



INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: BUILDING DEMOCRACIES FROM CONFLICT (IR210)

Course duration: 54 hours lecture and class time (Over three weeks)

LSE Teaching Department: Department of International Relations

Lead Faculty: Dr Paul Mitchell

Pre-requisites: At least one introductory course in either social science (e.g. political science, international relations, sociology, economics), history or law

Abstract:

How can we design, build and sustain 'democracies' in less than ideal circumstances? We will explore societies torn apart by political violence and ethnic conflict. The main purpose is to diagnose the central problems, and examine what political responses are most appropriate. Informed responses might include: intervention, mediation and peace agreements; power-sharing and constitutional design; territorial management of conflict; elections, party systems and institutions for governing divided societies.

The first week of the course mostly looks at the problems, in particular political violence. We begin with **Case Study 1: Iraq**. We consider the benefits and risks of intervention to build democracies, and the multiple difficulties in doing so. We consider the likely futures for Iraq, Kurdistan and Islamic State. What are the justifications for political violence? How much political violence is there and what are the main types and trends? We shall examine insurgencies and counter-insurgency strategies, as well as terrorism and suicide terrorism. Week 1 ends with the important topic of the politics of civil wars. Since the end of the cold war, almost all wars are 'civil wars' and we will consider what causes civil wars, what sustains them (why do some last much longer than others?), and how do they end? This will include **Case Study 2: Multiple Civil Wars in Sudan**.

Week 2 shifts the focus of attention to 'solutions' and policy responses to divided societies and failing states. We begin by examining the political economy of conflict (greed versus grievances), and natural resources (the so-called 'resource curse'). There will be a sustained focus on constitutional design and systems of power-sharing, illustrated with: **Case Study 3: Northern Ireland**. We examine national self-determination, secession, partition, ethno-federalism and regional autonomy as territorial attempts to manage conflict. Week 2 ends with an overview of the evolution United Nations peacekeeping missions, and an examination of making and implementing peace agreements.

Week 3 begins with an important and controversial aspect of attempting to make the transition from war to democracy: how states deal with 'past political crimes'. We examine this in our **Case Study 4: Transitional justice in South Africa and East Timor**. We also cover elections and electoral systems. We look at which are the most appropriate electoral systems for divided places (and which should be avoided). The timing of 'first

elections' after civil war might also be important because they are risky: should they be held early to legitimize the peace, or delayed until state institutions have been rebuilt? We also examine the growth in electoral and competitive authoritarianism: more and more regimes hold semi-competitive elections that are not truly democratic. Why do they do this? This leads into Case Study 5: **Elections in Kenya**. The course ends by returning to where we began: to the Middle East. Five years after the 'Arab Spring' that many hoped would democratize this unstable region, we examine the limited successes of these uprisings and the continuing obstacles to democratic transitions. This is also explored by contrasting (Case Study 6) the experiences of Egypt and Tunisia.

Lecture Schedule:

Week 1:

1. **Case Study 1: Iraq.**
 - a. The Politics of Intervention: the countdown to war in Iraq.
 - b. Does 'Iraq' have a future? Iraq, Kurdistan and ISIS (Islamic State).
2. **Ethnicity, Nationalism and Democratization**
 - a. Nationalism and Ethnicity: Why so many problems?
 - b. Democracy and Democratization.
3. **Political Violence, Rebellion and Insurgency.**
4. **Terrorism**
 - a. The 'strategy' of terrorism
 - b. Suicide terrorism
5. **Civil Wars**
 - a. What causes Civil Wars? How long do they last? And how do they end?
 - b. Case Study 2: Multiple Wars in Sudan.

Week 2:

6. **The Political Economy of Conflict and the Resource Curse**
 - a. 'Grievances versus Greed'
 - b. Oil and Natural Resources
7. **Constitutional Design and Power-Sharing**
8. **Case Study 3: Northern Ireland**

- a. History – ‘the long war’
- b. Ending the conflict and governing a divided society: is NI a model of conflict resolution?

9. Territorial Regulation of Conflict

- a. National Self Determination: Partition and Secession
- b. Ethno-Federalism and Regional Autonomy

10. Intervention Revisited

- a. The United Nations: intervention and peacekeeping
- b. Peace Agreements: negotiation and implementation.

Week 3:

11. Transitional Justice

- a. Overview, Trade-offs and Results
- b. Case study 4: South Africa and East Timor

12. Elections in Divided Places

- a. Electoral Systems and the Timing of Elections
- b. Electoral Authoritarianism (inc Case Study 5: Kenya).

13. ‘Arab Springs’

- a. Democratic Transitions in the Middle East?
- b. Case Study 6: Contrast Tunisia and Egypt

14. Revision day

15. Exam

Lecture 1: The Politics of Intervention: Case Study of Iraq and Kurdistan

Key Issues:

Examines the multiple difficulties of trying to build an inaugural democracy following the overthrow of a brutal dictatorship by a US-led 'invasion' or 'liberation' force (take your pick). We will examine the great difficulties of designing and implementing a durable democracy, in the face of widespread violence, an 'occupation' force and growing tensions between Sunni's, Shia's and Kurds.

Class Presentation Questions:

1. Should post-Saddam Iraq become a multi-national federation? Could it work? What are the alternatives?
2. Is Iraq a failed state (especially since the incursions of ISIS)?

Required Readings:

- John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary (2007), 'Iraq's Constitution of 2005: Liberal consociation as political prescription', *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 5:4, pp.670-98.
- Toby Dodge (2013), 'State and Society in Iraq Ten Years After regime Change: The Rise of a New Authoritarianism', **International Affairs**, Vol. 89, No. 2 (March, 2013), pp. 241- 257.
- Fawaz Gerges (2015), '*ISIS and the Third Wave of Jihadism*', Current History, December 2015.
http://currenthistory.com/Gerges_Current_History.pdf
- Staniland, Paul. 2014b. "Will ISIS Cohere or Collapse?" Political Violence at a Glance.
<http://politicalviolenceataglance.org>.

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Additional Readings:

- Brendan O'Leary (2012), 'The Federalisation of Iraq and the Break-Up of Sudan', *Government and Opposition* 47:4, 481-516.
- Toby Dodge (2012). *Iraq: From War to a New Authoritarianism*. London: Routledge.
- Dodge, Toby (2012), 'Iraq', pp.242-58 in Richard Caplan (eds) *Exit Strategies and State Building*. Oxford University Press.
- Peter Galbraith (2006). *The End of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created a War Without End*. London: Simon and Schuster.
- Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry and Khaled Salih (2005, eds), *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. (DS70.8.K8 F99).
- Brendan O'Leary (2009). *How to Get Out of Iraq With Integrity*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Rick Fawn and Raymond Hinnebusch (2006). *The Iraq War: Causes and Consequences*. London: Lynne

Rienner Publishers.

- Hans Blix (2005). *Disarming Iraq: The Search for Weapons of Mass Destruction*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Phebe Marr (2004), *The Modern History of Iraq*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (10 copies in the Library at DS79.65 M35).
- Liam Anderson and Gareth Stansfield (2004), *The Future of Iraq: Dictatorship, Democracy or Division?*. London: Palgrave.
- Dawisha, Adeed, and Karen Dawisha. 2003, 'How to Build a Democratic Iraq. *Foreign Affairs* 82 (3):36-50.

Lecture 2: Ethnic Conflict and Democratization

Key Issues:

Ethnic and national conflicts have clearly re-emerged as one of the world's greatest political problems, with serious conflicts breaking out in most parts of the globe. In the first part of the lecture we will consider why nationalism and ethnonationalism can be such a serious threat to democracy. In the second part we will look at the connection between state failure, civil war and democratization?

Class Presentation Questions:

1. Consider the threats posed to democratic values posed by the existence of serious ethnic conflict within a single national territory. How and why does the mobilisation of 'ethnicity' so often lead to conflict?

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Required Readings:

- Connor, Walker (1994). *Ethnonationalism: the Quest for Understanding*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. (especially ch. 4, which was first published as 'A nation is a nation, is a state, is an ethnic group, is a ...', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, 1978. [JC311 C75 (CC)])
- Chandra, Kanchan (2006), 'What is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?', *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol.9: 397-424.
- Geddes, Barbara (1999), 'What do we know about Democratization after 20 years? *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol 2: pp.115-144.
- Bates, Robert (2008), 'State Failure', *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol 11: pp.1-12

Additional Readings:

- Video (13 Nov 2012) Alfred Stephan, 'Democratization Theory and the Arab Spring', 9th Annual Seymour Martin Lipset lecture on Democracy, Embassy of Canada, Washington D.C.
<http://www.ned.org/events/seymour-martin-lipset-lecture-series/2012>
- Natasha Ezrow and Erica Frantz (2013). *Failed States and Institutional Decay*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Przeworski, Adam (2010). *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. Cambridge UP.
- Horowitz, Donald (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chpt 6,

'The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas' and especially chps 1-2 on the origins of ethnic conflict)
[GN496 H81 (CC)]

- Conversi, Daniele (2004, ed). *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Study of Nationalism*. London: Routledge. [JC311 E81]
- Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (1996, eds) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. (see editor's introduction) [JC421 G56 (CC)]
- Ernest Gellner (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, chapter 1 'Definitions' pp1-7. [JC311 G31 (CC)]
- Lijphart, Arend (2008). *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge. [the collected writings of Lijphart].
- Reynolds, Andrew (ed) *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford UP.
- L.A. Whitehead *Democratization; theory and experience* (Oxford U.P., 2002)
- J. Linz and A. Stepan *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation; Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*. (mainly the first chapter) John's Hopkins Press, 1996)

Lecture 3: Political Violence, Rebellion and Insurgency.

Required Readings:

- Valentino, Benjamin (2014), 'Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians', *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 89-103.
- Kalyvas, Stathis (2001), "'New' And 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?", *World Politics* 54: 99-118.

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Additional Readings:

- Kalyvas, Stathis (2003), 'The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars', *Perspectives on Politics* 1.3:475-494.
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein (2008), 'Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War', *American Journal of Political Science* 52.2: 436-455.
- Staniland, Paul (2012), 'Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia', *International Security* 37.1: 142-177.
- Kalyvas, Stathis (2003), *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*. Cambridge U.P.
- Balcells, Laia and Stathis N. Kalyvas (2010), 'International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict', *American Political Science Review* 104 .3: 415-429.
- Berman, Eli and Aila Matanock (2015), 'The Empiricists' Insurgency', *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 443-464.
- Weinstein, Jeremy (2007). *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge U.P.
- Staniland, Paul (2014). *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Cornell U.P.
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Lecture 4: Terrorism

Required Readings:

- Weinberg, Leonard, Ami Pedahzur and Sivan Hirsh-Heofler (2004), 'The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16.4: 777-794.
- Kydd, Andrew and Barbara Walter (2006), 'The Strategies of Terrorism', *International Security* 31.1: 49-80.
- Horowitz, Michael (2015), 'The Rise and Spread of Suicide Bombing', *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 69-84.

Additional Readings:

- Kalyvas, Stathis (2004), 'The Paradox of Terrorism in Civil War', *The Journal of Ethics* 8: 97-138. (or chpt 6 'A Logic of Indiscriminate Violence' of his book *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*).
- Sanchez-Cuenca, Ignacio and Luis de la Calle (2009), 'Domestic Terrorism: The Hidden Side of Political Violence', *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 31-49.
- Chenoweth, Erica (2013), 'Terrorism and Democracy', *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 355-78.
- Crenshaw, M (2007), 'Explaining Suicide Terrorism: A Review Essay', *Security Studies* 16: 133-62.
- Gambetta, Diego (2005), *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*. Oxford U.P.
- Pape, Robert (2003), 'The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism', *American Political Science Review* 97: 343-61.

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Lecture 5: The Politics of Civil Wars

After the end of cold war, traditional wars between sovereign states have (almost) ended. That is the good news. The bad news is that political violence is now mostly deployed in extremely destructive 'civil wars', wars that are mostly within states.

Class Presentation Questions:

- What is a civil war? What causes civil wars? Why do some civil wars last longer than others?

Required Readings:

- Walter, Barbara (2009), 'Bargaining Failures and Civil War', *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 243-268.
- Lars-Erik Cedermann et al (2010), 'Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis', *World Politics* 62:1, pp.87-119. (note this is a quantitative article).

Additional Readings:

- Nicholas Sambanis (2004), 'What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:6, pp.814-858.
- Paul Collier (2010). *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. London: Vintage Books (see especially chpt 1 'Votes and Violence', and chpt 2 'Ethnic Politics').
- Christopher Cramer (2006). *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing*. London: Hurst.
- Ted Robert Gurr (2000). *People Versus States*. United States Institute of Peace.
- Andrew Natsios (2012). *Sudan, South Sudan and Darfur: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford University Press.
- Matthew LeRiche and Matthew Arnold (2012). *South Sudan: From Revolution to Independence*. London: Hurst.
- Balcells, Laia and S. Kalyvas (2014), 'Does Warfare Matter? Severity, Duration, and Outcomes of Civil Wars', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58 .8 .
- Balcells, Laia and P. Justino (2014), 'Bridging Micro and Macro Approaches on Civil Wars and Political Violence Issues, Challenges, and the Way Forward' *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58 .8.
- Balcells, Laia (2011), 'Continuation of Politics by Two Means: Direct and Indirect Violence in Civil War', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 .3: 397-422.

Note the following readings although excellent should be regarded as more difficult material – much of it uses advanced quantitative analysis:

- Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Gleditsch and Halvard Buhaug (2013). *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.
- Michael Ward, Brian Greenhill and Kristin Bakke (2010), 'The Perils of Policy by P-Value: Predicting Civil Conflicts', *Journal of Peace Research* 47:4, pp.363-75.
- Goldstone, Jack et al (2010), 'A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability', *American Journal of Political Science* 54:1, 190-208.
- James Fearon and David Laitin (2003), 'Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War', *American Political Science Review* 97:1.
- Lars-Erik Cedermann, Simon Hug and Lutz Krebs (2010), 'Democratization and Civil War: Empirical Evidence', *Journal of Peace Research* 47:4, pp.377-94.
- James Fearon (2004), 'Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others', *Journal of Peace Research* 41:3, pp.275-301.
- Barbara Walter (2004), 'Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War', *Journal of Peace Research* 41:3, pp.371-388
- 'Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler and Mans Soderbom (2004), 'On The Duration of Civil War', *Journal of Peace Research* 41:3, pp.253-73.

WEEK 2

Lecture 6: The political economy of conflict and the Resource Curse

To what extent are economic opportunities more important than social grievances in explaining violent rebellion and civil wars?

Is oil bad for democracy?

Class Presentation Questions

- 'Oil and democracy do not mix'. Discuss.

Required Readings

- Lars-Erik Cedermann, Nils Weidmann and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2011), 'Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison', *American Political Science Review* 105:3, pp.478-95.
- Ross, Michael (2015), 'What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?', *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 239-259.

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Additional Readings

- James Fearon and David Laitin (2003), 'Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War', *American Political Science Review* 97:2, pp.75-90.
- Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler and Dominic Rohner (2008), 'Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War', *Oxford Economic Papers* 61, pp.1-27.
- Ted Robert Gurr (1970; 2011) *Why Men Rebel*. Paradigm Publishers.
- Paul Collier (2010). *Wars, Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. London: Vintage Books.
- Frances Stewart (2002), 'Horizontal Inequalities: A Neglected Dimension of Development', Queen Elizabeth House working Paper series no 81.
- Frances Stewart (2008, eds). *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. London: Palgrave.
- Gubler, Joshua and Joel Salwat Selway (2012), 'Horizontal Inequality, Cross-Cutting Cleavages and Civil War', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(2): 206-232.
- Mats Berdal and David Malone (2000, eds). *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Benedikt Korf (2005), 'Rethinking the Greed-Grievance Nexus: Property Rights and the Political Economy of War in Sri Lanka', *Journal of Peace Research* 42:2, pp.201-17.
- Krishna Vadlamannati (2011), 'Why Indian Men Rebel? Explaining Armed Rebellion in the Northeastern states of India, 1970-2007', *Journal of Peace Research* 48:5, pp.605-19.

- Helge Holtermann (2012), 'Explaining the Development-Civil War Relationship', *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29:1, pp.56-78.
- Gudrun Ostby (2008), 'Polarization, Horizontal Inequalities and Violent Civil Conflict', *Journal of Peace Research* 45:2, pp.143-62.
- Syed Murshed and Mohammad Tadjoeeddin (2009), 'Revisiting the Greed and Grievance Explanations for Violent Internal Conflict', *Journal of International Development* 21, pp.87-111.
- Patrick Regan and Daniel Norton (2005), 'Greed, Grievance, and Mobilization in Civil Wars', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:3, pp.319-336.
- Christa Brunnschweiler and Erwin Bulte (2009), 'Natural Resources and Violent Conflict', *Oxford Economic Papers* 61, pp.651-674
- Benedikt Korf (2005), 'Rethinking the Greed-Grievance Nexus: Property Rights and the Political Economy of War in Sri Lanka', *Journal of Peace Research* 42:2, pp.201-217.
- Siri Aas Rustad and Helga Binningsbo (2012), 'A Price Worth Fighting For? Natural Resources and Conflict Recurrence', *Journal of Peace Research* 49:4, pp.531-546.

Additional Readings on Oil and Natural Resources

- Ross, M.L. (2001) 'Does Oil Hinder Democracy?' *World Politics*, vol. 53 (April), pp. 325-361.
- Dunning, T. (2008) *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), ch. 1 [electronic resource in the library].
- Ross, M.L. (2012) *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations* (Princeton, Princeton University Press), chs. 1-3 and 7. [electronic resource in the library]
- Dunning, T. (2008) *Crude Democracy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), chs. 2, 3 and 8. [electronic resource in the library; JC423 D92 (CC)]
- Terry Lynn Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) [HD9574.V42 K11 (CC)].
- Smith, B. (2004) 'Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960–1999', *American Journal of Political Science* vol. 48, no. 2, pp. 232-246.
- Snyder, R. (2006) 'Does Lutable Wealth Breed Civil War? A Political Economy of Extraction Framework', *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 39, no. 8, pp. 943-968.

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Lecture 7: Constitutional Design and Power-Sharing

Key Issues:

A traditional principle of democracy is that the will of the majority should prevail. However in ethnically or religiously polarised societies, in which loyalties are ascriptive and 'floating voters' are few, minorities may have little opportunity to participate and the much heralded 'will of the majority' may be little more than majority dictatorship. This poses obvious problems for democratic stability and also violates our ideas of political fairness and individual rights. Constitutional means of resolving ethnic or religious conflicts are possible but not simple. Sometimes, moreover, even sophisticated means of balancing power do not work.

Today we will focus on the opportunities and difficulties posed by the main type of 'internal' political engineering for divided societies: power-sharing democracy.

Class Presentation Questions:

How feasible is to democratically govern divided societies by means of consociational power-sharing?

Required Readings:

Andeweg, Rudy (2000), 'Consociational Democracy', *Annual Review of Political Science* 3, pp.509-36.

O'Leary, Brendan (2005), 'Debating Consociational Politics: Normative and Explanatory Arguments', pp.3-43 in Noel, Sid (ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Additional Readings on power sharing:

- John McGarry, Brendan O'Leary and Richard Simeon (2008), 'Integration or Accommodation? The enduring debate in conflict regulation', in Sujit Choudhry (eds) *Constitutional Design for Divided Societies*. Oxford University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend (2008). *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge. [the collected writings of Lijphart]. See especially the two new chpts: 'Introduction: developments in power sharing theory' and 'Conclusion: power sharing, evidence and logic'.
- Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. JC423F93 (has chpts on the theory of power-sharing and federalism, on Northern Ireland, the former Yugoslavia, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, South Africa, Afghanistan, Cyprus, and the EU).
- Lijphart, Arend (1977). *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [JC421 L72 (CC)]
- Norris, Pippa (2008). *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.
- Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- Horowitz, Donald (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (Chpt 15) [GN496 H81 (CC)]
- Bogaards, Matthijs (1998), 'The Favourable Factors for Consociational Democracy: A Review', *European Journal for Political Research* 33, pp. 475-96.
- Sisk, Timothy (1996). *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace.
- Lijphart, Arend (1995), 'Self-Determination versus Pre-Determination of Ethnic Minorities in Power-Sharing Systems', Will Kymlicka (ed) *The Rights of Minority Cultures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [JC571 R57 (CC)]

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Lecture 8: Northern Ireland

A Case Study of Power-Sharing

A classic case of religious and national conflict in an established democracy. We will attempt a quick overview of the last 300 years (!) before moving on to focus on the contemporary problem and the seemingly endless attempts to resolve it, culminating in the 'Good Friday Agreement' of 1998, and then (almost) twenty years of trying to implement it.

Class Presentation Questions

What are the strengths and weaknesses of the 'Good Friday' agreement when considered as an attempt to resolve the political crisis in Northern Ireland?

Required Readings

- For the background and full text of the Belfast Agreement go to:
<http://www.nio.gov.uk/issues/agreemain.htm>
- Feargal Cochrane, 'The Past in the Present' in Paul Mitchell and Rick Wilford (1999, eds) *Politics in Northern Ireland*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (this is a good overview of the background to the conflict – you can skip this if you are already familiar with the nature of the problem). [JN1572.A58 P76 (CC)]
- O'Leary, Brendan (1999), "The Nature of the British-Irish Agreement" *New Left Review* 233: 66-96.

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Additional Readings

- Paul Mitchell, Geoffrey Evans, and Brendan O'Leary (2009), 'Extremist Outbidding In Ethnic Party Systems Is Not Inevitable: Tribune Parties in Northern Ireland', *Political Studies* 57:2, pp.397-421. [available on-line via the libraries e-journals].
- McGarry and Brendan O'Leary (2009), 'Power Shared after the deaths of thousands', in Rupert Taylor (eds) *Consociational Theory: McGarry and O'Leary and the Northern Ireland Conflict*. London: Routledge.
- Jocelyn Evans and Jonathan Tonge (2013), 'From Abstentionism to Enthusiasm: Sinn Fein, Nationalist Electors and Support for Devolved Power-Sharing in Northern Ireland', *Irish Political Studies* 28:1, 39-57.

Lecture 9: Territorial Regulation of Conflict

Key Issues:

'Political divorce' – is it better to partition divided states than to force them to live together? We will examine the theories and evidence concerning partition and secession.

Alternatively can we use federalism, ethno-federalism or regional autonomy as a more agreeable method of staying together?

Class Presentation Questions:

How useful is *federalism* or regional autonomy as a conflict regulating device in divided places?

Required Readings:

- John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary (2009), 'Must Pluri-national Federations Fail?', *Ethnopolitics* 8(1): 5-25.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Simon Hug, Andreas Schadel and Julian Wucherpfennig (2015), 'Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late?', *American Political Science Review* 109.2: 354-370.

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Additional Readings:

- Wolff, Stephan (2009), 'Complex Power-Sharing and the Centrality of Territorial Self-Governance in Contemporary Conflict Settlements', *Ethnopolitics* 8(1): 27-45.
- Horowitz, Donald (1985), 'The Logic of Secessions and Irredentas', pp.229-81 in Horowitz, Donald (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Walter, Barbara (2006), 'Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but Not Others', *American Journal of Political Science* 50.2: 313-330.
- McGarry, John and Brendan O'Leary (2005), 'Federation as a Method of Ethnic Conflict Regulation', in Noel, Sid (2005, ed), *From Power Sharing to Democracy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. JC423F93.
- O'Leary, Brendan (2007), 'Analysing Partition: Definition, Classification and Explanation', *Political Geography* 26: 886-908
- Wolff, Stephan (2009), 'Complex Power-Sharing and the Centrality of Territorial Self-Governance in Contemporary Conflict Settlements', *Ethnopolitics* 8(1): 27-45.
- Lijphart, Arend (1979), 'Consociation and Federation: Conceptual and Empirical Links', *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 12:3, pp. 495-515.
- Amoretti, Ugo and Nancy Bermeo (2004). *Federalism and Territorial Cleavages*. John Hopkins UP.
- Brancati, Dawn (2006), 'Decencentaraization: Fuelling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?', *International Organization* 60: 651-685.

- O'Leary, Brendan, Ian Lustick and Thomas Callaghy (2001, eds). *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*. Oxford UP.
- Lake, David and Donald Rothchild (2005), 'Territorial Decentralisation and Civil War Settlement', pp.109-132 in Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild (2005). *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil Wars*. Cornell UP.
- Norris, Pippa (2008), 'Federalism and decentralization', pp.157-85 in Norris, Pippa . *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.
- Riker, William (1964). *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Deschouwer, Kris (2005), 'The Unintended Consequences of Consociational Federalism: The Case of Belgium', in Ian O'Flynn and David Russell (eds) *Power Sharing: New Challenges for Divided Societies*. London: Pluto Press.
- Adeney, Katehrine (2004), 'Between Federalism and Separatism: India and Pakistan', in Schneckener, Ulrich and Stefan Wolff (eds) *Managing and Settling Ethnic Conflicts*. London: Hurst.
- Hale, Henry (2004), 'Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethnofederal State Survival and Collapse', *World Politics* 56: 165-93.

Lecture 10: Intervention Revisited: Peacekeeping and Peace Agreements

What factors determine the 'success', 'partial success' or 'failure' of UN peacekeeping missions? Does the UN cause peace or sustain conflict?

Pick a case of a UN intervention and evaluate its aims, operating procedures and relative success or failure.

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In what sense are some peace agreements better than others?

What are the main factors which tend to undermine the implementation of a peace Agreement?

Required Readings

- Fortuna, Virginia Page and Lise Morje Howard (2008), 'Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature', *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 283-301.
- Fortuna, Virginia Page (2003), 'Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace', *International Organization* 57, 337-372.

Additional Readings

Intervention and Peacekeeping

- Gilligan, Michael and Ernest Sergenti (2008), 'Do UN Interventions Cause Peace? Using Matching to Improve Causal Inference', *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3:89-122.
- Bellamy, Alex (2015), *The Responsibility to Protect: A Defence*. Oxford U.P.

- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis (2000), 'International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis, *American Political Science Review* 94:4, 779-801.
- Wallensteen, Peter (2012), 'The United Nations in Conflict Resolution', chpt 9 in Wallensteen, Peter (2012). *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. London: Sage.
- Berdal, Mats, and Spyros Economides (2007, eds). *United Nations Interventionism, 1991-2004*. Cambridge University Press.
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis (2006). *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton UP.
- Paris, Roland and Timothy Sisk (2009, eds). *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*. London: Routledge.
- Regan, Patrick (2002). 'Third Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46:1, pp.55-73.
- Regan, Patrick and Aysegul Aydin (2006), 'Diplomacy and other forms of Intervention in Civil Wars', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50:5, pp.736-756.
- De Mesquita, Bruce Bueno and George Downs (2006), 'Intervention and Democracy', *International Organisation* 60, pp.627-49.
- Paris, Roland and Timothy Sisk (2009, eds). *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations*. London: Routledge.
- Bellamey, Alex and Paul Williams (2010). *Understanding Peacekeeping*. Polity Press.
- Wolff, Steffan and Christalla Yakinthou (2012, eds), *Conflict Management in Divided Societies*. London: Routledge.

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Peace Agreements

- Jarstad, Anna and Desiree Nilsson (2008). 'From Words to Deeds: The Implementation of Power-Sharing pacts in Peace Accords', *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25: 206-23.
- Jarstad, Anna and Timothy Sisk (eds, 2008). *From War to Democracy Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*. Cambridge UP. (other chapters).
- Fortuna, Virginia Page (2004). *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace*. Princeton University Press.
- Hoglund, Kristine, Anna Jarstad and Mimmi Soderberg Kovacs (2009), 'The Predicament of Elections in War-Torn Societies', *Democratization* 16:3, pp.530-557.
- Albin, Cecilia and Daniel Druckman (2012), 'Equality Matters: Negotiating and End to Civil Wars', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(2): 155-182.
- Walter, Barbara (2009), 'Bargaining Failures and Civil War', *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, pp243-61.
- Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis (2006). *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations*. Princeton UP.

Lecture 11: Transitional Justice

What is a 'Truth Commission' and to what extent can it achieve its aims?

Is there a trade-off between 'truth' and 'justice'?

Evaluate the operation and findings of any one Truth Commission.

Required Readings

- Vinjamuri, Leslie and Jack Snyder (2015), 'Law and Politics in Transitional Justice', *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 303-327.
- Olsen, Tricia, Leigh Payne, Andrew Reiter and Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm (2010), When Truth Commissions Improve Human Rights (2010), *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 4, 2010, 457-476.
<http://ijtj.oxfordjournals.org/content/4/3/457.full.pdf+html>

Additional Readings

- A new journal started in 2007: *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. Library K3171.A15 (and as an e-journal)
- International Center for Transitional Justice <http://www.ictj.org/en/tj/>

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For a massive bibliography and country resources go to:

<http://sites.google.com/site/transitionaljusticedatabase/>

- Hayner, Priscilla (2011, 2nd edition). *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. Routledge
- Olsen, Tricia, Payne and Reiter (2010). *Transitional Justice in the Balance*. United States Institute of Peace.
- Olsen, Tricia, Leigh Payne and Andrew Reiter (2010), 'Transitional justice in the world, 1970-2007: Insights from a new dataset', *Journal of Peace Research* 47:6, 803-09.
- Mendelhoff, David (2004), 'Truth-Seeking, Truth-Telling, and Postconflict Peacebuilding: Curb the Enthusiasm', *International Studies Review* 6, pp.355-80.
- Olsen, Tricia, Leigh Payne, Andrew Reiter and Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm (2010), When Truth Commissions Improve Human Rights (2010), *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 4, 2010, 457-476.
<http://ijtj.oxfordjournals.org/content/4/3/457.full.pdf+html>
- Binningsbø, Helga Malmin, Cianne E Loyle, Scott Gates, Jon Elster (2012), 'Armed conflict and post-conflict justice, 1946-2006: A dataset', *Journal of Peace Research* 49(5) 731-740.

- Brahm, Eric (2009), 'What is a Truth Commissions and Why Does it Matter', *Peace and Conflict Review* 3:2, pp. 1-14.
- Dancy, Geoff, Hunjoon Kim and Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm (2010), 'The Turn to Truth: Trends in Truth Commission Experimentation', *Journal of Human Rights* 9, pp.4-64.
- Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm (2010). *Truth Commissions and Transitional Societies: The Impact on Human Rights and Democracy*. Routledge.
- Daly, Erin (2008), 'Truth Skepticism: An Inquiry into the Value of Truth in Times of Transition', *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 2, pp. 23-41.
- Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, *Rule of Law Tools for Post-Conflict States: Amnesties*. http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Amnesties_en.pdf
- Synder, Jack and Leslie Vinjamuri (2003), 'Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice', *International Security* 28(3).
- McCrudden, Christopher and Brendan O'Leary (2013). *Courts and Consociations: Human Rights versus Power-Sharing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bell, Christine (2009), 'Transitional Justice, Interdisciplarity, and the State of the "Field" or "Non-Field"', *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 3: 5-29.

South Africa:

(Note the reading list on this case is almost endless! On the website mentioned above <http://sites.google.com/site/transitionaljusticedatabase/> there are 20 readings on South Africa alone for surnames beginning 'A').

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- *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*. Vols 1-5 1998 and Vols 6-7 3003. Full report available at www.justice.gov.za/trc/report/index.htm
- Sarkin, Jeremy (2004). *Carrots and Sticks: The TRC and the South African Amnesty Process*. Antwerp: Intersentia.
- Chapman, Audrey and Hugo van der Merwe (2008, eds). *Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Did the TRC Deliver?*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Asmal, Kader. 2000. Truth, Reconciliation and Justice: The South African Experience in Perspective. *Modern Law Review* 63 (1):1-24.
- Gibson, James L. 2002. Truth, Justice and Reconciliation: Judging the Fairness of Amnesty in South Africa. *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (4):540-556.
- Gibson, James L. 2003. The Legacy of Apartheid: Racial Differences in the Legitimacy of Democratic Institutions and Processes in the New South Africa. *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (7):772-800.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process. *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (2):201-217.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. *Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth Reconcile a Divided Nation?* New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Gibson, James L., and Amanda Gouws. 1999. Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Attributions of Blame and the Struggle Over Apartheid. **American Political Science Review** 93 (3):501-517.
- Van Zyl, Paul (1999), 'Dilemmas of Transitional Justice: The Case of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission', *Journal of International Affairs* 52(2).

Timor-Leste

Burgess, Patrick. 2006. A New Approach to Restorative Justice: East Timor's Community Reconciliation Processes. In *Transitional Justice in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Truth versus Justice*, edited by N. Roht-Arriaza and J. Mariezcurrena. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press

Lecture 12: Elections in Divided Places

The surest way to kill the idea of democracy in a plural society is to adopt the Anglo-American electoral system of first-past-the-post. (Lewis 1965, 71).

The fallacy of electoralism has increasingly been recognised – at least in the scholarly community – as a problem which aptly denotes the mistake of confusing the holding of elections with the advent and development of democratic regimes. (Elklit 1999, 28).

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Class Presentation

Imagine that you were recommending an electoral system for one of the following places – which system might you pick and why?

- South Africa
- Iraq
- Afghanistan
- Papua New Guinea
- Fiji
- Northern Ireland
- Russia
- Some other divided society

IDEA: The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (<http://www.idea.int/>).

Required Readings:

- Carey, John and Simon Hix (2011), 'The Electoral Sweet Spot: Low-Magnitude Proportional Electoral Systems', *American Journal of Political Science* 55:2, pp383-97.
- Brancati, Dawn and Jack Snyder (2012), 'Time to Kill: The Impact of Election Timing on Postconflict Stability', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Brancati, Dawn (2014), 'Democratic Authoritarianism: Origins and Effects', *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 313-326.

Additional Readings

- Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell (2008, eds), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (chpt 1, pp3-25; – and if possible chpt 26, pp.535-78.
- Chandra, Kanchan (2005), 'Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability', *Perspectives on Politics* 3:2, pp.235-52.
- Mitchell, Paul (2014) 'The Single Transferable Vote and Ethnic Conflict: The Evidence from Northern Ireland, 1982-2011', *Electoral Studies* 33.1.
- Horowitz, Donald (1991), 'Electoral Systems for a Divided Society', in Horowitz, *A Democratic South Africa?* University of California Press.
- Lijphart, Arend (1991). 'The Alternative Vote: A Realistic Alternative for South Africa?', *Politikon* 18/2: 91-101.
- Birnir, Johanna Kristin (2007). *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. Cambridge University Press.
- Birnir, Johanna Kristin (2007), 'Divergence in Diversity? The Dissimilar Effects of Cleavages on Electoral Politics in New Democracies', *American Journal of Political Science* 51:3, 602-19.
- Huber, John (2012), 'Measuring Ethnic Voting: Do Proportional Electoral Laws Politicize Ethnicity?', *American Journal of Political Science* 56.4: 986-1001.
- Taagepera, Rein (1998). 'How Electoral Systems Matter for Democratization'. *Democratization*, 5/3: 68-91.
- Elklit, Jorgen (1999), 'Electoral Institutional Change and Democratization: You Can Lead a Horse to Water, But You Can't Make it Drink', *Democratization* 6:4, pp.28-51.
- Diamond, Larry and Marc Plattner (2006, eds). *Electoral Systems and Democracy*. Johns Hopkins UP.
- Norris, Pippa (2008), 'Electoral Systems', pp.103-31 in Norris, Pippa . *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge University Press.
- Birch, Sarah (2003), 'Two-Round Electoral Systems and Democracy', *Comparative Political Studies* 36:3, 319-344.
- Birch, Sarah (2005), 'Single-Member District Electoral Systems and Democratic Transition', *Electoral Studies* 24, 281-301.
- Bogaards, Matthijs (2007), 'Elections, Election Outcomes and Democracy in Southern Africa', *Democratization* 14:1, 73-91.
- Bogaards, Matthijs (2003), 'Electoral Choices for Divided Societies: Multi-Ethnic Parties and Constituency Pooling in Africa', *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 41(3), 59-80.
- Norris, Pippa (2004). *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge University Press.

- Amanda Gouws and Paul Mitchell (2005), 'South Africa: One-Party Dominance Despite Perfect Proportionality' in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds,) *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford University Press.
- Powell, G. Bingham (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale UP.

Elections Following (or ending?) Conflict

- Dunning, Thad (2011), 'Fighting and Voting: Violent Conflict and Electoral Politics', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55:3, pp.327-339.
- Brancati, Dawn and Jack Snyder (2011), 'Rushing to the Polls: The Causes of Premature Postconflict Elections', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55:3, pp.469-492.
- Brancati, Dawn and Jack Snyder (2012), 'Time to Kill: The Impact of Election Timing on Postconflict Stability', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (online first).
- Cederman et al (2012), 'Elections and Ethnic Civil War', *Comparative Political Studies* 46.3: 387-417.
- Reynolds, Andrew (2006), 'The Curious Case of Afghanistan', *Journal of Democracy*.
- Dawisha, Adeed and Larry Diamond (2006), 'Iraq's Year of Voting Dangerously', *Journal of Democracy*
- Kelley, Judith (2011), 'International Influences on Elections in New Multiparty States', *Annual Review of Political Science* 15.

Electoral Authoritarianism

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- Schedler, Andreas (2002), 'Elections Without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation', *Journal of Democracy* 13:2, 36-50
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way (2002), 'The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism', *Journal of Democracy* 13:2, 51-65.
- Schedler, Andreas (2006, ed) *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamic of Unfree Competition*. Lynne Rienner. (3 day loan, 6 copies).
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucian Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism: The Origins and Evolution of Hybrid Regimes in the Post Cold War Era*. CUP.
- Schedler, Andreas (2013). *The Politics of Uncertainty: sustaining and subverting electoral authoritarianism*. OUP.
- Ghandi, J. and Lust-Okar, E. (2009), 'Elections under Authoritarianism', *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, 403-22.
- Bogaards, Matthijs (2009), 'How to classify hybrid regimes? Defective democracy and electoral authoritarianism', *Democratization* 16:2, 300-423.
- Bunce, Valerie and Sharon L. Wolchik (2010), 'Defeating Dictators Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes', *World Politics* 62:1, 43-86.
- Collier, P. (2009). Wars, guns and votes : democracy in dangerous places. London, Bodley Head, Chapter 1 *Votes and Violence*.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. , Susan D. Hyde and Ryan S. Jablonski (2014), 'When Do Governments Resort to Election Violence?', *British Journal of Political Science* Volume 44:1, pp 149 – 179.

- Long, James, Karuti Kanyinga, Karen E. Ferree, and Clark Gibson (2013), 'Kenya's 2013 Elections: Choosing Peace over Democracy', *Journal of Democracy* 24:3.
- Magaloni, Beatriz (2008), 'Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule', *Comparative Political Studies* 41: 4/5, pp.715-741.

Lecture 13: 'Arab Springs'

Key Issues:

Authoritarian regimes in the Arab Middle East remained resilient during the 'third wave' of democratization. Does oil wealth explain this anomaly? Or, perhaps, other factors, such as the legacy of European colonialism, distinct regional culture and Islam, hinder democratisation? Still, recent popular uprisings in several countries, the so-called 'Arab Spring', threatened authoritarian rulers across the region. Why did popular revolts occur in some, but not in other parts of the Arab Middle East? Why did they result in the election of popular governments in some places, but trigger civil wars in others? We will examine political regimes within which popular protests emerged, as well as the forms, dynamics and consequences of popular mobilization in this region.

Class Presentation Questions:

- What accounts for durable authoritarianism in the Arab Middle East?
- What are the causes of the 'Arab Spring'?

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Required Readings:

- Bellin, E. (2012) 'Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring', *Comparative Politics*, vol. 44, no. 2 (January), pp. 127-149.
- Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud and Andrew Reynolds (2013), 'Tracking the Arab Spring: Why the Modest Harvest?', *Journal of Democracy* 29.4: 29-44.

Additional Readings:

- Goldstone, Jack A. (2011) 'Understanding the Revolutions of 2011', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 3 (May/June): pp. 8-16.
- Landis, Joshua (2012), 'Why the Assad Regime is Likely to Survive to 2013', *Middle East Policy* 19.1: 72-84.
- Masoud, Tarek (2014), 'Egyptian Democracy: Smothered in the Cradle, or Stillborn?', *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Summer/Fall 2014: 3-19.
- Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud and Andrew Reynolds (2015), *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*. Oxford University Press.

- Ross, M.L. (2011) 'Will Oil Drown the Arab Spring?' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 90, No. 5 (September/October), pp. 2-7.
- Anderson, L. (2011) 'Demystifying the Arab Spring', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 3 (May/June): pp. 2-7.
- Roy, Olivier (2012) 'The Transformation of the Arab World', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (July), pp. 5-18.
- Way, L. (2011) 'Comparing the Arab Revolts: The Lessons of 1989', *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (October), pp. 13-23.
- Diamond, L. (2010) 'Why Are There No Arab Democracies?' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 21, no. 1 (January), pp. 93-104.
- Okruhlik, G. (1999) 'Rentier Wealth, Unruly Law, and the Rise of Opposition: The Political Economy of Oil States,' *Comparative Politics*, vol. 31, no. 3 (April), pp. 295-315.
- Gause III, G.F. (2011) 'Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 90, no. 4 (July/August): pp. 81-90.
- Brownlee, J. (2007) *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) [JC480 B88 (MC)].

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