

INTD397—Section 1
Conflict and Development in the Global South

Winter 2022

Mondays and Wednesdays; 2:35-3:55pm

Delivery: In-person

Classroom: ENGMD 279

Instructor: Patrick Wight, Dr.

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Office: 3610 McTavish, room 12-4

Office Hours: Monday 4-5pm and Friday 2-3pm

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 considers whether the causal link between war-making and state-making holds true in the contemporary Global South. Other relevant questions include: Do democratization and economic liberalization produce or resolve conflict? And, what is the relationship between security and development? Theme two considers the causes and *consequences* of conflict in relation to human and economic development, the environment and gender roles. 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? 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 two, or 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 writing your term paper.

III. Course Assessment

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

Assessment Components	Percentage
Midterm <i>In class on February 7th</i>	25%
Term Paper <i>Due on March 28th</i>	35%
Take-home final <i>Due on April 29th</i>	40%

1. Midterm Exam: 25%

The exam will be in short essay format and will cover the weekly topics covered in the course readings and lectures up to and including Week 5. It will be written in class on **February 7th**. At the start of class, the instructor will present 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 reading materials).

The essay should provide a thesis statement (i.e. "main argument"), and follow the basic structures of essay writing (introduction, body paragraphs, topic sentences, conclusion). Students are encouraged to take a few minutes to brainstorm and make a short outline before starting to write. There is no specific page limit or requirement, but aim to be as thorough as possible without compromising the structure and flow of the essay.

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 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, 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 Manual 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, covering the course material (weekly 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 (due **April 29th**). The final exam is to be submitted 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 course expectations and assignments

Module 1 — War-making and State-making

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

Does the process of democratization produce or resolve conflict?

- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," *International Security* 20, no 1 (1995): 5-38.
- Donald Horowitz, "The Challenges of Ethnic Conflict: Democracy in Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy* 4, no 4 (1993): 18-38.

Additional readings:

- Shin'ichi Takeuchi, "Political Liberalization or Armed Conflict? Political Changes in Post-Cold War Africa," *The Developing Economies* (2007), 172-193.
- Mvemba Phezo Dizolele and Pascal Kalume Kambale, "The DRC's Crumbling Legitimacy" *Journal of Democracy* 23, no 3 (2012), 109-120.

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

Does economic liberalization increase or decrease conflict?

- Francisco Gutiérrez and Gerd Schönwälder, *Economic Liberalization and Political Violence: Utopia or Dystopia?* (London: Pluto Press, 2010): 1-12.

- David Keen, “Liberalization and Conflict,” *International Political Science Review* 26, no 1 (2005): 73-89.
- Margit Bussmann, Gerald Schneider and Nina Wiesehomeier, “Foreign Economic Liberalization and Peace: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa,” *European Journal of International Relations* 11, no 4 (2005): 551-579.

Additional readings:

- Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, “Economic Liberalization via IMF Structural Adjustment: Sowing the Seeds of Civil War?” *International Organization* 64 (2010): 339-356.

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

What is the relationship between security and development?

- Maria Stern and Joachim Öjendal, “Mapping the Security-Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence,” *Security Dialogue* 41, no 1 (2010): 5-29.
- Lisa Denney, “Reducing Poverty with Teargas and Batons: The Security-Development Nexus in Sierra Leone,” *African Affairs* 110, no 439 (2011): 275-294.

Additional readings:

- David Chandler, “The Security-Development Nexus and the Rise of ‘Anti Foreign Policy,’” *Journal of International Relations and Development* 10 (2007): 362-386.
- Kamil Shah, “The Failure of State Building and the Promise of State Failure: Reinterpreting the Security-Development Nexus in Haiti,” *Third World Quarterly* 30, no 1 (2009): 17-34.

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

Does war ‘make states’ in the contemporary Global South?

- 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* 32, no. 3 (2001): 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): 60-72.

Additional readings:

- Brian Taylor and Roxana Botea, “Tilly Tally: War-Making and State-Making in the Contemporary Third World,” *International Studies Review* 10 (2008): 27-56.
- Zachariah Mampilly and Megan Stewart, “A Typology of Rebel Political Institutional Arrangements,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2020): 1-31.

Module 2 — Developmental Consequences of War

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

In what ways does warfare affect human development?

- Patricia Justino, “Violent Conflict and Human Capital Accumulation,” *Institute of Development Studies Working Paper No. 397* (2011): 5-13.
- 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>
- Jonathan Moyer et al., “Assessing the Impact of War on Development in Yemen,” *United Nations Development Programme* (2019): 1-26.

Additional readings:

- 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): 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): 1-49.

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

How does war affect gender roles and what are the impacts on women?

- Meredith Turshen, “Algerian Women in the Liberation Struggle and the Civil War: From Active Participants to Passive Victims?” *Social Research* 69, no 3 (2002): 890-911.
- Dara Kay Cohen, “Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War,” *World Politics* 65, no 3 (2013): 383-415.
- Ragnhild Nordas and Dara Kay Cohen, “Conflict-Related Sexual Violence,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2021): 193-211.

Additional readings:

- Sarah Davies and Jacqui True, “Reframing Conflict-Related Sexual and Gender-Based Violence: Bringing Gender Analysis Back In,” *Security Dialogue* 46, no 6 (2015): 495-512.
- Ronald Bruce St John, “Libya’s Gender Wars: The Revolution Within the Revolution,” *Journal of North African Studies* 22, no 5 (2017): 888-906.

Guest lecture: Elissar Sarrouh, Professor of Practice on Governance and Sustainability

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

What are the environmental causes and consequence of conflict?

- Jamal Saghir, “Climate Change and Conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa,” *Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs* (2019): 1-15.
- Jon Barnett, “Destabilizing the Environment-Conflict Thesis,” *Review of International Studies* 26, no 2 (2000): 271-288.
- Pernilla Nordqvist and Florian Krampe, “Climate Change and Violent Conflict: From South Asia and Southeast Asia,” *SIPRI Insights on Peace and Conflict* 4 (2018): 1-12.

Additional readings:

- “State and Trends in Adaptation Report 2021: How Adaptation Can Make Africa Safer, Greener and More Prosperous in a Warming World,” *Global Center on Adaptation* (2021): 448-468.

- Nils Petter Gleditsch, “Armed Conflict and the Environment: A Critique of the Literature,” *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no 3 (1998): 381-400.

Guest lecture: Jamal Saghir, Professor of Practice at ISID

Reading week (February 28 – March 6)

Module 3 — Critical Perspectives

Week 9 (March 7 and 9): Transformative violence

Can violence be moral and emancipatory? (e.g. anti-colonial struggles)

- Neil Roberts, “Fanon, Sartre, Violence, and Freedom,” *Sartre Studies International* 10, no 2 (2004): 139-160.
- Elizabeth Frazer and Kimberly Hutchings, “On Politics and Violence: Arendt Contra Fanon,” *Contemporary Political Theory* 7 (2008): 90-108.

Additional readings:

- Karl Von Holdt, “The Violence of Order, Orders of Violence: Between Fanon and Bourdieu,” *Current Sociology* 61, no 2 (2012): 112-131.
- Peter Karibe Mendy, “Amilcar Cabral and the Liberation of Guinea-Bissau: Context, Challenges and Lessons or Effective African Leadership,” *African Identities* 4 (2006): 7-21.

Week 10 (March 14 and 16): Indigenous perspectives

Should state formation be seen as a violent and assimilationist project?

- Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel, “Being Indigenous: Resurgences Against Contemporary Colonialism,” *Government and Opposition* (2005): 597-614.
- Asafa Jalata, “The Emergence of Oromo Nationalism and Ethiopian Reaction,” *Social Justice* 22, no 3 (1995): 165-189.
- Ayantu Tibeso and Khadijah Abdurahman, “Tigray, Oromia, and the Ethiopian Empire,” *The Funambulist* (2021): <https://thefunambulist.net/magazine/against-genocide/tigray-oromia-and-the-ethiopian-empire>

Additional readings:

Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks* (University of Minnesota Press, 2014): 1-24.
 Roxane Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous People’s History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014): 1-14.

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

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

- Fanny Coulomb and Renaud Bellais, “The Marxist Analysis of War and Military Expenditures, Between Certainty and Uncertainty,” *Defence and Peace Economics* 19, no 5 (2008): 351-359.
- John Andrew McNeish, “Resource Extraction and Conflict in Latin America,” *Colombia Internacional* 93 (2018): 3-18.

- Chronis Polychroniou, “Rise and Fall of US Imperialism,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 30, no 30 (1995): 54-64.

Additional readings:

- Henry Veltmeyer, “Political Economy of Natural Resource Extraction: A New Model or Extractive Imperialism?” *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* 34, no 1 (2013): 79-95.
- Toby Craig Jones, “America, Oil and War in the Middle East,” *The Journal of American History* (2012): 208-218.
- Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Bogle L’Ouverture: London, 1973).

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?

- Alina Rocha Menocal, “State Building for Peace: A New Paradigm for International Engagement in Post-Conflict Fragile States?” *Third World Quarterly* 32 (2011): 1715-1736.
- Oliver Richmond, “The Legacy of State Formation Theory for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding,” *International Peacekeeping* 20, no 3 (2013): 299-315.

Additional readings:

- Dominik Balthasar, “Peace-building as state-building? Rethinking Liberal Interventionism in Contexts of Emerging States,” *Conflict, Security and Development* 17, no 6 (2017): 473-491.
- Roger Mac Ginty and Oliver Richmond, “The Local Turn in Peace Building: A Critical Agenda for Peace,” *Third World Quarterly* 34, no 5 (2013): 763-783.

Week 13 (April 4 and 6): Colonial borders

Do colonial borders drive conflict and does secession resolve conflict?

- Pierre Englebert, Stacy Tarango and Matthew Carter, “Dismemberment and Suffocation: A Contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries,” *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no 10 (2002): 1093-1118.
- Ian Spears, “Debating Secession and the Recognition of New States in Africa,” *African Security Review* 13, no 2 (2004): 35-48.

Additional readings:

- Chaim Kaufmann, “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security* 20, no 4 (1996): 136-175.
- Ian Spears, “Reflections on Somaliland and Africa’s Territorial Order,” *Review of African Political Economy* 95 (2003): 89-98.
- Stelios Michalopoulos and Elias Papaiaonnou, “The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa,” *American Economic Review* 106, no 7 (2016): 1802-1848.
- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, “Why Africa’s Weak States Persist: The Empirical and Juridical in Statehood,” *World Politics* 35, no 1 (1982): 1-24.

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).

X. PUBLIC HEALTH AND SAFETY MEASURES IN THE CLASSROOM

Please note that students must always wear procedural masks in the classroom. In order to ensure the health and safety of yourself and others, you are required to comply with McGill's updated health guidelines, please visit:

<https://www.mcgill.ca/coronavirus/health-guidelines#preventing>

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