mediation and Governance in Fragile Contexts: Small Steps to Peace*, Boulder CO: Kumarian Press, 2019

Allard Duursma, African Solutions to African Challenges: The Role of Legitimacy in Mediating Civil Wars in Africa, *International Organization*, 74, 2020

Other aspects of peace agreements and peace processes
Kelly Greenhill and Solomon Major, 'The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords', *International Security*, Vol 31, 3, Winter 2006-7: 7-40.

Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth Cousens, *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements (Lynne* Rienner 2002). **[Intro. pp. 1-40 on *M]***

Monica Toft, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars, Princeton University Press*, 2010.

Lise M Howard and Alexandra Stark, How Civil Wars End: The International System, Norms and the Role of External Actors, *International Security*, Vol 42(3), 2018.

Virginia Page Fortna, 'Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace', *International Organization,* (57: 337-72, 2003).

O'Reilly, Marie, Andrea Ó Súilleabháin and Thania Paffenholz. 2015. *Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes*. New York: International Peace Institute.

M. Alwis, Mertus, J., and Sajjad, T. *Women and Peace Processes*. In Carol Cohn (ed.) *Women and Wars*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013.

Mohammed Maundi et al., 'The Problem', in *Getting In* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2006). **[M]**

-I William Zartman, Ripe for Resolution, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

-Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A Hartzell (eds) *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States,* University of Chicago Press, 2010.

-Mark Peceny and William Stanley, 'Liberal social reconstruction and the resolution of civil wars in Central America,' *International Organisation*, 55, 1, 2001: 149-182.

-Barbara Walter, "Designing Transitions from Civil War" in Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder (eds), *Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention* (Columbia University Press, 1999).

-Alex de Waal, 'Mission without End: Peacekeeping in the African Political Marketplace", *International Affairs,* Vol. 85, No. 1, 2009.

Roger Mac Ginty, 'No War, no Peace: Why so many Peace Processes Fail to Deliver Peace', *International Politics*, 47, March 2010, pp. 145-162.

-Richard Betts, 'The Delusion of Impartial Intervention' Foreign Affairs, November-December, 1994.

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

Also: podcasts:
The Mediator's Studio (from Humanitarian Dialogue Centre),
https://www.hdcentre.org/osloforum/podcasts/
There are a number of excellent interviews with mediators on this site.

IPI youtube video on 'Women mediators: Connecting Local and Global Peacebuilders' (with Sanam Naraghi-Anderlini and Theresa Whitfield).

UN DPPA, Covid-19 response, UN Women, Covid 19 and Conflict: Advancing Women's Meaningful Participation in Ceasefires and Peace Processes, Policy Brief No. 19, 2020.

Lecture 7: 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?

Anna Jarstad and Timothy Sisk (eds), *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding* (Cambridge University Press, 2008). (see chapter 4)

Tim Sisk, "Power-sharing after Civil Wars: Matching Problems with Solutions", in John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty, *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)
.
Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict,* Cambridge University Press, 2004. Chapter 2 "The Liberal Peace Thesis".

Michael Barnett, 'Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War' *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4, Spring 2006: 87-112.

Denis M Tull and Andreas Mehler, 'The Hidden Costs of Power-sharing: Reproducing Insurgent Violence in Africa', *African Affairs,* Vol. 104, No. 416, 2005, pp. 375-398.

Suggested readings

-Thomas Carothers, "The Sequencing Fallacy", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 18, No. 1, January 2007.

*-Ian Lustick, 'Stability in Deeply Divided Societies: Consociationalism vs Control', *World Politics*, Vol. 31, No 3, April 1979: 325-344.

-Carter Johnson, "Partitioning to Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 32, 4, May 2008, See reply by:
-Michael Horowitz and Alex Weisiger "The Limits to Partition," *International Security*, Vol. 33, No. 4, Spring 2009.

-Chaim Kaufmann, "When All Else Fails: Evaluating Population Transfers and Partition as Solutions to Ethnic Conflict," in Barbara Walter and Jack Snyder (eds), *Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 221- 260 **[M]**

Radha Kumar, "The Troubled History of Partition," *Foreign Affairs,* (Vol. 76, No. 1, January-February 1997).

-Alexander Downes, "The Holy Land Divided: Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars", *Security Studies* (Vol. 10, No. 4, Summer 2001).

-Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies*, New Haven: Yale University Press 1977. (or see Politics of Accommodation, 1968)

-Phil Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds., *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars* (Cornell University Press 2005). **[Chapter 1 on *M]***

Benjamin Reilly, 'Electoral Systems for Divided Societies,' *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 2, 2002: 156-170.

Beatrice Pouligny, "Promoting Democratic Institutions in Post-Conflict Societies: Giving Diversity a Chance." *International Peacekeeping* (Vol. 7, No. 3, 2000).

-Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, 'Democratization and War' *Foreign Affairs*, May-June 1995.

-Jack Snyder, *From voting to violence: democratization and nationalist conflict,* Norton, 2000.

-Amy Chua, *World on Fire* (New York: Doubleday, 2002).

Mann, Michael. *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing,* Cambridge: CUP, 2005. http://search.lib.cam.ac.uk/?itemid=%7Ceresources%7C25184

-Jeremy Weinstein, Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective, Working paper 57, Washington: Center for Global Development, April 2005.

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States", *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 4, 2004.

Kimberly Zisk Marten, *Enforcing the Peace: Learning from the Imperial Past,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

Barnett, M., & Zürcher, C. (2009). The peacebuilder's contract: how external statebuilding reinforces weak statehood. In R. Paris, & T. Sisk "Dilemmas of Statebuilding", Oxon: Routledge .

Chandler , D. (2010). *International Statebuilding The rise of post-liberal governance.* London and New York: Routledge.

-David Campbell, *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity and Justice in Bosnia* (University of Minnesota Press, 1998) esp chaps 1 and 7. **[M-ch. 1]**

Lecture 8: Security: Ex-Combatants and DDR
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?

Mats Berdal and David Ucko, 'Introduction to the DDR Forum: Rethinking the Reintegration of Former Combatants' *International Peacekeeping*, Vol 20, No. 3, 2013. See also case study articles in same issue.

Matthew Longo and Ellen Lust, "The Case for Peace before Disarmament", *Survival*, Vol. 51, No. 4, August-September 2009.

Jairo Munive, Finn Stepputat, Rethinking Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Programs, *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*, 4 (1), 2015

Kate Cronin-Furman, Nimmi Gowrinathan and Rafia Zakaria, Emissaries of Empowerment, City College of New York, 2017.
http://www.deviarchy.com/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/EMISSSARIES-OF-EMPOWERMENT-2017.pdf

Suggested readings

Véronique Dudouet, Hans J. Giessmann, Katrin Planta (eds), *Post-War Security Transitions: Participatory Peacebuilding after Asymmetric Conflicts*, London: Routledge, 2012

Paul Jackson, Shivit Bakrania, Is the Future of SSR non-linear? *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 2018

Mark Knight and Alpaslan Ozerdem, 'Guns, Camps and Cash: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Transition from War to Peace', *Journal of Peace Research,* (Vol. 41, No. 4, 2004).

Jeffrey Isima, 'Cash Payments in Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programmes in Africa', *Journal of Security Sector Management,* Vol. 2, No. 3, (September 2004).

Lilli Banholzer, *When do disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes succeed?* German Development Institute, Bonn, 2014.

Claire Duncanson, *Gender and Peacebuilding*. Polity Press, 2016. (see pp 116-123)

Marie Berry and Milli Lake (2017). Gender Politics After War: Mobilizing Opportunity in Post-Conflict Africa. *Politics& Gender* 13(2), 336-349.

Martin de Almagro, M., & Ryan, C. (2019). Subverting economic empowerment: Towards a postcolonial-feminist framework on gender (in)securities in post-war settings. *European Journal of International Relations*, *25*(4), 1059–1079.

-Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, 'Demobilization and Reintegration' in *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 5, no 4, 2007.

Charles Call and William Stanley, "Civilian Security", In Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth Cousens (eds), *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements (*Lynne Rienner 2002).

-Vanessa Pupavac, "Therapeutic Governance: Psycho-social Intervention and Trauma Risk Management," *Disasters,* 25(4), 2001.

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

Rita Abrahamsen and Michael Williams, *Security Beyond the State: Private Security in International Politics,* Cambridge University Press, 2011. See intro and ch. 4. **[M: ch 4]**

Cases:
Kamina Diallo, 'Cellule 39 in Côte d'Ivoire: The identification and mobilisation of a group of ex-combatants', *Afrique Contemporaine*, 263-264, 3, 2017, pp. 177-196.

Megan MacKenzie (2012), *Female Soldiers in Sierra Leone: Sex, Security and Post-Conflict Development*, NYU Press (esp chapter 5).

Marissa Quie, Peace and Exclusion: The Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program, *Humanity and Society*, 2016.

Alpaslan Ozedem, 'Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Afghanistan: Lessons from a Cross-cultural Perspective', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 5 (2002).

Morten Boas and Anne Hatloy, "Getting in, getting out: Militia Membership and Prospects for Re-integration in Post-war Liberia", *Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 46, No. 1, 2008.

-Richard Hill, Gwendolyn Taylor and Jonathan Temin, Would you fight again? Understanding Liberian ex-combatant Reintegration, United States Institute of Peace Special Report, 2008, http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr211.pdf

Johan Pottier, "Displacement and Ethnic Reintegration in Ituri, DR Congo: Challenges Ahead", *Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 46, 3, 2008.

-Christopher Blattman and Jeannie Annan, 'Child Combatants in northern Uganda: Reintegration Myths and Realities' in Robert Muggah (ed), *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction,* (London: Routledge, 2008). (also see other chapters for other cases).

Kees Kingman, 'Demobilization, Reintegration and Peacebuilding in Africa', *International Peacekeeping,* 9, 2 (2002).

Official documents and reports:

*United Nations DDR Resource Centre: <u>http://www.unddr.org/</u>

International Center for Transitional Justice, "Beyond 'Peace versus Justice': The

Relationship Between DDR and the Prosecution of International Crimes", 2010.

United Nations, Second Generation DDR Practices in Peace Operations, 2010
http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/documents/2GDDR_ENG_WITH_COVER.pdf

Lecture 9: 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?

Mahmood Mamdani, "From Justice to Reconciliation: Making Sense of the African Experience", C. Leys and M. Mamdani (eds), *Crisis and Reconstruction.* Uppsala: Nordisk Afrikainstitutet, 1997, pp.17-25. **[e-book]**

Rosemary Nagy, "Transitional Justice as a Global Project: Critical Reflections", *Third World Quarterly,* Vol. 29, No. 2, March 2008.

Priscilla Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions* (Routledge, 2002). **[e-book]**

Donna Pankhurst (ed), *Gendered Peace: Women's Struggles for Post-War Justice and Reconciliation,* (Routledge: 2007), see especially ch. 11, "Post-War Backlash Violence against Women: What Can "Masculinity" Explain?" **[e-book]**

Suggested readings

Pauline Baker, "Conflict Resolution Versus Democratic Governance: Divergent Paths to Peace?" in Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* (2000).

Vanessa Pupavac, "Therapeutic Governance: Psycho-social Intervention and Trauma Risk Management," *Disasters,* 25(4), 2001.

Andrew Rigby, *Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence* (Lynne Rienner, 2001). Ch. 1.

Sarah Nouwen, 'The International Criminal Court: A Peacebuilder in Africa?' in Devon Curtis and Gwinyayi Dzinesa (eds), *Peacebuilding, Politics and Power in Africa*, Ohio University Press, 2012.

Chandra Sriram, "Justice as peace? Liberal peacebuilding and strategies of transitional justice," *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations* (Vol. 21, no. 4, 2007).

Martha Minow, *Breaking the Cycles of Hatred* (Princeton University Press 2002).

Ernesto Verdeja. *Unchopping a Tree: Reconciliation in the Aftermath of Political Violence*. Temple University Press, 2009. (Ch. 1 available at: http://www.temple.edu/tempress/titles/2043_reg.html)

Verdeja, E. (2008), 'A Critical Theory of Reparative Justice,' *Constellations*, 15: 208–222. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8675.2008.00485.x

Will Kymlicka and Bashir Bashir (eds),*The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies*, Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2008.

Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies.* Washington: United Sates Institute of Peace Press.

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

Luc Reydams, 'NGO Justice: African Rights as Pseudo-Prosecutor of the Rwandan Genocide', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 38, 2016, 547-588.
And response: Alex de Waal, Writing Human Rights and Getting it Wrong, http://bostonreview.net/world/alex-de-waal-writing-human-rights

Shaw, R. 2007. 'Displacing Violence: Making Pentecostal Memory in Postwar Sierra Leone'. Cultural Anthropology 22(1): 66-93.

Mike Kaye, "The Role of Truth Commissions in the Search for Justice, Reconciliation and Democratization: The Salvadoran and Honduran Cases, *Journal of Latin American Studies,* Vol. 29, 1997.

Sophie T. Rosenberg, The International Criminal Court in Côte d'Ivoire: Impartiality at Stake?, *Journal of International Criminal Justice,* 17 August, 2017.

Hutchinson, S. and N. R. Pendle. 2015. 'Violence, Legitimacy and Prophecy: Nuer Struggles with Uncertainty in South Sudan'. American Ethnologist 42(3): 415-430.

West, H. G. 2000. 'Girls with Guns: Narrating the Experience of War of FRELIMO's "Female Detachment"'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 73(4): 180-195.

Lecture 10: Economy: Post-War 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?

Distler Werner, Elena Stavrevska and Birte Vogel, Economies of Peace: Economy Formation Processes in Conflict Affected Societies, *Civil Wars,* Vol. 20, no 2, June 2018, 139-150.

Oliver P. Richmond, Audra Mitchell (eds), *Hybrid forms of peace: from everyday agency to post-liberalism*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, esp ch. 1 and 2, **[M: ch 1]**

Cramer, C. (2009). Trajectories of accumulation through war and peace . In Roland Paris, & T. D. Sisk, *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations.* Routledge. **[M]**

Mark Duffield, 'Social Reconstruction and the Radicalisation of Development: Aid as a Relation of Global Liberal Governance', *Development and Change,* 33, 5, 2002.

Aisha Ahmad, "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia," *International Security*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Winter 2014/15), pp. 89-117.

Suggested readings

Susan Woodward, 'Soft intervention and the puzzling neglect of economic actors' in Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A Hartzell (eds) *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States,* University of Chicago Press, 2010.

James K. Boyce and Madalene ODonnell (eds), *Peace and the Public Purse: Economic Policies for Postwar Statebuilding*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2007.

Tobias Ide and al, 'The past and future(s) of environmental peacebuilding' *International Affairs*, 97(1), January 2021 (see also other case study articles in the special issue)

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

Chris Cramer, 'From waging war to peace work: labour and labour markets', in Michael Pugh, Neil Cooper and Mandy Turner (eds), *Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding*, Palgrave 2008.

Michael Pugh, 'The Political Economy of Peacebuilding: A Critical Theory Perspective', *International Journal of Peace Studies* 10, 2, 2005.

Pierre Englebert and Denis Tull, "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States," *International Security* 32 (4), 2008.

Patrick Bond, 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 (2008): 1-10

Astri Suhrke, Astri, Torunn Wimpelmann, and Marcia Dawes, *Peace Processes and State-building, Economic and Institutional Provisions of Peace Agreements,* New York: United Nations Development Programme and Chr. Michelsen Institute, 2007.

Susan Willett, 'Trading with security: Trade liberalization and conflict, in Michael Pugh, Neil Cooper and Mandy Turner (eds), *Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding*, Palgrave 2008.

Graham Harrison, *The World Bank and Africa: Constructing Governance States*, Routledge, 2004

EASTER TERM

There will be one revision lecture, one revision supervision, and one revision seminar.

Seminar 2: **Are there alternatives to international peacebuilding and statebuilding? (Easter Term)**

Seminar readings:
- Roland Paris, "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding" *Review of International Studies*, Vol 36, 2, April 2010.
- Meera Sabaratnam, 'Avatars of Eurocentrism in the Critique of the Liberal Peace', *Security Dialogue*, 44 (3), June 2013.
- David Chandler, *Peacebuilding: The Twenty Years' Crisis 1997-2017*, Palgrave, 2017 (read chapter 8: The Rise of Resilience)
- Séverine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention*, Cambridge University Press, 2014 (read conclusion: Transforming Peaceland, pp. 247-274)

Seminar assignment: Please send in two questions/ ideas sparked by the readings to Devon Curtis at least 12 hours before the seminar

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And for further reflection:
*Nehal Bhuta, Against State-Building' *Constellations*, 15(4), 2008.

*Stefan Bachtold, 'Donor love will tear us apart: How complexity and learning marginalize accountability in peacebuilding interventions', *International Political Sociology*, 2021.

*Kelli Te Maihāroa, Michael Ligaliga, Heather Devere (eds), *Decolonising Peace and Conflict Studies through Indigenous Research*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022 (intro)

*Karen Ross, Charla Burnett, Yuliya Raschupikina, Darren Kew, 'Scaling Up Peacebuilding and Social Justice Work: A Conceptual Model', *Peace and Change*, 2019.

*Pol Bargués-Pedreny (2019) Resilience is "always more" than our practices: Limits, critiques, and skepticism about international intervention, *Contemporary Security Policy*.

G Clayton et al, 'Mission Impossible? Creating a Dialogue between Research, Policy and Practice Communities', Peacelab: https://peacelab.blog/2020/01/mission-impossible-creating-a-dialogue-between-research-policy-and-practice-communities

Short video on 'Everyday peace indicators' (Roger MacGinty and Pamina Firchow)

Supervision Questions

Michaelmas supervisions

Conflict Studies and Dynamics/ International Law and Armed Conflict

1. To what extent have historical changes in understandings of "security", "development" and "peace" helped to reduce human suffering?
2. How could the global governance (norms, laws, institutions, etc.) of armed conflict be revised to improve its effectiveness?

Migration
1. How does the categorization of migrants by different actors shape their mobilities?
2. Bordering practices shape contemporary migration. Discuss critically.
3. How does the migrant body become a site of governance?
4. What role does immobility play in migrants' journeys?

Lent supervisions

1. To what extent do peace operations reflect the global balance of power?
2. Does greater local accountability lead to more effective humanitarianism?
3. How does patriarchy influence peacebuilding?
4. What are the consequences of more inclusive peace negotiations?
5. Can institutional design minimise the likelihood of a recurrence of conflict in divided societies?
6. Do post-war security and justice objectives sometimes contradict one another?
7. Is economic development an antidote to violent conflict?

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

Seminar 2: Are there alternatives to peacebuilding and state-building? **(Easter)**

POL16 Examination 2022 (PLEASE NOTE that some topics have changed this year which means the exam paper will change to include them)

The Politics of Conflict and Peace

Candidates should answer *three* questions.

1. Do ideas of war shape ideas of peace?

2. What are the effects of globalisation on conflict? Answer with reference to at least one way in which the University of Cambridge or the City of Cambridge is linked to violent conflict.

3. Are 'fragile' states more vulnerable to gendered violence?

4. If environmental change AND/OR global health pandemics are viewed as potential threats to security, does that lead to more promising avenues for peacebuilding?

5. Has the proliferation of actors involved in peace interventions meant that the local dimensions of conflict are more likely to be addressed?

6. To what extent is the logic of humanitarian assistance similar to the logic of liberal peacebuilding?

7. Why do peace negotiations sometimes exclude representatives of ethnic groups and genders?

8. Do the consequences of power-sharing agreements show the limits of institutional engineering?

9. Will disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration programmes always fail if the economic interests of former combatants are not prioritised?

10. Is tackling economic inequality always a key feature of post-conflict justice?

11. Does continued violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo show that there is no solution to the problem of conflict?

12. To what extent is displacement central to the everyday politics of violence in Colombia?

Other past examinations and examiners' reports can be found on Moodle.