

(EM 7202) The Politics of Peace and Conflict

**M.Phil. in International Peace Studies
Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College Dublin**

Lectures will take place at the ISE, on Mondays 11 am - 13 pm

Lecturers:

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Office hours: Monday, 14.00 -15.30 (room 1.04)

ECTS allocation: 10 credits (International Peace Studies);
5 credits (Race, Ethnicity, Conflict)

***Introduction**

Peace Studies is an inter-disciplinary field of study, with a particular concern for developing an understanding of the origins of violent conflicts and possibilities for their resolution and transformation, as well as the conditions for building sustainable peace. The primary purpose of this module is to introduce relevant concepts and theories, examine the normative dimension of war and peace, and discuss the processes and dynamics of peacebuilding.

The module will also engage key issues and subject matters such as the concepts of peace, violence, and conflict; conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and peacebuilding theory; peace processes; peace journalism; religion, conflict and peace; civil society and peacebuilding; sport, development and peace; the inclusion of women in peace building processes can offer to the attainment of a sustainable peace in war-torn societies; and the role that the European Union has historically played in the resolution and prevention of conflicts.

By addressing this broad yet interrelated array of topics, disciplines and theories, the course will lay the groundwork for more specialised modules offered as part of the International Peace Studies programme. Each student is required to participate in one of the seminar groups attached to the module.

***Module aims**

- * To provide a background in relevant peace theories
- * To examine critical issues related to state and non-state violence, conflict and peacebuilding
- * To connect Peace Studies to wider issues in other disciplines

***Teaching Method**

The teaching method for this module consists of one lecture and one seminar per week. The seminars consist of student presentations followed by discussion on relevant weekly topics (see lecture descriptions). Students will be divided into seminar groups at the beginning of term. Attendance at seminars is mandatory and students must be prepared to participate.

***Assessment**

Assessment is by means of one 4000-word essay (85%), a seminar presentation (10%), and attendance at seminars (5%) for International Peace Studies students. The seminar presentation will be assessed by means of a two-page seminar outline, and students must attend a minimum of nine out of 10 seminars. Race, Ethnicity, Conflict students submit a 3000-word essay for assessment and they have no obligation to attend seminars (but they are nonetheless welcomed to take part, should they desire to do so). The list of essay topics is attached, and the essay deadline is **December 12, 2016 at 17:00.**

The essay for this module must be submitted using TurnItIn software, a programme designed to detect plagiarism, used by TCD. The "TurnItIn Student Quickstart guide" is available through the CAPSL (Centre for Academic Teaching and Learning) page on the TCD website (<https://www.tcd.ie/CAPSL/students/integrity-plagiarism>). You will first need to register and create a user profile. **The class ID for this module is: 13449841. The enrolment password for this module is: peace.** When you have registered for TurnItIn, you will be able to submit your essays electronically. International Peace Studies students will also need to submit a hard copy of the essay to Mary Priestman, Executive Officer, International Peace Studies, by the essay deadline.

***Seminars**

The seminars are based on responses to particular topics or particular readings. Seminar presentations should be brief and to the point, and aim at generating discussion. All participants are expected to be prepared for seminars. Seminar readings are available online through Blackboard.

***Core texts**

Iain Atack (2005), *The Ethics of Peace and War*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (2007), eds., *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge.

David P. Barash and Charles P. Webel (2014), *Peace and Conflict Studies* (3rd Edition), Sage.

Lectures Outline

1. Sept. 26: Studying Peace and Conflict

(D.J. Kim)

The first lecture will discuss the interdisciplinary and normative character of international peace studies and the expansion of the field to incorporate conflict at all levels from the interpersonal to the international.

There is no seminar the first week of term, but there will be a session to form seminar groups, introduce seminar group members to each other, and allocate presentation topics.

§ Readings:

Barash, "The Debate over Peace Studies"

Stephenson, "Peace Studies, Overview"

Cortright, "What is Peace"

§ Further reading:

Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (eds.) (2007), *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge.

David P. Barash and Charles P. Webel (2014), *Peace and Conflict Studies (3rd Edition)*, Sage.

Jeong, H-W (2000), *Peace and Conflict Studies: An introduction*, Ashgate Publishing.

Iain Attack (2005), *The Ethics of Peace and War*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.

2. Oct. 3: Defining Peace, Conflict and Violence

(D.J. Kim)

This lecture will attempt to define peace, conflict and violence focusing on the work Johan Galtung. Galtung introduced such dichotomies as direct versus structural violence, and negative versus positive peace.

There is no seminar the second week of term, but there will be an interactive session on how to introduce concepts in the international peace studies

§ Readings:

Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research"

Boulding, "Twelve Friendly Quarrels with Johan Galtung"

Jeong, "Concepts of Peace and Violence"

§ Further reading:

Galtung, "Cultural Violence" [Blackboard]

Galtung, J. (1996), *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, Sage, London.

Galtung, J., Jacobsen Carl G. & Brand-Jacobsen, Kai Frithjof (2002), *Searching for Peace*, Pluto, London.

Lawler, P. (1995), *A Question of Values: Johan Galtung's Peace Research*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder & London.

Richmond, O. P. (2008), *Peace in International Relations*, Routledge, London & New York.

Charles Webel and Johan Galtung (eds.) (2007), *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Routledge.

David P. Barash and Charles P. Webel (2014), *Peace and Conflict Studies (3rd Edition)*, Sage.

3. Oct. 10: Conflict Resolution, Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding (D.J. Kim)

This lecture will provide an overview of the evolution of the theories of conflict resolution, conflict transformation, and peacebuilding, culminating in a detailed examination of John Paul Lederach's strategic model of peacebuilding.

Seminar Topic: 'How to Build a Sustainable Peace.'

§ Seminar Reading:

Tidwell, A. C., "Theories and Theorists in Conflict Resolution"

Lederach, J. P., "Justpeace"

Lederach, J. P. & Appleby, R.S., "Strategic Peacebuilding: An Overview"

§ Further Reading:

Galtung, J. (1976), "Three Approaches to peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding" in *Peace, War and Defense: Essays in Peace Research, Volume. II*, Christian Ejlertsen, Copenhagen.

Lederach, J. P. (1997), *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, D.C.

Lederach, J. P. (2003), *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*, Good Books.

Lederach, John. Paul (2005), *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Peter Wallensteen (2011), *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System (3rd Edition)*, Sage.

Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse and Hugh Miall (2011), *Contemporary Conflict Resolution (3rd Edition)*, Polity Press.

Reychler, L. (2001), "From Conflict to Sustainable Peacebuilding: Concepts and Analytical Tools" in Reychler, L. & Paffenholz, T. eds., *Peace-Building: A Field Guide*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder, Colorado, pp. 3-15.

Schirch, L. (2004), *The Little Book of Strategic Peacebuilding*, Good Books.

Philpott, Daniel & Gerard F. Powers (eds.) (2010), *Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World*, Oxford University Press.

Zelizer, Craig (ed.) (2013), *Integrated Peacebuilding: Innovative Approaches to Transforming Conflict*, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado.

Annan, A. (2005), *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*, United Nations.

Boutros-Ghali, B (1992), *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping*, United Nations.

4. OCT. 17: Democratic Peace Theorem

(I. Atack)

The democratic peace theorem is the proposition that democracies do not go to war with each other. It originated in Immanuel Kant's work on 'perpetual peace', but has recently received renewed interest.

Seminar topic: 'Democracies do not go to war with each other'.

§ Seminar readings:

Geis, Brock and Müller, "From Democratic Peace to Democratic War?"

Hegre, "Democracy and armed conflict"

Russett, "Peace in the Twenty-First Century?"

§ Further reading:

Kant, Immanuel (1991), *Political Writings*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rummel, R. J. (2002), *Power Kills: Democracy as a Method of Nonviolence*, Transaction Publishers, London.

Weart, Spencer R. (1998), *Never at War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Another*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

Rummel, "Democracies Don't Fight Democracies" [Blackboard]

Russett, "Bushwhacking the Democratic Peace" [Blackboard]

5. Oct. 24: Religion, Conflict and Peace

(D.J. Kim)

This lecture will examine the role of religion in modern conflicts and the ways in which religion would be able to contribute to conflict mitigation, social justice and reconciliation. Particular emphasis will be placed on the role of religious groups in creating pathways for justice, peace and reconciliation.

Seminar topic: 'The Role of Religion in Conflict and Peace'

§ Seminar reading:

Cavanagh, "The myth of religious violence"

Gopin, "Between Religion and Conflict Resolution"

Thomas, "Soulcraft as Statecraft? Diplomacy, Conflict Resolution, and Peacebuilding"

§ Further Reading:

Thomas, Scott M. (2005), *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-first Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

John D. Carlson & Erik C. Owens, (eds.) (2003), *The Sacred and the Sovereign: Religion and International Politics*, Georgetown University Press, Washington D. C.

Johnston, D. (ed.) (2003), *Faith-Based Diplomacy: Trumping Realpolitik*, University Press, Oxford.

Fox, Jonathan and Shmuel Sandler (eds.) (2006), *Religion in World Conflict*, Routledge, Abingdon.

Johnston, D. & Sampson, C. (eds.) (1994), *Religion, The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Appleby, S. (2000) *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Rowman and Littlefield, Oxford.
Cavanagh, William (2009): *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict*, Oxford University Press, New York.
Hogan, L. and D. Lehrke (eds) (2009) *Religion and the Politics of Peace and Conflict*, Pickwick Publications, Oregon.
Murphy, Andrew R. (ed.) (2011) *The Blackwell Companion to Religion and Violence*, Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
Schmidt-Leukel, P. (ed.) (2004) *War and Peace in World Religions*, SCM Press, London.

6. Oct. 28 (Friday 14.00 pm – 16.00 pm): Sport, development and peace
(D.J. Kim)

Sport has been increasingly recognized and integrated as a tool in short-term humanitarian aid activities and in long-term development projects in conflict-affected societies. The lecture explores the emergence and growth of the Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) sector, and discusses the role of sport in the promotion of development and peacebuilding.

Seminar topic:

“Is sport a useful tool to promote social development and peacebuilding?”

§ Seminar reading:

Giulianotti, “The Sport for development and peace sector”
Webb and Richelieu, “Sport for development and peace snakes and ladders”
Spaaij and Jeanes, “Education for social change? A Freirean critique of sport for development and peace”

§ Further Reading:

Burnett, “Assessing the sociology of sport: On Sport for Development and Peace” [Blackboard]
Darnell, Simon C (2012) *Sport for development and peace: a critical sociology*, Bloomsbury Academic, New York.
Donnelly, Atkinson, Boyle, and Szto, “Sport for Development and Peace: a public sociology perspective” [Blackboard]
Dudfield, Oliver ed (2014) *Strengthening sport for development and peace: national policies and strategies* [Blackboard]
Hargie, Somerville and Mitchell (2015) *Social Exclusion and Sport in Northern Ireland* [Blackboard]
Obajimi and Omoregie, “Sport Roles as Correlate of Development and Peace among Crisis- Communities Area in Nigeria” [Blackboard]
Rookwood, “Soccer for Peace and Social Development” [Blackboard]
Sugden, John and Alan Bairner eds (2000) *Sport in divided societies*, Meyer & Meyer Sport, Oxford.
Tiessen, “Global Subjects or Objects of Globalisation? The promotion of global citizenship in organisations offering sport for development and/or peace programmes” [Blackboard]

7. Nov. 7: Reading Week (No lectures or seminars)

8. Nov. 14: Peace Processes

(JL. Fernando)

This lecture will look at the dynamics of peace processes, and conditions for their success or failure, particularly from a geopolitical perspective.

Seminar topic: 'Formal peace agreements are essential to successful peace processes'.

§ Seminar reading:

Fernando, "Negotiated Peace versus Victor's Peace: The Geopolitics of Peace and Conflict in Sri Lanka"

Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, "People's Tribunal on Sri Lanka"

Rajasingham-Senanayake, "Transnational Peace Building and Conflict: Lessons from Aceh, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka"

§ Further reading:

Bell, Christine (2000) *Peace Agreements and Human Rights*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Chatterji, Manas & B. M. Jain (eds) (2008) *Conflict and Peace in South Asia*, Emerald Group Publishing, Bingley U.K.

Darby, John & Roger MacGinty (eds) (2000) *The Management of Peace Processes*, Macmillan Press, London.

Dos Santos, Anne N. (2007) *Military Intervention and Secession in South Asia: The Cases of Bangladesh, Kashmir, Sri Lanka and Punjab*, Praeger, California.

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

Stedman, Rothchild and Cousens (eds) (2002) *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London.

Stokke, Kristian (2009) "Crafting Liberal Peace? International Peace Promotion and the Contextual Politics of Peace in Sri Lanka", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 99(5), pp. 932-939

Wallensteen, Peter (2011) *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System (Third Edition)*, Sage, London.

9. Nov. 21: Civil Society and Peacebuilding

(G. Wylie)

Many policy-makers and academics now consider that a flourishing civil society is vital to securing peace and consolidating democracy in post-conflict situations. As a consequence aid-giving states and non-governmental agencies fund civil society promotion in many parts of the world. This lecture offers a critical analysis of this tendency, questioning the underlying assumptions about civil society on which it is founded.

Seminar topic: 'Civil society cannot save the world'. Offer a critical engagement with WR Mead's *Foreign Affairs* article of that title [available on blackboard].

§ Seminar reading:

Fischer, "Civil society in conflict transformation: Ambivalence, potentials and challenges"

Howell and Lind, "Manufacturing Civil Society and the Limits of Legitimacy: Aid, Security and Civil Society after 9/11 in Afghanistan"

Jessop et. al., "The Ripe Moment for Civil Society"

Poulligny, "Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Ambiguities of International Programmes Aimed at Building 'New' Societies"

Marchetti and Tocci, "Conflict society: understanding the role of civil society in conflict"

Mead "Civil Society Cannot Save the World"

Wanis-St John and Kew, "Civil Society and Peace Negotiations"

§ Further reading:

Chandler, David (2010) *International Statebuilding: The Rise of Post-Liberal Governance*, Routledge, London.

Keane, John (1998) *Civil Society; Old Images, New Visions*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Leewen, M. (2009) *Partners in Peace: Discourses and Practices of Civil Society Peace Building*, Ashgate, Aldershot.

McGinty, R. (2011), *International Peace Building and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace*, Palgrave, Basingstoke.

Paffenholz, Tania (2010) *Civil Society and Peacebuilding: A Critical Assessment*, Lynne Rienner, Boulder.

Ryerson, Christie (2013) *Peacebuilding and NGOs: State-Civil Society Interactions*.

10. Nov. 28: Peace Journalism

(Tedla Desta)

This lecture will introduce the Peace Journalism Framework. The writings of pro-Peace Journalism scholars and activists such as Johan Galtung, Jake Lynch and Ibrahim Shaw would be discussed together with the criticisms. The media in East Africa such as Kenyan and Ethiopian media will be presented as cases.

Seminar topic: 'Mass media can resolve conflicts and build peace'

§ Seminar reading:

Galtung and Ruge, "The Structure of Foreign News. The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers"

Lynch and McGoldrick, "Responses to peace journalism"

Bratic, "Media effects during violent conflict: Evaluating media contributions to peace building"

§ Further Reading:

Hyde-Clarke, N. (2011). Political posturing and the need for peace journalism in South Africa: the case of Julius Malema. *Communicatio*, 37 (1), 41-55.

Hackett, R A (2006), Is Peace Journalism possible? Three frameworks for assessing structure and agency in *news media, conflict & communication online* 5 (2)

Keeble, R, Tulloch, J & Zollman, F. (2010). *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution*. New York, Peter Lang.

Lynch, J. (2014). *A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict*. New York: Routledge.

Lynch, J, Shaw, I S, & Hackett R A (2011), *Expanding peace journalism: comparative and critical approaches*, Sydney: Sydney University Press

Miller, D (1994). *Don't mention the war: Northern Ireland, propaganda, and the media*. London, Pluto Press.

Peleg, S. (2006) "Peace Journalism through the Lense of Conflict Theory: Analysis and Practice", *conflict & communication online*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2006, www.cco.regener-online.de ISSN 1618-0747

Shaw, I S (2012). *Human rights journalism: advances in reporting distant humanitarian interventions*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan.

Spencer, G (2005), *The Media and Peace: From Vietnam to the 'War on Terror'*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Kempf, W. (1998). *Media contribution to peace building in war torn societies*. Konstanz: Universität, Fachbereich Psychologie, Projektgruppe Friedensforschung.

Wolfsfeld, G (2004), *The Media and Path to Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

11. Dec. 5: Gender and Peacebuilding

(G. Wylie)

Recent developments, particularly UN Security Council Resolution 1325 have committed the international community to redress previous neglect and include women in processes of peace-making and peacebuilding. In this lecture we explore the rationale for this development and the impact of 1325 to date.

Seminar topic: Does the inclusion of women in peace building processes make an important difference to the process and outcomes?

§ Seminar reading:

Shepherd & True, "The Women, Peace and Security agenda and Australian leadership in the world: from rhetoric to commitment?"

Maoz, "The Women and Peace Hypothesis?"

Moosa, Rahmani & Webster, "From the private to the public sphere: new research on women's participation in peacebuilding"

§ Further reading:

Naraghi Anderlini, S. (2007) *Women Building Peace: What they Do, Why it Matters*, Lynne Rienner.

Ní Aoláin, F, Haynes, D and Cahn, N. (2011) *On the Front Lines: Gender, War and the Post Conflict Process*, OUP.

Olonisakin, F. Barnes, K. and Ikpe, E. (2011) *Women, Peace and Security: Translating Policy into Practice*, Routledge.

Rehn, E and Johnson Sirleaf, E (2002) *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Expert's Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*. New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women.

12. Dec. 12: The European Union as a Peace Project

(E. Tannam)

This lecture examines the origins of the European Union and the reasons why it might be expected to play a role in conflict resolution in the post-war world. Various approaches to understanding the EU's role in conflict resolution are provided.

Seminar topic: 'Was the foundation of the EEC for idealistic or pragmatic reasons?'

§ Seminar reading:

Gillingham, *The German Problem and European Integration*

§ Further reading:

Arter, David (1993) *The Politics of European Integration in the Twentieth Century*, Dartmouth, Aldershot.

Blair, Alistair (2005) *The European Union Since 1945*, Longman, Harlow.

Bullen, R.J. (1984) *Ideas into Politics: Aspects of European History 1880-1950*, London.

Dinan, Desmond (2004) *Europe Re-Cast: a history of the European Union*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Dinan, Desmond (2006 and 2014) *The Origin and Evolution of the EU*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Egan, Nugent and Paterson (eds) (2009) *Research Agendas in European Studies*, Palgrave, Basingstoke.

Fontaine, Pascal (1988) *Jean Monnet: A Grand Design for Europe*, European Communities, Luxembourg.

Gillingham, John (2003) *European Integration 1950-2003: superstate or new market economy?*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hogan, Michael (1987) *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain and the Reconstruction of Europe 1947-1952*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Lundestad, Geir (1998) *'Empire' by Integration. The United States and European Integration 1945-1997*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Majone, Giandomenico (2005) *Dilemmas of European Integration: the Ambiguities and Pitfalls of Integration by Stealth*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Menon, Anand and Vincent Wright (2001) *From the Nation-State to Europe? Essays in Honour of Jack Hayward*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Milward, Alan (1984) *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945-51*, Methuen, London.

Milward, Alan (1999) *The European Rescue of the Nation-State*, Routledge, London.

Mitrany, David (1975) *A Working Peace System*, London.

Moravcsik, Andrew (1998) *The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca.

Rosamond, Ben (2000) *Theories of European Integration*, Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Schimmelfennig, Frank and Ulrich Sedelmeier (eds) (2005) *The Politics of EU Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches*, Routledge, London.

Smith, Karen (2008) *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World*, Polity, Cambridge.

Smith, M.L. and Stirk P (eds) (1990) *Making the New Europe: European Unity and the Second World War*, Pinter, London.

Taylor, Paul (1978) "Functionalism" in Paul Taylor and A. J. R. Groom (eds), *International Organisations: a conceptual approach*, Pinter, London.

Urwin, Derek (1995) *The Community of Europe*, Longman, London.

Urwin, Derek (1997) *A Political History of Western Europe Since 1945*, Longman, London.

Wallace, W (1990) *The Dynamics of European Integration*, Pinter, London.

Weiler, J. H. H. (1999) *The Constitution of Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Weller, Marc and Stefan Wolff (2008) *International State-Building after Violent Conflict: Bosnia ten years after Dayton*, Routledge, London.

The Politics of Peace and Conflict
Essay questions
Term One 2016-2017

- 1) Critically discuss the analytical usefulness of Galtung's concept of 'structural violence'. (DJK)
- 2) How to build sustainable peace? Discuss this question referring to different theoretical positions, and substantiate your arguments with case studies. (DJK)
- 3) Assess evidence and arguments for the claim that democracies do not go to war against each other, and examine some implications of this claim for international politics. (IA)
- 4) 'In sustaining formal peace agreements in inter-state and intra-state conflicts it is not only the political will of the local actors that is pivotal but also the role played by the international community'. Discuss. (JLF)
- 5) Is the creation and evolution of the European Union an example of a peace project? Discuss. (ET)
- 6) Are those who argue that civil society is essential to peacebuilding believers in an 'unreasonable cult' (Mead)? (GW)
- 7) Is religion a source of violence or a source of peace? (DJK)
- 8) Does the inclusion of women in peace building processes make an important difference to the process and outcomes? (GW)