

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO**  
**Faculty of Arts and Science**  
**Department of Political Science**

**POL487H1F: Topics in International Politics II: Peacebuilding,**  
**Summer 2020. Office Hours: MONDAYS AND WEDNESDAYS 1:00-3:00PM**  
**Classroom: ONLINE**

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**Overview:**

This course offers students the opportunity to rethink Western-oriented methods of inquiry and theories, which in turn allows them to rethink dominant conceptions of knowledge and normativity in peacemaking and peacebuilding as a form of intervention. The course critically analyzes and interrogates various conflict zones and cases, and the different actors and strategies which links negotiations and peacebuilding in Africa in the broader context of the political economy of peace. It is organized in roughly four sections: Part I critically interrogates the production of “knowledge” and deconstructs the Euro-American-Centric definitions of peace and war. Part II introduces you to the global economic structures of power. Part III focuses on the main theoretical issues and debates on liberal peacemaking and peacebuilding. Using two case studies, part IV examines the effectiveness of peacemaking and peacebuilding in identifying and resolving the root causes of major post-colonial conflicts in Africa.

**Course Requirements**  
**Grade Breakdown**

<b>Assignments</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>Date Due</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Length</b>
Midterm Test	40%	May 27 <sup>th</sup>	Take home	10 pages
Research Proposal	10%	June 01 <sup>st</sup>		02 pages
Research Paper	50%	June 15 <sup>th</sup>		10 pages

Penalty for late submission of assignments is 10% for each day after the due date, including weekend. Please read this syllabus and the other binding handouts provided on Quercus carefully. They all set the expectations and constitute the requirements.

**Contacts**

Please note that this is an online asynchronous course. *There will be NO online class meetings.* However, I will be pleased to answer your questions via skype, talk to you over the phone, and/or email on (Wednesdays 1-2pm). Please email me in advance to schedule a time to talk or chat online as other students might also want to speak with me during the same time period. Additionally, I will answer short and direct questions about the course through email. It is

advisable that you consult the course syllabus and your classmates before emailing me questions regarding basic course information. I will reply within 72 hours of receipt of your email. I will be using the class mailing list provided by the Uof T to get in touch with you; and you must use your UTOR account when communicating with me.

## **Midterm Test**

The test will be a take-home based on 10 questions and posted online for you during the first week of classes. Answer each question in **NO more than 1 page double-spaced**. The total must **NOT** exceed a maximum of 10 pages. **Please note that the readings from the weeks of May 27<sup>th</sup> and June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2020 are part of the test.** *A soft copy of the test must be emailed, as an attachment, to me before 1pm on Monday May 27<sup>th</sup>. If you send it after 1pm, 10% will be deducted from your mark everyday thereon.*

## **Research Proposal:**

You must *email me*, before **1pm on June 01<sup>st</sup>**, a two-page, double spaced, proposal. It should contain your name and a summary of your main arguments and topic (first page) and a bibliography (second page). **If you email me after 1pm, 10% will be deducted from your mark.** Make sure you go over the readings assigned for June 01<sup>st</sup> before writing your proposal. You are encouraged to submit your proposal prior to this due date! I will grade and return them to you in a couple of days. A research question will be posted online for you after the first week of class.

## **Research Paper**

The research essay (50%) is *due before 1pm* on June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2020. The paper is 15 pages minimum and 20 pages maximum including the bibliography (totaling 20 pages). ***You are required to draw on a minimum of (08) readings from the course/recommended reading list and NO less than (07) reputable outside sources to craft a well-thought-out and clearly argued research paper.*** The research topic will be emailed to you separately along with the writing guidelines by the second week of classes. You **MUST** include/use one of the case studies in your research!

All essays should adhere to the criteria outlined here and in the separate essay-writing handout (which will be posted on Quercus). Essays must have 1-inch margins and be in the 12-point Times New Roman font. Essays should be double-spaced and numbered. Use endnotes (at the end of the paper). Citations do count towards the length requirements of your essays. Essays must be proofread for spelling, typographical, grammatical, and syntactical errors. Have the Writing Centre of your college take a look at it before submission.

***A soft copy of the research paper must be sent as an attached to me before 1pm on June 15<sup>th</sup>, 2020.*** There will be a penalty of 10% of the assignment grade per day for late papers, including weekends. **Do not** attempt to submit your essay by leaving it at the department. Make a copy of your essay before submitting it and keep copies of your research notes.

A request for an extension should be submitted to me in writing. I will grant the extension only on unavoidable and justifiable grounds (e.g., serious illness). You will be required to submit acceptable documentation (such as a doctor's note on the official University of Toronto Medical Certificate, in the case of illness) to have any chance of being granted an extension.

The New College Library offers in-depth research consultations to help you with your research assignments and papers. These consultations are available to help you get the most out of the UofT library system and help you find materials for your essays and projects. To book an appointment

visit: <http://uoft.me/libraryconsultation>

## **Academic Honesty**

This class has a ZERO tolerance for academic dishonesty in any form. You should acknowledge properly the work and ideas of other people. You are reminded that plagiarism is a serious academic offense and the offender will be punished. Read carefully the University's policies on proper academic behavior at [www.utoronto.ca/govcncl/pap/policies/behaveac.html](http://www.utoronto.ca/govcncl/pap/policies/behaveac.html), [www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html](http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html). You should consult me or any one of the many guides available at the Writing Center (<http://www.utoronto.ca/writing>) if you are at all uncertain about what constitutes plagiarism, or what acceptable forms of citation and referencing are. The Writing Center is a very useful resource to assist students to avoid plagiarism incidents or other academic offenses, as well as to improve their overall writing skills.

## **Accessibility Services**

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: [disability.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:disability.services@utoronto.ca) or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

## **Grade Dispute**

Though not anticipated, grade disputes are common occurrence. In an event of a student wanting to dispute a grade, the procedure would be as follows:

- i. In a page or two, student would detail what the discrepancy is.
- ii. Student state clearly the portion of their paper that was not graded correctly
- iii. Student would also attach the graded paper to the dispute letter and hand it over to the professor.

The disputed paper would be graded again. This could result in an increase, same, or reduction in grade.

***Note that the grade obtained as a result of a paper being re-graded would be the final grade. There shall not be any further grading of the paper.***

## **Quercus**

We will be using Quercus to manage and coordinate this course. For this purpose, all students must have an active U of T e-mail address. This email address will also be the means with which I will communicate to you. All important information relating to the course will be distributed electronically through Quercus. It is your responsibility to regularly log on to the Quercus website and obtain the posted information.

## Schedule of Topics and Readings

### Part I: Knowledge, Peace, and War: Analytical Issues

#### Week 1

##### May 04: **On Knowledge Production and Peace - Introduction**

Jonathan Grix. "Introducing Students to the Generic Terminology of Social Research". *POLITICS*: 2002 VOL 22(3), 175–186.

Edward W. Said. *Orientalism*. 1978. Chapter 1.

Oliver P. Richmond. "Critical Research Agendas for Peace: The Missing Link in the Study of International Relations". *Alternatives* 32 (2007), 247–274

#### **Further Readings:**

- Bob Jessop & Ngai-Ling Sum. "What is critical?" *Critical Policy Studies*, 10 (1) 2015.
- Galtung, Johan (1967). *THEORIES OF PEACE: A Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking*. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.
- David Collier & Colin Elman (2008). "Qualitative and multi-method research: organizations, publication, and reflections on Integration". In Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier, Henry E. Brady, and David Collier, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Alexander Wendt. "On constitution and causation in International Relations". *British International Studies Association* 1998.

##### May 06: **Conception and misconceptions: On War**

Ayers, A. J.. "Beyond The Ideology of 'Civil War': The Global-Historical Constitution of Political Violence in Sudan". *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. V. 4. N. 10. (2012).

Tarak Barkawi (2016). "Decolonising war". *European Journal of International Security*, 1, pp 199-214.

#### **Further Readings:**

- Christopher, Cramer. *Violence in Developing Countries: War, Memory, progress*. Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Yanacopulos, H. and Hanlon, J.. *Civil War, Civil Peace*. (The Open University. 2006). Chapters 3, 5.
- Galtung, Johan (1973). *Theories of conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, Formations*. University of Hawai'i.
- Vivienne Jabri. "War, Security and the Liberal State". *Security Dialogue* 2006; 37; 47.

## Part II: The Political Economy Interests of Global Powers

### Week 2

#### May 11: **Conception and misconceptions: On Development**

Ha-Joon Chang, *Kicking away the ladder: development strategy in historical perspective*. Introduction and Ch. 1. Ch 4.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2013a), *Coloniality of Power in Postcolonial Africa: Myths of Decolonization*. Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series. Chapter 2.

#### **Further Readings:**

- James Ferguson. 1994. *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 1-79.
- Vivienne Jabri and Stephen Chan. "The ontologist always rings twice: two more stones about structure and agency in reply to Hollis and Smith". *Review of International Studies*, 22, pp 107-110
- Galtung, Johan. "A Structural Theory of Imperialism". *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 8, No.2 (1971), 81-117.
- Capan, Zeynep Gulsah. "Decolonising International Relations?" *THIRD WORLD QUARTERLY*, 2017, VOL. 38, NO. 1, 1-15.
- Mamdani, Mahmood. "Historicizing power and responses to power: Indirect rule and its reform". *Social Research*; Fall 1999; 66, 3.

#### May 13: **On Alternatives to "Development"**

Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development, the making and unmaking of the Third World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995. Ch. 1- 6. (E. book)

Arturo Escobar. "Imaging a Post-Development Era." In Jonathan Crush, ed. *Power of Development*. London and New York: Routledge. 2005. (E. book)

#### **Further Readings**

- Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree, ed. 1997. *The Post-Development Reader*. London: Zed Press.
- Antonio Gramsci. 1971. *Selections from Prison Notebooks*. Trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Giyatri Chakravorty Spivak. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In Cary Nelson, ed. *Marxism and Interpretation*. Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Trevor Parfitt, 2002. *The End of Development: Modernity, Postmodernity and Development*. London: Pluto Press.
- Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, ed. *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments and Alternatives*. London and New York: The Guilford Press. Ch 6.
- Majid Rahnema and Victoria Bawtree, ed. 1997. *The Post-Development Reader*. London: Zed Press.

- Frans Schuurman ed. 1993. *Beyond the Impasse: New Directions in Development Theory*. London: Zed.
- J. D. Sideway. 2007. "Spaces of Post-Development." *Progress in Human Geography* 31 (3):1-7

### **Week 3**

**May 18: No class (Victoria Day - University Closed)**

### **May 20: On Intervention**

Marina Ottaway, Bethany Lacina, "International Interventions and Imperialism: Lessons from the 1990s". *SAIS Review*, Volume 23, Number 2, Summer-Fall 2003, pp. 71-92

Chandler, David. *Empire in Denial: The politics of State-building*. (Pluto Press: 2006). Ch 4.

#### **Further Readings:**

- Xavier Guillaume. "Historicizing the International". [e-ir.info/2013/06/08/historicizing-the-international/](http://e-ir.info/2013/06/08/historicizing-the-international/)
- Goran Peic & Dan Reiter. "Foreign-Imposed Regime Change, State Power and Civil War Onset", 1920–2004". *B.J.Pol.S.* 41, 453–475 (2010).
- Mark Duffield. "Aid and complicity: the case of war-displaced Southerners in the Northern Sudan". *J. of Modern African Studies*, 40, 1 (2002), 83-104.
- William Bain. "In praise of folly: international administration and the corruption of humanity". *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of international Affairs. Vol. 82, No. 3 (May, 2006), pp. 525-538.
- Mark Duffield. "Development, Territories, and People: Consolidating the External Sovereign Frontier". *Alternatives* 32 (2007), 225-246.
- Alison J. Ayers. "An illusion of the epoch: Critiquing the ideology of 'failed states'". *International Politics* Vol. 49, 5, 568–590.

## **Part III: The Liberal Peace**

### **Week 4**

#### **May 25: On Peacemaking**

Eileen F. Babbitt, "The Evolution of International Conflict Resolution: From Cold War to Peacebuilding". *Negotiation Journal* October 2009.

Richmond, Oliver. "A genealogy of mediation in international relations: From 'analogue' to 'digital' forms of global justice or managed war?". *Cooperation and Conflict* 00(0). 2018.

Roger Mac Ginty. "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace". *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association*. Vol. 43(2): 139–163.

**Further Readings:**

- Peter Wallensteen. *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. Third Edition. Sage 2012.
- Meyer, Jörg. "The Concealed Violence of Modern Peace(-Making)". *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 2008. Vol. 36 No. 3, pp. 555-574
- Matti Jutila, Samu Pehkonen and Tarja Väyrynen. "Resuscitating a Discipline: An Agenda for Critical Peace Research". *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 2008. Vol. 36 No. 3, pp. 623-640.
- Salem, Paul E.. "In Theory: A Critique of Western Conflict Resolution from a Non-Western Perspective". *Negotiation Journal* October 1993.
- Mikael Eriksson and Roland Kostic (ed). *Mediation and Liberal Peacebuilding: Peace from the ashes of war?* Routledge, 2013.
- Salman Ahmed. "No Size Fits All: Lessons in Making Peace and Rebuilding States". *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 84, No. 1 (Jan. - Feb., 2005), pp. 162-169.

**May 27: On Peacebuilding (Midterm test due in class today)**

Jabri, Vivienne (2016). "Post-Colonialism: A Post-Colonial Perspective on Peacebuilding". In *the Palgrave Handbook of Disciplinary and Regional Approaches to Peace*. Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Bertha Kadenyi Amisi, "Indigenous Ideas of the Social and Conceptualizing Peace in Africa", *Africa Peace and Conflict Journal* 2007.

de Soto, Alvaro; del Castillo, Graciana. "Obstacles to peacebuilding".

**Further Readings:**

- Susan L. Woodward. "Do the Root Causes of Civil War Matter? On Using Knowledge to Improve Peacebuilding Interventions". *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*. Volume 1 Number 2 (June 2007).
- Ayers. Alison J.. "Imperial Liberties: Democratisation and Governance in the 'New' Imperial Order". *POLITICAL STUDIES*: 2009 VOL 57, 1-27
- Edward Newman, Roland Paris and Oliver P. Richmond (ed) (2009). *New perspectives on liberal peacebuilding*. United Nations University Press, Tokyo.
- de Soto, Alvaro; del Castillo, Graciana. "*Obstacles to peacebuilding*".
- Ian Taylor. "What Fit for the Liberal Peace in Africa?". *Global Society*, Vol. 21, No. 4, October, 2007.

**Week 5**

**June 01: On 'Who' Builds Peace and 'How' (Research Proposal Due Today)**

Ayers. Alison J.. "Imperial Liberties: Democratisation and Governance in the 'New' Imperial Order". *POLITICAL STUDIES*: 2009 VOL 57, 1-27

Michael Pugh, "The Political Economy of Peacebuilding: A Critical Theory Perspective". *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Volume 10, Number 2, Autumn/Winter 2005.

Tobias Denskus (2007): "Peacebuilding does not build peace". *Development in Practice*, V 17, Number 4-5, August.

### ***Further Readings***

- Moyo, Dambisa. *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*. 1<sup>st</sup> ed. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.
- David Williams, "Aid and sovereignty: quasi-states and international financial institutions," *Review of International Studies* 26 (2000), 557-573.
- Roland Paris (2010): "Saving liberal peacebuilding". *Review of International Studies*, 36, 337–365.
- N. Cooper, M. Turner, M. Pugh (2011). "The end of history and the last liberal peacebuilder: a reply to Roland Paris". *Review of International Studies* 37 (4) p.1995-2007, May.
- Keen, David. *Complex Emergencies*. Cambridge: Polity, 2008.

## **Part IV: Case Studies**

### **June 03: South Sudan**

John Young (2005). "Sudan: a flawed peace process leading to a flawed peace". *Review of African Political Economy*, 32:103, 99-113

### **Week 06**

#### **June 08: Sierra Leone**

Richmond, Oliver P., Pogodda, Sandra, Ramović, Jasmin (Eds.) (2016). The Palgrave Handbook of Disciplinary and Regional Approaches to Peace. Chapter 22.

#### **June 10: The Democratic Republic of Congo**

Richmond, Oliver P., Pogodda, Sandra, Ramović, Jasmin (Eds.) (2016). The Palgrave Handbook of Disciplinary and Regional Approaches to Peace. Chapter 23.

#### **June 15: Reflections (*Research paper due today*)**