2014

275-01 Politics of War and Peace

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Summary of Course

This course will assess the politics of war and peace by focusing primarily on one particular case: Northern Ireland. In order to become familiar with this case, students will read a book on the background of the conflict. Students will then explore the lessons that have emerged from the peace process in Northern Ireland. Building on constructivist assumptions, this course explains how different actors learned different lessons and how they evolved during the peace process as well as during the efforts to implement the Agreement. Thus, this course explores the different lessons multiple actors learned as well as the more general lessons that might apply to peace processes in other national contexts. While this course will explain the utility of consociationalism as a theoretical construct to analyze policing and security, the course attempts to go beyond this approach by analyzing several other theoretical perspectives including neo-conservatism, revolutionary analysis, theories of identity formation and change, the role of international political factors like ideology, the role of third parties in peace processes (including their role in economic assistance), civil society, and grassroots peacebuilding. Many recent books and articles focus on the need for reconciliation between communities as integral to peace processes. This approach was inspired by the work of John Paul Lederach and others who have emphasized the need for reconciliation as part of peace processes and peacebuilding. This important perspective is given special attention in this course. This course goes beyond focusing on what contributes to the signing of peace agreements to what can be learned from the difficulties implementing these agreements. Even if consociational arrangements allowed an elite form of accommodation in Northern Ireland for example, this alone would not and has not solved the fundamental challenge of sectarianism. Thus, this course will compel students to delve intensively into the politics and challenges of peacemaking and peacebuilding by studying one particular case.

Assignments

Each student will make two presentations based on the literature reviewed in the course that goes beyond the two assigned books. Each 10-15 minute presentation topic will be assigned early in the semester and will account for 15% of the student’s final grade. In addition, each student will write two papers based on a review of the literature that the student was assigned for each oral presentation. These three to four page single-spaced papers account for 15% of the final grade and are to be emailed to white@xavier.edu. These are due the class after the student makes the oral presentation.

Exams

There will be two exams in this course. A take-home mid-term exam will be due on February 4th. It should be sent to white@xavier.edu. This exam will test the Dixon and O’Kane text as well as the first three weeks of class lectures and discussions focusing on the recent history of Northern Ireland. The exam will consist of Identification questions and account for 10% of the student’s final grade. There will also be a comprehensive take-home final exam that will be due on May 6th. This exam will require students to analyze the topics covered in this course after the first exam by answering a series of essay questions. This exam will account for 30% of the student’s final grade and should be emailed to white@xavier.edu.
Grading Policy

Grades will be based on the following scale: 93-100=A, 90-92=A-, 87-89=B+, 83-86=B, 80-82=B-, 77-79=C+, 73-76=C, 70-72=C-, 67-69=D+, 63-66=D, 60-62=D-, and below 60=F. There is no curving or dropping of grades at the end of the semester. There is no rewrite policy or extensions given for the research paper for the course although students will receive feedback on bibliographies, literature reviews, and rough drafts. For a reference to the standards for grades, see the Department of Political Science Grading Guidelines provided below:

A- to A = Superior critical reading, thinking and analytical skills. Detailed understanding of course readings. Generally clear, well-organized writing that develops important issues in a thoughtful way. Analysis of texts is without technical or factual errors. An excellent essay will significantly surpass the expectations of a good essay by demonstrating critical mastery of the logic, assumptions, and evidence of research sources. Excellent use of quotations and proper citation of texts.

Class discussion is frequent and thoughtful; shows a very good grasp of the issues.

B- to B+ = Good to Very Good critical reading, thinking and analytical skills. Solid understanding of course readings. Generally clear, well-organized writing that reports important issues in some detail. Analysis of texts is generally without technical or factual errors. A good to very good essay will have a thesis, define and incorporate concepts appropriately, present a coherent argument, and make a persuasive case for its thesis using convincing evidence; it may also need to consider plausible and reasonable alternatives systematically. Good use of quotations and proper citation of texts.

Class discussion is regular and helpful; shows a solid grasp of the issues.

C- to C+ = Adequate critical reading, thinking and analytical skills. Basic understanding of course readings. Generally competent writing that identifies important issues but leaves them insufficiently explained or examined. Analysis of texts may be technically or factually defective in minor ways. An adequate essay will have a thesis, define and incorporate concepts appropriately, and present a coherent argument. Correct use of quotations and citation of texts.

Class discussion is occasional and generally adequate; may reveal some misunderstanding of the issues.

D- to D+ = Inadequate critical reading, thinking and analytical skills. Poor or incompetent understanding of course readings. Below average writing that omits or misunderstands important issues. Analysis of texts may be technically or factually defective in substantial ways. An inadequate essay may not have a clear thesis, or may not define and incorporate concepts appropriately, or it may not present a coherent argument. There may be ineffective use of quotations and inadequate citation of texts.

Class discussion is infrequent; may reveal a lack of engagement with the issues or serious misunderstanding.

F = Unacceptable. No serious engagement of course readings. An unacceptable essay shows little or no serious attempt to understand important issues. Writing is unclear, or unorganized, or undeveloped to the degree that the essay is deemed a failure. Analysis of texts may contain egregious errors. There may be a failure to cite texts.

Class discussion is infrequent and ill informed; reveals no real understanding of even basic issues.
Readings for the Course

The following required books should be available in the University Bookstore.


In addition, there will be assigned readings that will be used by students for their oral presentations. These readings can be found through the Xavier Library’s online journal and book collections as well as through the Ohiolink system. If you cannot find a source, please see the professor.

Schedule of Lectures and Readings

Jan. 14-21 Historical Background to the Northern Ireland Conflict

Dixon and O’Kane, Ch. 1-3.


Jan. 23 Searching for Peace in Northern Ireland – The Anglo-Irish Agreement?

Dixon and O’Kane, Ch. 4-5.


Jan. 28 Origins of the Peace Process after Failure of the Anglo-Irish Agreement

Dixon and O’Kane, Ch. 6.

Jan. 30 Ceasefire, Negotiations, and the Good Friday or Belfast Agreement

Dixon and O’Kane, Ch. 7.


Feb. 4 Does Consociationalism or Power-Sharing Best Explain the Agreement?


- **Take Home Midterm Exam Due**

**Feb. 6 Structural Factors and the Role of Agency in Peace Processes**


Feb. 11  Implementing the Peace Agreement in Northern Ireland

Dixon and O’Kane, Ch. 8-9.

Feb. 13  Ten Lessons from the Peace Process

White, Ch. 1 – “Lessons from the Northern Ireland Peace Process: An Introduction” – Timothy J. White

Feb. 18  Lesson Learning from Peace Processes and from Northern Ireland

White, Ch. 2. – “‘Look at Northern Ireland’: Lessons Best Learned at Home” - William A. Hazleton


Mar. 11 Peace Processes and Transforming Identities

White, Ch. 3 – “Peace from the People: Identity Salience and the Northern Irish Peace Process” – Landon E. Hancock


March 13 – The Development and Evolution of Unionist Identity: Utilizing the Diaspora to Redefine Unionist Identity

White, Ch. 4. – “Ulster-Scots Diaspora: Articulating a Politics of Identification after ‘the Peace’ in Northern Ireland” - Wendy Ann Wiedenhoft Murphy and Mindy Peden


Mar. 18  The Role of External Economic Aid in Promoting Peace –

White, Ch. 8 – “Peacebuilding, Community Development, and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland: The Role of the Belfast Agreement and the Implication for External Economic Aid” – Olga Skarlato, Eyob Fissuh, Sean Byrne, Peter Karari, and Kawser Ahmed


Mar. 20  The Need to be Inclusive in Peace Processes

White, Ch. 5 – “The Failure of British Neoconservative Interpretations of the Northern Ireland Peace Process” – Paul Dixon


Exclusion as a Cause of Conflict - This argument is the flip-side of the contention that excluding ethnic groups from access to power causes civil war. For this, see Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min, “Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis,” *World Politics* 62 (1) (2010): 87–119. For this argument in the Northern Ireland context, see Devashree Gupta, “Selective Engagement and Its Consequences for Social Movement Organizations: Lessons from British Policy in Northern Ireland,” *Comparative Politics* 39 (3) (2007): 331-351. There is recent evidence that democracies with PR systems and high district magnitudes (like in Northern Ireland) open up opportunity for within system opponents to operate within the existing system rather than challenging it. See Deniz Aksoy and David B. Carter, “Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist Groups,” *British Journal of Political Science* 44 (1) (2014): 181-204. Others conclude that efforts to use proportional institutional schemes to incorporate minority and potential dissident groups may just lead to militancy on their part. See Dennis M. Foster, Alex Braithwaite, and David Sobek, “There Can Be No Compromise: Institutional Inclusiveness, Fractionalization and Domestic Terrorism,” *British Journal of Political Science* 43 (3) (2013): 541-557.


Mar. 25 – The Role of International Organizations in Peace Processes: The Case of the EU in the Northern Ireland Peace Process – Guest Lecture by Mary Murphy of University College Cork


Apr. 1 The Role of Security and Police Reform in Peace Processes

White, Ch. 6 – “The Transformation of Policing in Post Conflict Societies: Lessons from the Northern Ireland Experience” – John Doyle


Linking Personal, Community and National Security – Human Security?


Apr. 3 Boundary Settlement and Inequality in Peace-Making


**Apr. 8 The Role of Civil Society in Peacebuilding and Reconciliation**


Apr. 10-15  Diplomacy and Success in the Northern Ireland Peace Process


**Keeping the Peace Process Going – Momentum and Commitment** – For the need for groups who have committed to peace to continue to see operating under the terms of the peace agreement is in their interest, see Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen, “Making and Keeping Peace,” *International Organization* 59 (2) (2005): 261-292. To see how incentives versus penalties worked in the context of Northern Ireland, see Eamonn O’Kane, “To Cajole or Compel? The Use of Incentives and Penalties in Northern Ireland’s Peace Process,” *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 4 (3) (2011): 272-284. For the role constructive ambiguity played in this process, see David Mitchell, *Cooking the Fudge: Constructive Ambiguity and the Implementation of the Northern Ireland Agreement,* *Irish Political Studies* 24 (3) (2009): 321-336.


Apr. 22-24 Third Party Intervention in Conflicts: The Case of the US in Northern Ireland

White, Ch. 7 – “The Lessons of Third-Party Intervention? The Curious Case of the United States in Northern Ireland” – Mary-Alice C. Clancy


The Potential Importance of Third Parties - For the importance of mediation, even in the most intractable cases, see Jacob Bercovitch, “Mediation in the Most Resistant Cases,” in Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict, ed. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2005), 99-121. Paul Wilkinson contends that international actors can make a difference using Northern Ireland as a Case Study in “How Significant was International Influence in the Northern Ireland Peace Process?” in Combating Terrorism in Northern Ireland, ed. James Dingley (London: Routledge, 2009), 245-257.


Apr. 29 The Role of Changes in World Politics on Peace Processes

White, Ch. 10 – “Sources of Peace: The Renunciation of Revolutionary Nationalism and the Beginning of the Peace Processes in Northern Ireland and the Middle East” – Robert S. Snyder


May 1 The Future of Conflict Resolution, Peacebuilding, and Northern Ireland

Ch. 11 – “Conclusion” – Timothy J. White


The Future of Peace Studies – A Historical Anthropological View – One could see recent history of violence as an historical aberration from humanity’s long pre-war history to which we should return. See Douglas P. Fry, *Beyond War: The Human Potential for Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

May 6 - Take-Home Final Due