INTD398–001 Conflict and Development in the Global South

Winter 2023 Tuesdays and Thursdays 4:05-5:25pm

Classroom: Arts Building 150 Instructor: Patrick Wight, Dr. Email: <u>patrick.wight@mcgill.ca</u> Office: 3610 McTavish, room 16-4

Office Hours: Tuesday 5:30-6:30pm and Thursday 3-4pm

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I. Course Description

This course examines the complex relationship between conflict and development in the modern Global South. Policymakers and academics in this field generally operate from the perspective that countries caught in a cycle of conflict will not fully be able to develop, and that development can prevent the reoccurrence of conflict. This course critically assesses various, often competing, theoretical perspectives on the ways in which conflict and development are linked. A central and overarching debate addressed throughout is: To what extent is development always "good" while conflict is always "bad".

The course is structured into four themes. Theme one explores the causal relationship between development and political violence. Key questions include: Do democratization and economic liberalization produce or resolve conflict? What is the relationship between security and development? And, does the link made by realist scholars between warmaking and state-making hold true in the modern Global South? Theme two considers the consequences of conflict in relation to economic and human development, gender roles, and the environment. Theme three, critical perspectives, considers the questions: Can violence be moral and emancipatory? Is state formation a violent and assimilationist project, as indigenous perspectives suggest? And, do global resource extraction and class struggle drive conflict, as Marxist scholars believe? Theme four, conflict resolution, considers the extent to which external actors can and should be involved in peace- and state-building, and whether remaking colonial borders can resolve conflict.

II. Required Readings

You are required to read three articles each week. You should also consult the additional readings listed below the assigned readings to maximize your chances for success when taking the midterm and final exam and, in particular, when writing your term paper.

III. Course Assessment

The final grade in this course will be based on the following components:

Assessment Components	Percentage
Take-home Midterm From February 3-6	25%
Term Paper Due on March 28	35%
Take-home final Dates TBD	40%

1. Midterm Exam: 25%

The exam will be in short essay format and will cover the weekly topics in the course readings and lectures up to and including Week 5. This take-home exam will be released at noon on **February 3** and must be submitted via *MyCourses* by 11:59 (EST) on **February 6**. You will receive three essay prompts related to the central themes of the class, from which students will choose two to answer.

The midterm essay will involve an evaluation of students' knowledge and understanding of key themes and concepts in relation to the course materials (lectures and readings). Each answer should be no longer than four pages, double-spaced, 12-point font. The essays should provide a thesis statement (i.e., main argument), and follow the basic structures of essay writing (introduction, body paragraphs, topic sentences, conclusion). Given that this is an exam, late assignments will not be accepted.

2) Short Essay (35%):

You are required to write an essay which develops an analytical discussion on a particular topic, using the readings for that topic, lectures, videos and discussions, and by consulting outside sources. For this essay, students are required to choose a case study in the Global South and answer one of the questions listed in the "weekly readings" subheading of the Class Plan (for example, does democratization produce or resolve conflict?).

The essay is due on March 28th by 11:59pm (EST) and must be submitted via *MyCourses*. It should be 7-8 pages, excluding bibliography (Times New Roman font, double-spaced, 12-font size, 2.5cm margins). Please follow the guidelines on writing a research paper provided on *MyCourses*, such as formatting, structure, and content. Citations should be in Chicago Style (chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html).

Late assignments will be marked down one letter grade per day late (for example: an A will become an A-). Students will not be granted an extension unless they have a legitimate reason recognized by McGill as excusable, such as illness or a death in the family, and provide valid documentation, such as a doctor's note.

Grading Criteria:

- Thesis statement that is clearly articulated, argued and supported
- Clear structure of paper and logical organization of ideas (e.g., topic sentences)
- Correct citation and referencing, using Chicago Manuel of Style
- Effective communication, such as clear and direct sentences
- Style, grammar, punctuation and spelling
- Depth of analysis and strength of arguments
- Understanding and application of relevant concepts, theories and literature
- Effective evidence and examples provided to support the student's argument
- · Quality, convincingness and clear articulation of student's own argument

3) Final Take-home Exam (40%)

The final exam is in short essay format and is cumulative, meaning that it covers the course material (readings and lectures) studied from the beginning to the end of the course. The exam will be distributed during the final exam period and you will have 72 hours to complete it and submit online via *MyCourses*. Students cannot make up either the midterm or final exam unless they have a legitimate reason recognized by McGill as excusable and must submit sufficient and valid documentation to explain the absence.

IV. Class Plan

Week 1 (January 5): Introduction

Module 1 – Development processes and political violence

Week 2 (January 10 and 12): Democratization and conflict

Does the process of democratization produce or resolve conflict?

Assigned readings:

- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," *International Security* vol. 20, no. 1 (1995), pp. 5-38.
- Donald Horowitz, "The Challenges of Ethnic Conflict: Democracy in Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy* vol. 4, no. 4 (1993), pp. 18-38.
- Marina Ottaway, "Promoting Democracy After Conflict: The Difficult Choices," *International Studies Perspectives* vol. 4 (2003), pp. 314-322.

- Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten, "Forced to be Free? Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization," *International Security* vol. 37, no. 4 (2013), pp. 90-131.
- Shin'ichi Takeuchi, "Political Liberalization or Armed Conflict? Political Changes in Post-Cold War Africa," *The Developing Economies* vol. 45, no. 2 (2007), pp. 172-193.

- Christoph Zurcher, "Building Democracy While Building Peace," *Journal of Democracy* vol. 22, no. 1 (2011), pp. 81-94.
- Michael Bratton and Eric Chang, "State-Building and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Forwards, Backwards or Together?" *Comparative Political Science* vol. 39, no. 9 (2006), pp. 1059-1081.
- Mvemba Phezo Dizolele and Pascal Kalume Kambale, "The DRC's Crumbling Legitimacy," *Journal of Democracy* vol. 23, no. 3 (2012), pp. 109-120.

Week 3 (January 17 and 19): Economic liberalization and conflict

Does economic liberalization increase or decrease conflict?

Assigned readings:

- Francisco Gutiérrez and Gerd Schönwälder, *Economic Liberalization and Political Violence: Utopia or Dystopia?* (London: Pluto Press, 2010), pp. 1-12.
- Caroline A. Hartzell, Matthew Hoddie, and Maddie Bauer, "Economic Liberalization via IMF Structural Adjustment: Sowing the Seeds of Civil War?" *International Organization* vol. 64 (2010), pp. 339-356.
- Margit Bussmann, Gerald Schneider and Nina Wiesehomeier, "Foreign Economic Liberalization and Peace: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa," *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 11, no. 4 (2005), pp. 551-579.

Additional readings:

- David Keen, "Liberalization and Conflict," *International Political Science Review* vol. 26, no. 1 (2005), pp.73-89.
- Margit Bussmann and Gerald Schneider, "When Globalization Discontent Turns Violent: Foreign Economic Liberalization and Internal War," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 51, no. 1 (2007), pp. 79-97.
- Katherine Barbieri and Rafael Reuveny, "Economic Globalization and Civil War," *Journal of Politics* vol. 67, no. 4 (2005), pp. 1228-1248.
- Oanda Ogachi, "Economic Reform, Political Liberalization and Economic Ethnic Conflict in Kenya," *Africa Development* vol. 24, no. 1-2 (1999), pp. 83-107.

Week 4 (January 24 and 26): Security-development nexus

What is the relationship between security and development?

Assigned readings:

- Maria Stern and Joachim Öjendal, "Mapping the Security-Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence," *Security Dialogue* vol. 41, no. 1 (2010), pp. 5-29.
- Lisa Denney, "Reducing Poverty with Teargas and Batons: The Security-Development Nexus in Sierra Leone," *African Affairs* vol. 110, no. 439 (2011), pp. 275-294.
- Kamil Shah, "The Failure of State Building and the Promise of State Failure: Reinterpreting the Security-Development Nexus in Haiti," *Third World Quarterly* vol. 30, no. 1 (2009), pp. 17-34.

Additional readings:

• Heather Hrychuk, "Combating the Security Development Nexus? Lessons Learned from Afghanistan," *International Journal* vol. 64, no. 3 (2009), pp. 825-842.

- Stephan Keukeleire and Kolja Raube, "The Security-Development Nexus and Securitization in the EU's Policies Towards Developing Countries," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* vol. 26, no. 3 (2013), pp. 556-572.
- David Chandler, "The Security-Development Nexus and the Rise of 'Anti Foreign Policy," *Journal of International Relations and Development* vol. 10 (2007), pp. 362-386.

Week 5 (January 31 and February 2): Warfare and state formation

Does war make states in the contemporary Global South?

Assigned readings:

- Dominik Helling, "Tillyan Footprints Beyond Europe: War Making and State Making in the Case of Somaliland," *St. Antony's International Review* 6, no. 1 (2010): 103-123.
- Georg Sorensen, "War and State-Making: Why it Doesn't Work in the Third World," *Security Dialogue* vol. 32, no. 3 (2001), pp. 341-354.
- Anna Leander, "Wars and the Un-Making of States: Taking Tilly Seriously in the Contemporary World," In *Contemporary Security Analysis and Copenhagen Peace Research*, eds. Stefano Guzzini and Deitrich Jung (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 60-72.

Additional readings:

- Brian Taylor and Roxana Botea, "Tilly Tally: War-Making and State-Making in the Contemporary Third World," *International Studies Review* vol. 10 (2008), pp. 27-56.
- Nic Cheeseman, Michael Collard and Filip Reyntjens, "War and Democracy: Legacy of Conflict in East Africa," *Journal of Modern African Studies* vol. 56, no. 1 (2018), pp. 31-61.
- Zachariah Mampilly and Megan Stewart, "A Typology of Rebel Political Institutional Arrangements," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 65, no. 1 (2020), pp. 1-31.
- Youssef Cohen, Brian R. Brown and A.F.K. Organski, "The Violent Creation of Order," *The American Political Science Review* vol. 75, no. 4 (1981), pp. 901-910.
- Michael Niemann, "War Making and State Making in Central Africa," *Africa Today* vol. 53, no. 3 (2007), pp. 21-39.

Module 2 — Developmental Consequences of War

Week 6 (February 7 and 9): Conflict and human development

How does warfare affect economic and human development?

Assigned readings:

- Paul Collier et al., "Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy," World Bank (2003), pp. 13-32.
- Patricia Justino, "Violent Conflict and Human Capital Accumulation," *Institute of Development Studies* Working Paper No. 397 (2011), pp. 5-13.
- Jonathan Moyer et al., "Assessing the Impact of War on Development in Yemen," *United Nations Development Programme* (2019), pp. 1-26.

- Scott Gates et al., "The Consequences of Internal Armed Conflict for Development," *SIPRI* (2015): https://www.sipri.org/commentary/blog/2015/consequences-internal-armed-conflict-development-part-1
- Hannes Mueller and Julia Tobias, "The Cost of Violence: Estimating the Economic Impact of Conflict," *International Growth Centre* (2016), pp. 1-8.
- Hailay Gesesaw et al., "The Impact of the War on the Health System of the Tigray Region in Ethiopia: An Assessment," *BMJ Global Health* 6 (2021), pp. 1-7.
- "Starving Tigray: How Armed Conflict and Mass Atrocities Have Destroyed an Ethiopian Region's Economy and Food System and Are Threatening Famine," *World Peace Foundation* (2021), pp. 1-49.
- Tani Marilena Adams, *How Chronic Violence Affects Human Development, Social Relations, and the Practice of Citizenship* (Wilson Centre: Washington D.C., 2017).

Week 7 (February 14 and 16): Warfare and gender

How does war affect gender roles and what are its gendered impacts?

Assigned readings:

- Ingrid Vik Bakken and Halvard Buhaug, "Civil War and Female Empowerment," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* vol. 65, no. 5 (2021), pp. 982-1009.
- Ronald Bruce St. John, "Libya's Gender Wars: The Revolution Within the Revolution," *Journal of North African Studies* vol. 22, no. 5 (2017), pp. 888-906.
- Ragnhild Nordas and Dara Kay Cohen, "Conflict-Related Sexual Violence," *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 24 (2021), pp. 193-211.

Additional readings:

- Lynne Segal, "Gender, War and Militarism: Making and Questioning the Links," *Feminist Review* vol. 88 (2008): 21-35.
- Meredith Turshen, "Algerian Women in the Liberation Struggle and Civil War: From Active Participants to Passive Victims?" *Social Research* vol. 69, no. 3 (2002), pp. 890-911.
- Dara Kay Cohen, "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War," *World Politics* vol. 65, no. 3 (2013), pp. 383-415.
- Sarah Davies and Jacqui True, "Reframing Conflict-Related Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: Bringing Gender Analysis Back In," *Security Dialogue* vol. 46, no. 6 (2015), pp. 495-512.
- Elisabeth Jean Wood, "Rape as a Practice of War: Toward a Typology of Political Violence," *Politics & Society* vol. 46, no. 4 (2018), pp. 513-537.

Week 8 (February 21 and 23): Environment and conflict

What are the environmental causes and consequence of conflict?

Assigned readings:

- Idean Salehyan, "From Climate Change to Conflict? No Consensus Yet," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 45, no. 3 (2008), pp. 315-326.
- Pernilla Nordqvist and Florian Krampe, "Climate Change and Violent Conflict: From South Asia and Southeast Asia," *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Conflict* 4 (2018), pp. 1-12.
- Jamal Saghir, "Climate Change and Conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa," *Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs* (2019), pp. 1-15.

Additional readings:

- Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Armed Conflict and the Environment: A Critique of the Literature," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 35, no. 3 (1998), pp. 381-400.
- Jon Barnett, "Destabilizing the Environment-Conflict Thesis," *Review of International Studies* vol. 26, no. 2 (2000), pp. 271-288.
- Clionadh Raleigh and Dominic Kniveton, "Come Rain or Shine: An Analysis of Conflict and Climate Variability in East Africa," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 49, no. 1 (2012), pp. 51-64.
- Michael Bothe et al., "International Law and Protecting the Environment During Armed Conflict: Gaps and Opportunities," *International Review of the Red Cross* vol. 92, no. 879 (2010), pp. 569-592.

Reading week (February 27 - March 3)

Module 3 — Critical Perspectives

Week 9 (March 7 and 9): Transformative violence

Can violence be moral and emancipatory?

Assigned readings:

- Neil Roberts, "Fanon, Sartre, Violence, and Freedom," *Sartre Studies International* vol. 10, no. 2 (2004), pp. 139-160.
- Karl Von Holdt, "The Violence of Order, Orders of Violence: Between Fanon and Bourdieu," *Current Sociology* vol. 61, no. 2 (2012), pp. 112-131.
- Messay Kebede, "The Rehabilitation of Violence and the Violence of Rehabilitation: Fanon and Colonialism," *Journal of Black Studies* vol. 31, no. 5 (2001), pp. 539-562.

- Sebastian Kaempf, "Violence and Victory: Guerrilla Warfare: 'Authentic Self-Affirmation' and the Overthrow of the Colonial State," *Third World Quarterly* vol. 30, no. 1 (2009), pp. 129-146.
- Emma Kuby, "Our Actions Never Cease to Haunt Us: Frantz Fanon, Jean-Paul Sartre and the Violence of the Algerian War," *Historical Reflections* vol. 41, no. 3 (2015), pp. 59-78.
- Elizabeth Frazer and Kimberly Hutchings, "On Politics and Violence: Arendt Contra Fanon," *Contemporary Political Theory* vol. 7 (2008), pp. 90-108.
- Steven A. Burr, "Transcending the Paradox of Violence: A Dialectic/Dialogical Interrogation in the Colonial/Anti-Colonial Struggle in Algeria," *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal* vol. 101, no. 4 (2018), pp. 320-340.
- Peter Karibe Mendy, "Amilcar Cabral and the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau: Context, Challenges and Lessons or Effective African Leadership," *African Identities* vol. 4 (2006), pp. 7-21.
- Neelam Srivastava, "Towards a Critique of Colonial Violence: Fanon, Gandhi and the Restoration of Agency," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* vol. 46, no. 3-4 (2010), pp. 303-319.
- Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

Week 10 (March 14 and 16): Indigenous perspectives

Is state formation a violent and assimilationist project?

Assigned readings:

- Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, "Being Indigenous: Resurgences Against Contemporary Colonialism," *Government and Opposition* (2005), pp. 597-614.
- Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), pp. 1-24.
- Asafa Jalata, "The Emergence of Oromo Nationalism and Ethiopian Reaction," *Social Justice* vol. 22, no. 3 (1995), pp. 165-189.

Additional readings:

- Ayantu Tibeso and J. Khadijah Abdurahman, "Tigray, Oromia, and the Ethiopian Empire," *The Funambulist* (2021): https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/against-genocide/tigray-oromia-and-the-ethiopian-empire
- Kalundi Serumaga, "Speak of Me as I Am: Ethiopia, Native Identities and the National Question in Africa," *The Elephant* (2019), pp. 1-12.
- Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* vol. 1 (2015), pp. 54-74.
- Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014).
- Peter MacFarlane and Nicole Schabus, Whose Land is it Anyway. A Manual for Decolonization (Vancouver: Federation of Post-Secondary Educators of BC, 2017).

Week 11 (March 21 and 23): Capitalism and imperialism

In what ways do global resource extraction and class struggle drive conflict?

Assigned readings:

- Fanny Coulomb and Renaud Bellais, "The Marxist Analysis of War and Military Expenditures, Between Certainty and Uncertainty," *Defence and Peace Economics* vol. 19, no. 5 (2008), pp. 351-359.
- John Andrew McNeish, "Resource Extraction and Conflict in Latin America," *Colombia Internacional* vol. 93 (2018), pp. 3-18.
- Toby Craig Jones, "America, Oil and War in the Middle East," *The Journal of American History* vol. 99, no. 1 (2012), pp 208-218.

- Karel Kara, "On the Marxist Theory of War and Peace," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 5, no 1 (1968), pp. 1-27.
- Chronis Polychroniou, "Rise and Fall of US Imperialism," *Economic and Political Weekly* vol. 30, no 30 (1995), pp. 54-64.
- Henry Veltmeyer, "Political Economy of Natural Resource Extraction: A New Model or Extractive Imperialism?" *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* vol. 34, no. 1 (2013), pp. 79-95.

- Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Bogle L'Ouverture: London, 1973).
- Eduardo Galeano, Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent (Monthly Review Press: New York City, 1997).

Module 4 — Conflict Resolution

Week 12 (March 28 and 30): Liberal versus realist peace- and state-building Should external actors be involved in conflict resolution? If so, how?

Assigned readings:

- Roland Paris, "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding," *Review of International Studies* vol. 36 (2010), pp. 337-365.
- Marina Ottaway, "Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States," *Development and Change* vol. 33, no. 5 (2002), pp. 1001-1023.
- Roger Mac Ginty and Oliver Richmond, "The Local Turn in Peace Building: A Critical Agenda for Peace," *Third World Quarterly* vol. 34, no. 5 (2013), pp. 763-783.

Additional readings:

- Alina Rocha Menocal, "State Building for Peace: A New Paradigm for International Engagement in Post-Conflict Fragile States?" *Third World Quarterly* vol. 32 (2011), pp. 1715-1736.
- Oliver Richmond, "The Legacy of State Formation Theory for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding," *International Peacekeeping* vol. 20, no. 3 (2013), pp. 299-315.
- Dominik Balthasar, "Peace-building as state-building? Rethinking Liberal Interventionism in Contexts of Emerging States," *Conflict, Security and Development* vol. 17, no. 6 (2017), pp. 473-491.
- Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective," *Center for Global Development* (2005), pp. 1-35.

Week 13 (April 4 and 6): Colonial borders

Do colonial borders drive conflict and does secession resolve conflict?

Assigned readings:

- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, "Why Africa's Weak States Persist: The Empirical and Juridical in Statehood," *World Politics* vol. 35, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-24.
- Pierre Englebert, Stacy Tarango and Matthew Carter, "Dismemberment and Suffocation: A Contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries," *Comparative Political Studies* vol. 35, no. 10 (2002), pp. 1093-1118.
- Ian Spears, "Debating Secession and the Recognition of New States in Africa," *African Security Review* vol. 13, no. 2 (2004), pp. 35-48.

Additional readings:

• Stelios Michalopoulos and Elias Papaiaonnou, "The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa," *American Economic Review* vol. 106, no. 7 (2016), 1802-1848.

- Ian Spears, "Reflections on Somaliland and Africa's Territorial Order," *Review of African Political Economy* vol. 95 (2003), pp. 89-98.
- Redie Bereketeab, "Self-Determination and Secession in Somaliland and South Sudan: Challenges to Postcolonial State-Building," *Nordiska Afrikainstitutet* (2012), pp. 1-37.
- Katerina Rudincova, "Viability of a Secessionist State in Africa: Case Study of South Sudan," *Acta Politologica* vol. 9, no. 3 (2017), pp. 66-82.
- Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* vol. 20, no. 4 (1996), pp. 136-175.

Week 14 (April 11): Course Summary and Final Exam Preparation

V. SENSITIVE CONTENT

Please be aware that some of the course content may be disturbing for some students. It has been included in the course because it directly relates to the learning outcomes. Please contact the instructor if you have specific concerns about this.

VI. RE-GRADING POLICY:

To request a re-grade, students must submit a written document, not exceeding a double-spaced page, and no later than 7 working days after your exam/assignments have been returned to the class. In this document, students must explain why they think they deserve a better grade. Please note that I reserve the right to keep your grade the same or lower it.

VII. LANGUAGE OF SUBMISSION

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté.

VIII. ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures. See McGill's guide to academic honesty (www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/) for more information.

IX. SPECIAL ACCOMODATIONS:

Please ask the OSD to notify me immediately if you require any kind of special accommodations for the course. As per the OSD regulations, time-based accommodations only apply to exams that are less than 48 hours in duration. If you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the *Office for Students with Disabilities* (514-398-6009).

Note: In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.