CONFLICT 751-752 The Political Economy of Civil War and Peacebuilding

Time: Tuesday, 4:30 – 7:10 PM Place: Fall: 312 Founders Hall

Spring: TBA

Professor: Thomas Flores, Metropolitan 5076, tflores2@gmu.edu, 703.993.9409.

Office Hours: By appointment

Welcome to our year-long course! This graduate seminar will investigate key questions related to some of the most vexing challenges of war and peacebuilding in our times. It is a year-long seminar, and students enrolled in CONF 751 in Fall 2015 will complete the seminar in Spring 2016 in CONF 752.

Among the question we will investigate are: What are the structures and the dynamics that drive contemporary civil wars? How does the nature of civil war shape the prospects for and processes of peacebuilding? And how can external actors work with war-torn communities to build sustainable and just peace? During the Fall semester we will emphasize the challenges to understanding the origins of civil wars and their dynamics once they've begun. We will build on this knowledge during the Spring semester as we consider processes of conflict termination and postwar peacebuilding.

We will approach these issues by discussing some of the most recent research and theories developed by scholars and practitioners from a range of disciplines. We will not emphasize the social-psychological dimensions that are the focus on other classes at SCAR, though we will occasionally touch on these matters. Rather we will prioritize the interrelationships between political and economic institutions broadly defined and how the consequent organizations, norms, and patterns of relationships shape the nature of civil war and peace.

Details: Requirements, Grading, Etc.

Prerequisites

CONF 501 and/or 801. All others require our permission, which should be obtained immediately.

Course Materials

Readings for the course come in two forms. First, required books are listed below for both Fall 2015 and Spring 2016. Fall 2015 books are available for purchase at the Arlington branch of the GMU Bookstore (1st floor, Founders Hall) and via online booksellers. They are also widely available through most research libraries. You may also find them on reserve in the John Burton Library (5th floor, Metropolitan Building) or in the Arlington library (2nd floor, Founders Hall). Books for the Spring 2016 portion will be available by early January 2016.

Second, the majority of the journal articles for the course are available on our Blackboard site and are marked as such on the syllabus.

Fall 2015

Gurr, Ted Robert. 2011. Why Men Rebel. 40th Anniversary Edition. Paradigm Publishers.

Booth, Wayne C., Gregory G. Colomb, and Joseph M. Williams. 2008. *The Craft of Research*. Third edition. University of Chicago Press.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, aand Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*. Cambridge University Pres.

Bates, Robert H. 2008. When Things Fall Apart. Cambridge University Press.

Stathis N. Kalyvas. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

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

Staniland, Paul. Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse. Cornell University Press, 2014.

Christia, Fotini. Alliance Formation in Civil Wars. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. Transnational Dynamics of Civil War. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Elisabeth Wood. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Scott Straus. The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda. Cornell University Press, 2008.

Spring 2016

Guelzo, Allen C. Fateful Lighting: A New History of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Oxford University Pres, 2012.

Timothy D. Sisk. *International Mediation in Civil Wars: Bargaining with Bullets*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Fortna, Virginia Page. *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Patrick, Stewart. 2011. Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security. Oxford University Press.

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

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

Zürcher, Christoph, et al. 2014. "Costly Democracy: Peacebuilding and Democratization After War." Stanford University Press.

del Castillo, Graciana, Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008

Duffield, Mark. 2013. Security, Development and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples. Polity Press.

Autesserre, Séverine, *Peaceland*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Expectations

This class is demanding and fast-paced by design. I would therefore like to define precisely what the class asks of you. By enrolling in this course, you agree to the following:

- You will attend every class and arrive on time; discussion is so central to this seminar that missing a class means missing a significant amount of material. You will turn off all electronic devices; laptops may be left on for note-taking, but the wireless device must be turned off. You will give class your full attention. I will take attendance in every class. You are allowed to miss only one class meeting per semester regardless of the reason. After that one class, you will lose a half grade off your final grade per class missed. If you are out-of-town for work or a personal emergency, you may attend "electronically" by using Skype or Google Hangouts, but must obtain permission to do so first. There are no exceptions to this policy.
- You will complete all readings before the class in question. Do not fall behind it will prove very difficult to catch up. Read carefully and, above all, think! Take notes in preparation for assignments and prepare questions and arguments you wish to discuss in class.
- I will expect you to participate in the intellectual life of our class. There are three ways you can do so:
 - o In class. This is primarily a discussion course and will include little, if any, lecture from me apart from 20 minutes or so of introductory comments. I will lead discussion by asking questions, pushing you on your answers, encouraging particular students to speak, etc. However, most of the heavy lifting in class will come from you. So be prepared to discuss the issues at hand by reading carefully. Trust me when I say that we value quality over quantity, so don't feel a need to speak every possible second. You should seek to deepen and broaden the discussion through your contributions.
 - o In office hours. I encourage you to come to office hours to review outstanding questions from class or readings, or get advice on your paper. I've found that office hours are best conducted with appointments, rather than walk-ins. If you are planning on attending, e-mail me and I will make time for you.
 - Online. I encourage you to ask questions via e-mail; we will always do our best to answer. If properly written, such conversations can be as beneficial as those held inperson.

Assignments and Grading

The central assignment of this two-semester seminar is a final paper that is suitable for publication in an academic journal or for presentation at an academic conference. This paper will be due in May 2015. To reach this goal, I have a series of assignments to encourage your active engagement with

the material under discussion and to begin your conceptualization, research, and writing of your final paper as early as possible. I will also talk about your papers every week in class.

Fall Semester

- 1. Five short (3-4 page) analytical essays on an assigned book or set of papers. Each essay is worth 10% for 50% total
- 2. First steps toward your final year-long research project worth 40%
 - a. One-page abstract of research topic (10%): due Week 6 (October 6)
 - b. Annotated bibliography (10%): due Week 10 (November 10)
 - c. Research design (20%): due December 12
- 3. Participation (10%)

Spring Semester

- 1. Three short (3-4 page) analytical essays on an assigned book. Each essay is worth 10%, for 30% total
- 2. Final steps towards your year-long research project: 60%
 - a. Revised paper proposal due in Week 17 (February 2): 10%
 - b. Discussion of your research paper in class (Weeks 19-27): 10%
 - c. Presentation of research project during Week 28 (April 26): 10%
 - d. Final research paper (due on May 3): 30%
- 3. Participation (10%)

Short Analytical Essays

You will write short (3-4 page, 750-1000 word) papers each semester analyzing a book or set of articles assigned for class. *The essay is due by Monday at 5 PM*, 24 hours before class. This will give me a chance to review the essay before class and incorporate your thoughts into discussion. The essay is due as a Word document. Late papers will not be accepted.

These short papers should analyze the assigned book, place it in the context of the literature on the topic, and assess both its contributions to the field and its weaknesses. They should emphasize a thoughtful understanding of the week's readings and should not merely summarize the authors' arguments.

Long Research Paper

The centerpiece of this class is a long research project that will culminate in a high-quality research paper on a topic related to the topic of class. We will work hard on this project all year by discussing how to write an excellent research paper in class and handing in written work on the paper every several weeks.

The schedule for the project is as follows:

- First few weeks of class: Meet with me to start to sketch out the sorts of questions that interest you.
- Week 6 (October 6): Write a short abstract for the paper that asks a clear question. This will be a graded assignment. I will take a careful read of that abstract and act as an advisor for that your project.

- Week 10 (November 10): Write an annotated bibliography that describes the academic debate that your paper is a part of. I will grade and provide feedback on the bibliography
- December 12: Write a first draft of a research proposal for your paper. I will give you copious feedback for you to consider.
- Week 17 (February 2): Write a second draft of the research proposal that responds to my comments
- Weeks 19-27: Submit a short (4-5 pages) draft of your progress on your final research project and ask for feedback from your classmates. I will evaluate your progress to that point.
- April 26: Give a poster presentation of your research paper to the broader S-CAR community at an event that we will organize.
- May 3: Final paper due.

Participation

In evaluating participation, I will look for evidence that you have done the readings with sufficient attention that you can contribute to the discussion. An ability to succinctly summarize what you have read is regarded as a given. In order to further the discussion you should be prepared to offer your opinions on an author's argument: Do you find it convincing? If so why? If not, why not? Is it clearly presented? Is it logical? Do you find the use of evidence compelling? How would you further test the argument to confirm its validity? Do you think that the argument works better for some cases than others?

If you can demonstrate that you know what you have read, have thought about it, and can articulate an opinion on it, you have nothing to worry about.

Grading

In this course, I will respond to your work using two channels: written feedback and grades. Graduate students often pay more attention to the latter than the former and I implore you to resist that tendency. While grades rate your scholarship along an ordinal scale, comments detail your strengths and weaknesses as a scholar and how you can continue to improve. They are thus a fuller, more direct assessment of your performance.

I understand, however, that many of you are concerned about your grades and I will do everything in our power to help you through the course. Your grades will directly reflect our assessment of the theories and research contained in your scholarship. In this vein, I do have high standards for you, a function of the respect I have for your ability and ambition and our recognition that the academic and policy world outside of SCAR is extremely competitive. Due to that respect, I simply will not allow you to produce work that is below your potential. Therefore, do not expect a high grade for minimal effort. In general, these will be the standards for your written assignments:

• A: Excellent work that thinks precisely, creatively and clearly. The research, if necessary for the assignment, is appropriate to the ideas under examination, creative, and exhaustive in nature. The paper is ready to begin the process of being transformed into published research, a Masters thesis, or a doctoral dissertation.

- A-: Strong work that does everything an "A" paper does but not quite as strongly. There are small gaps in the author's thinking and/or research. I would want the author to revise and resubmit the work before she committed to it for a published paper, doctoral dissertation, or Masters thesis.
- B+: About average work for a graduate student. The paper contains some strong ideas or research, but suffers from at least one major problem that remains unresolved (e.g., only weak research, ideas not fully thought out, etc.). The work is still several revisions away from being considered as a published paper, doctoral dissertation, or Masters thesis.
- B: Work that only barely rises to the standards I set for a graduate student. There may be a core idea that deserves merit, but the author fails to consider that idea fully. There are extensive problems with both the ideas and research.
- B- or lower: Failing work. There is virtually nothing deserving about the analysis in the paper. The author fails to develop a central theme or line of research. There are such massive problems in ideas and research that the author cannot expect to pass this class.

I do not grant extensions on any assignments. Late assignments will earn a 0.

The Writing Center

The Writing Center is a free writing resource that offers individual, group, and online tutoring. For general questions and comments, please e-mail wcenter@gmu.edu or call 703-993-4491.

Honor Code and Plagiarism

All George Mason University students have agreed to abide by the letter and the spirit of the Honor Code. You can find a copy of the Honor Code at <u>academicintegrity.gmu.edu</u>. All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review. With specific regards to plagiarism, three fundamental and rather simple principles to follow at all times are that: (1) all work submitted be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification.

PART I. THE CAUSES OF CIVIL WAR

Week 1. September 1. Introduction

Week 2. September 8. Defining Civil War

Edward E. Azar, "The Analysis and Management of Protracted Conflicts," in Vamik D. Volkan, Joseph Montville, and Demetrios A. Julius, eds., *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington, 1991). Available on Blackboard.

Harry Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars," *History and Theory* 4:2 (1965): 133-163. Available on Blackboard.

Kalyvas, *The Logic Of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge, 2007: 16-31.

Excerpts from Tilly and Tarrow, Contentious Politics. Available on Blackboard.

UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset Codebook. 2014.

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Laia Balcells. 2010. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 104(3): 415-429.

Week 3. September 15. Greed and Grievance

Gurr, Chapters 1-3 of Why Men Rebel

Azar, Edward E. and Nadia Farah. 1981. "The structure of inequalities and protracted social conflict: A theoretical framework." *International Interactions* 7(4): 317-335.

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97 (February 2003). Available on Blackboard.

Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler, and Dominic Rohner, "Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 6:1 (2011): 1-27. Available on Blackboard.

Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2014. "Ideology in civil war: Instrumental adoption and beyond," *Journal of Peace Research* 51: 213-226.

Carles Boix, "Economic Roots of Civil Wars and Revolutions in the Contemporary World," *World Politics* 60:3 (2008): 390-437. Available on Blackboard.

Research Workshop: What is Research? Booth, et al, Part I (pp. 1-28)

Week 4. September 22. Ethnicity and Horizontal Inequality

Re-read Collier, et al and Fearon from Week 3.

Cederman, Gleditsch, and Buhaug, Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War

Timothy Besley and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2014. "The Legacy of Historical Conflict: Evidence from Africa," *American Political Science Review* 108(2): 319-336. Available on Blackboard.

Research Workshop: Asking Questions
Booth, et al, Part II Prologue and Chapter 3 (pp. 29-50)

Week 5. September 29. Natural Resources and the Environment

Re-read Collier, et al and Fearon from Week 3.

Chapters from Colin Kahl. States, Scarcity, and Civil Strife in the Developing World. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. Available on Blackboard.

Ross, Michael. 2012. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations.* Princeton University Press. Chapters 2 and 5. Available on Blackboard.

Lujala, Päivi, Nils Peter Gleditsch, and Elisabeth Gilmore. 2005. "A Diamond Curse? Civil War and a Lootable Resource" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4): 538-562. Available on Blackboard.

Dube, Oeindrila and Juan F. Vargas. 2013. "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia." *Review of Economic Studies*. Available on Blackboard.

Le Billon, Philippe. 2013. Wars of Plunder: Conflicts, Profits, and the Politics of Resources. Introduction and Chapter 1. Available on Blackboard.

Research Workshop: Research Problems
Booth, et al, Chapter 4 (pp. 51-67)

Week 6. October 6. Weak and Failing States ABSTRACT FOR RESEARCH PAPER DUE

Bates, When Things Fall Apart

Research Workshop: Discussion of Your Interests

Come to class with an early version of your abstract (due September 30) and be prepared to talk about it with your classmates. We'll discuss how we become interested in certain research questions and how we go from choosing a *topic*, to asking a *question* and posing a research *problem*.

October 13. No Class (Monday schedule)

PART II. DYNAMICS OF CIVIL WAR

Week 7. October 20. Violence

Kalyvas, The Logic of Violence in Civil War

Week 8. October 27. Organizations I

Jeremy M. Weinstein. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge, 2007).

Sidney Tarrow, "Inside Insurgencies: Politics and Violence in an Age of Civil War," *Perspectives on Politics* 5:3 (September 2007): 587-600. Available on Blackboard.

Research Workshop: Sources I
Booth, et al, Chapter 5 (pp. 68-83)

Week 9. November 3. Organizations II

Staniland, Networks of Rebellion

Paul Staniland. 2012. "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2): 243-264. Available on Blackboard.

Research Workshop: Sources 2 Booth, et al, Chapter 6 (pp. 84-102)

Week 10. November 10. Alliances

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR RESEARCH PAPER DUE

Christia, Alliance Formation in Civil War

Research Workshop: Discussion of Your Sources

This week, we'll discuss the problems you're encountering in constructing your literature review for your paper. What are you finding in the literature? What's holding you back? What in literature has surprised you?

Week 11. November 17. Transnational Dimensions

Chapters from Checkel, Transnational Dynamics of Civil War

Maria Gabrielsen Jumberta and David Lanz, "Globalised rebellion: the Darfur insurgents and the world," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 51(2): 193-217. Available on Blackboard.

Week 12. November 24. Collective Action

If you are unfamiliar with the social movement literature on collective action, please read Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Wood, Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador

Research Workshop: Making an Argument I Booth, et al, Chapter 7, pp. 103-119

Week 13. December 1. Mass Violence

Straus, The Order of Genocide

Kristine Eck and Lisa Hultman. 2007. "One-Sided Violence Against Civilians in War: Insights from New Fatality Data." *Journal of Peace Research* 44(2): 233-246. Available on Blackboard.

Thomas, Jakana. Upcoming. "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science*. Available on Blackboard.

Research Workshop: Making an Argument II and Acknowledging Critiques
Booth, et al, Chapters 8-11, pp. 120-169

Week 14. December 8. Effects on Human Development

Chapters from Justino, Bruck, and Verwimp, *A Micro-Level Perspective on the Dynamics of Conflict, Violence, and Development.* Available on Blackboard.

Ibanez and Moya, http://www.microconflict.eu/publications/RWP10 AMI AM.pdf

Iqbal, Zaryab. 2006. "Health and Human Security: The Public Health Impact of Violent Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 50(3): 631-649.

Iqbal, Zaryab and Christopher Zorn. 2010. "Violent Conflict and the Spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa." *Journal of Politics* 72(1): 149-162. Available on Blackboard

Research Workshop: Discussion of Your Argument

Come to class with a short (paragraph-long) version of the argument you wish to make in your final paper. Do your best to write something sharp. What is working in that argument? What isn't? Be ready to share that argument with the class.

Research Workshop: Acknowledging Critique

December 12 PROPOSAL DUE

END OF FALL SEMESTER

SPRING SEMESTER PART III. NEGOTIATIONS, SETTLEMENTS, AND TRANSITIONS TO PEACE

Week 15. January 19. A Pause: Considering the US Civil War Guelzo, Fateful Lightning

Week 16. January 26. Negotiations: The Process of Reaching Settlement

Timothy D. Sisk, *International Mediation in Civil Wars: Bargaining with Bullets* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Jannie Lilja, "Ripening Within? Strategies Used by Rebel Negotiators to End Ethnic War," *Negotiation Journal* 27:3 (July 2011): 311-342. Available on Blackboard.

Barbara Walter. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51(3): 336-364. Available on Blackboard.

Week 17. February 2. Content of Settlement: Power Sharing (Guest Professor) REVISED PROPOSAL DUE

Hartzell, Caroline and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management," *American Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 318-332. Available on Blackboard.

Tull, Dennis and Andreas Mehler, 2005. "The hidden costs of power-sharing: Reproducing insurgent violence in Africa," *African Affairs* 104: 375-398. Available on Blackboard.

Roeder, Philip G. and Donald Rothchild, 2005. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 2-4. Available through e- reserves.

Research Workshop: The State of Our Proposals

Come to class with your proposal and be ready to discuss it with your classmates. What are you happy about in the proposal? What are you unhappy about? What is your research plan going forward?

Week 18. February 9. Enforcement of Settlements: Peacekeeping Operations

Fortna, Virginia Page. *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman and Megan Shannon, forthcoming. "United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War", *American Journal of Political Science*. Available on Blackboard.

Week 19. February 16. Enforcement of Settlements: Demobilizing Combatants

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War" *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436-455. Available on Blackboard.

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. "Demobilization and Reintegration." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(4): 531-567. Available on Blackboard.

Blattman, Christopher and Jeanie Annan. 2011. *Reintegrating and Employing High Risk Youth in Liberia*. Innovations for Poverty Action Report. Available at: http://www.p2zen.org/uploads/1/0/0/7/10071632/undpreintegrationliberia.pdf

Themnér, Anders, 2013. "A Leap of Faith: When and How Ex-Combatants Resort to Violence." *Security Studies* 22(2): 295-329. Available on Blackboard.

Nilsson, Desirée. 2008. "Partial Peace: Rebel Groups Inside and Outside of Civil War Settlements", *Journal of Peace Research* 45(4):479-495. Available on Blackboard.

Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 231-247. Available on Blackboard.

PART III. PEACEBUILDING

Week 20. February 23. Definitions and Challenges of Peacebuilding

Bar-Tal, Daniel. 2000. "From Intractable Conflict through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis," *Political Psychology* 21(2): 351-365. Available on Blackboard.

Collier, Paul, et al. Chapters 1-2 of *Breaking the Conflict Trap*.

Doyle and Sambanis. "Strategy and Transitional Authority." Chapter 3 in Ending Civil Wars.

Walter, Barbara F. 1999. "Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace." *International Security* 24(1): 127-155. Available on Blackboard.

Week 21. March 1. Peacebuilding and Statebuilding: Failed States Patrick, Weak Links

March 8: Spring Break

Week 22. March 15. Security: Security Sector Reform Toft, Securing the Peace

Week 23. March 22. Liberal Peacebuilding: An Introduction Paris, Roland. At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict

Week 24. March 29. Liberal Politics and Peacebuilding: Elections and Democratization

Zürcher, et al, Costly Democracy

Week 25. April 5. Liberal Economics and Peacebuilding

del Castillo, Graciana. 2008. Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Fearon, James D., Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2009. "Evaluating Community-Driven Reconstruction." *Development Outreach: World Bank Institute*. October 2009. 50-52. Available on Blackboard.

Week 26. April 12. Critical Perspectives on Peacebuilding

Duffield, Security, Development and Unending War

Week 27. April 19. A Critique: Peacebuilding from Below

Autesserre, Peaceland

Week 28. April 26. Poster Presentations

May 3

FINAL RESEARCH PAPER DUE