

CONFLICT 751
The Political Economy of Civil War and Peacebuilding

Time: 4:30 – 7:10, Tuesday
Place: Founders Hall 467 (Fall 2013)
Professors: Terrence Lyons, Foundation Building 5th Floor , tlyons1@gmu.edu, 703 993 1336
Office Hours: By appointment
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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 2012 will complete the seminar in Spring 2013. Terrence Lyons and Thomas Flores are the co-leaders of the seminar and are equally involved in all aspects of the course.

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 civil wars and how they end. We will build on this knowledge during the Spring semester as we consider processes of 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. 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, the following books are required for the Fall 2013 portion of this course. They are available for purchase at the Arlington branch of the GMU Bookstore (first floor of Founders Hall) and via online booksellers. They are also widely available through most research libraries. Books for the Spring 2014 portion will be available by early January 2014.

Fall Semester

Wimmer, Andreas. *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation, and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

le Billion, Philippe. *Wars of Plunder: Conflicts, Profits, and the Politics of Resources*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Herbst, Jeffrey, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press, 2000.

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

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.

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

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

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

Iqbal, Zaryab. 2010. *War and the Health of Nations* Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

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

Spring Semester

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

Berdal, Mats and Dominik Zaum, editors. 2012. *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace*. New York: Routledge.

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.

Jarstad, Anna K. and Timothy D. Sisk, eds., *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

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

Olsen, Tricia D., Leigh A. Payne, and Andrew G. Reiter, *Transitional Justice in Balance: Comparing Processes, Weighing Efficacy*. United States Institute of Peace Press, 2010.

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

Second, the majority of the journal articles for the course are available either through the Mason library's e-journal system or through e-reserves. The e-reserve password is "terminate."

Expectations:

This class is demanding and fast-paced by design. We 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. We 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 previously 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.
- We will expect you to participate in the intellectual life of our class. There are three ways you can do so:
 - In class. This is primarily a discussion course and will include little, if any, lecture from us apart from 15 minutes or so of introductory comments. We 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 us when we 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.

- In office hours. We encourage you to come to office hours to review outstanding questions from class or readings, or get advice on your paper. We have found that office hours are best conducted with short appointments, rather than walk-ins. If you are planning on attending, e-mail one of us and we will make time for you.
- Online. We 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 in-person.

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 2014. To reach this goal, we 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.

Fall Semester

1. Four short (3-4 page) analytical essays on an assigned book. Each essay is worth 10% for 40% total
2. Discussion leadership, 10%. Your chance to lead part of our discussion.
3. First steps toward your final year-long research project worth 40%
 - a. One-page abstract of research project (10%): due October 1
 - b. Annotated bibliography (10%): due November 26
 - c. Research design (20%): due December 10
4. Participation (10%)

Spring Semester

1. Four short (3-4 page) analytical essays on an assigned book. Each essay is worth 10%, 40% total
2. Final steps towards your year-long research project: 50%
 - a. Intermediate presentation of research project (Weeks 15-16): 10%
 - b. Final presentations of research project (Weeks 27-28): 10%
 - c. Final research paper: 30%
3. Participation (10%)

Short Analytical Essays.

You will write four short (3-4 page, 750-1000 word) papers analyzing a book assigned for class. The essay is due before the day those readings will be discussed and must be submitted as email attachments in Word format to both Lyons and Flores. Each essay will be worth 10 percent of your grade and the four essays therefore worth 40 percent. 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.

Discussion Leadership

You will choose a week in which you have a special interest and notify Terrence and Thomas that you wish to lead discussion that week. You should do this as early as possible in the semester, preferably in the first three weeks of class. In consultation with Terrence and Thomas, you will choose an extra article or book chapter to assign to your classmates that day. Towards the end of class, you will lead a discussion of that reading. You will be evaluated by your ability to involve your fellow students in discussion and ask interesting questions of our reading material.

Participation.

In evaluating participation, we 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, we 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 we 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.

We understand, however, that many of you are concerned about your grades and we 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, we do have high standards for you, a function of the respect we 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, we 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. We 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 we 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.

We 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 academicintegrity.gmu.edu. 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. August 27. Definitions and Characteristics of Civil War

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

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 e-reserves.

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

Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic Of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge, 2007: 16-31. Available through e-reserves.

Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic Of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge, 2007: 16-31. Available through e-reserves.

Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*. Boulder: Princeton University Press, 1970: Chapters 1-3. Available through e-reserves.

Week 2. September 3. Sources: Identity, State and Civil War

Wimmer, *Waves of War*

Week 3. September 10. Sources: Greed and Grievance

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

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

Frances Stewart, "Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: An Introduction and some Hypotheses." I *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Palgrave Macmillan. 3-24. Available through e-reserves.

Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis," *World Politics* 62:1 (2010): 87-119.

Cederman, L.-E., Weidmann, N.B., and Gleditsch, K.S. (2011). "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethno-Nationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison." *American Political Science Review* 105(3):478-95

Christopher Blattman and Edward Miguel, "Civil War," *Journal of Economic Literature* 48:1 (2010): 3-57. Available through e-journals.

Week 4. September 17. Sources: Natural Resources

Le Billion, *Wars of Plunder*

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

Week 5. September 24. Sources: Weak States

Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*

PART II. DYNAMICS OF CIVIL WAR

Week 6. October 1. Dynamics: 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.

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

Week 7. October 15. Dynamics: Violence

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

Week 8. October 22. Dynamics: Organizations

ABSTRACT FOR RESEARCH PAPER DUE

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 through e-journals.

Week 9. October 29. Dynamics: Alliances

Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil War*

Week 10. November 5. Dynamics: Transnational Dimensions

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.

Week 11. November 12. Dynamics: Mass Violence

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

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.

Week 12. November 19. Dynamics: Impact on Development

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR RESEARCH PAPER DUE

Iqbal, *War and the Health of Nations*.

PART III. NEGOTIATIONS, SETTLEMENTS, AND TRANSITIONS TO PEACE

Week 13. November 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.

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

Week 14. December 3. Content of Settlement: Power Sharing

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.

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

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.

December 10

DESCRIPTION OF METHODS FOR RESEARCH PAPER DUE

END OF FALL SEMESTER

Week 15. January 27. Student Presentations: Thomas' Group.

Week 16. February 3. Student Presentations: Terrence's Group.

Week 17. February 10. 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*.

Week 18. February 17. 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.

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

Blattman, Christopher and Jeanie Annan. 2011. *Reintegrating and Employing High Risk Youth in Liberia*. Innovations for Poverty Action Report.

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

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

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

PART III. PEACEBUILDING

Week 19. February 24. 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.

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.

World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development* (Washington, DC: the World Bank, 2011). Available at:
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTWDRS/Resources/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf

Week 20. March 3. Peacebuilding and Statebuilding: Failed States
Berdal and Zaum, *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace*

March 10: Spring Break

Week 21. March 17. Security: Security Sector Reform
Toft, *Securing the Peace*

Week 22. March 24. Liberal Peacebuilding: An Introduction
Paris, Roland. *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*

Week 23. March 31. Liberal Politics and Peacebuilding: Elections and Democratization

Jarstad, Anna K. and Timothy D. Sisk, *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 24. April 7. 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.

Week 25. April 14. Justice

Olsen, Payne and Reiter. 2010. *Transitional Justice in Balance: Comparing Processes, Weighing Efficacy*.

Week 26. April 21. Critiques I: Peacebuilding from Below

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

Week 27. April 28. Student Presentations I

Week 28. May 5. Student Presentations II