

**Course Title:**

**FIE and AMIDEAST**  
**Summer Program in London and Amman:**  
**Peace and Conflict Resolution in the**  
**Middle East and Beyond**

***Course #1, London: The Life Cycle of Peace and Conflict: Lessons Learned in Northern Ireland***

**Course Description:**

This case study will utilize the Northern Ireland conflict to demonstrate that even the most intractable conflicts can be made more malleable. In that respect it serves as a primer to other seemingly unsolvable conflicts: that is not to suggest that one model fits all or that there is a template that can be exported. Rather we enrich the study of conflict by drawing lessons from, and for, other conflicts. So this case-study oriented course of conflict resolution and management theory will attempt to marry theory and practice by being temporal and spatial, comparative and challenging.

The Northern Ireland conflict will be examined in depth as an exemplar of the life cycle of a conflict through the phases of analysis, negotiation and implementation. The first will be concerned with coming to some understanding of the nature of a problem before one can begin to assume or impose the elements of a solution. In other words we need to consider that having no cognitive framework about a conflict is perhaps better than having a wrong cognitive framework 'which is what happens when you prematurely close in on an understanding. There are no correct understandings but there are very bad ones'. So time scales can be important. It is in this analytical and pre-negotiation phase that we need to probe who are the actors, what are their understandings and demands, and what, in the longer term, is doable. That will entail some hidden dimensions – the *intra* as well as the *inter-ethnic* nature of the conflict; the role of symbolism and mythology in the evolution of conflicts; and the capacity of "memory" in driving a conflict (and, indeed, is helping to secure its end). At some stage can we conceive a 'hurting stalemate' whereby a 'ripe moment' has arrived to enter into a phase of negotiation.

Negotiation may bring further actors into play, in this case the British and Irish governments as well as elements of civil society and prestigious third parties from the international community. The geo-political can be significant – compare and contrast, for example, the role of successive US administrations in Northern Ireland and in Israel/Palestine, as well as the implications of the end of the Cold War. It enables us to consider the historic role of the 'mother' country in the evolution of a conflict; and of its changing role in a global setting from its creation of an internal-colonial model from the seventeenth century onwards to its diminishing role in the late twentieth century. That can add another dimension to the negotiation phase: placing the conflict in its regional

(European) context, thereby removing it from insularity and fatalism and shifting from the ethnocentric to the polycentric. And finally it brings into play the role of unofficial diplomacy and of back channel negotiation.

Almost inevitably negotiation is the most difficult phase. One has only to contemplate the shelf life of many peace agreements. The point has been well made that it is 'imperative to establish realistic expectations about how much and how quickly a weak and tentative peace agreement can alter the basic nature of a long and profoundly bitter conflict'. The fundamental problems confronting the Northern Ireland peace process – decommissioning/demilitarization, root-and-branch reform of the security apparatus, cultural tensions, human rights and equity issues – bear witness to this dilemma. Further it challenges the nature and capacity of political leadership because the leaders on both sides have to 'recognize that the behaviour necessary to get to a provisional agreement is not always the behaviour appropriate for the post-agreement period: needs and priorities change, interests must be redefined or revised, and a joint learning process, must be institutionalized and accelerated'.

Two further aspects of this program need to be underlined. One is the emphasis on a particular theoretical construct, that of consociational democracy, because its advocates maintain that the solution to the Northern Ireland problem is contained within consociationalism and that it can have relevance elsewhere. Arend Lijphart devised the model to explain the success of four small European democracies – Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland – in establishing political stability and prosperity against a backdrop of segmented and fractured societies. His *Democracy in Plural Societies* (1977) elevated it to the status of normative theory. In the intervening years a significant literature has emerged produced by both acolytes and critics culminating in R. Taylor (ed.) *Consociational Theory: O'Leary and McGarry and the Northern Ireland Conflict* (2009). A survey of this literature should enable us to analyze some of the claims made on behalf of this branch of the social sciences in terms of conflict resolution. That will introduce a comparative dimension.

The third and final approach will be to introduce a comparative approach at a practice level. Northern Ireland is considered to be a success story with lessons that can be imparted to other conflicts. We are less concerned with direct comparisons with other conflicts – although it will be placed in the context of what were considered to be the other two intractable conflicts (South Africa and Israel/Palestine) at the height of the Cold War – and more with themes that emerge during peace processes. These will include the capacity of political leadership and leader/follower relationships; the dynamics of political violence and its communicative dimension; the role of spoilers and of the diaspora – in hindering peace processes in addition to being a positive force for change; the space for unofficial diplomacy; and the utility or futility of external interventions.

In short, this particular case study enables us to examine some of the burning issues of concern to contemporary conflict resolution practitioners and analysts and will form the backdrop for the broader (and more theoretical) issues to be examined in the following week. In addition it can serve as an introduction to some of the questions to be addressed in Amman – the role of religion and the clash of cultures; the significance of regional organisations in preventing and resolving conflict; the place of civil society and of political leadership; economic assistance as a generator in peace building; the question (or lack thereof) of gender mainstreaming; and specifically as a critical enquiry in conflict analysis and resolution.

### Course Objectives:

The very essence of study abroad is that of learning through experience, i.e. learning by doing, observing, and reflecting. The topics that students explore are consistent with their own individual interests but grounded in their experience in London and Amman exploring the theory and practice of conflict resolution and management and its applicability to intractable conflicts like those in the Middle East and beyond. In this London-based course students evaluate the literature of the field and concentrate on the case study of Northern Ireland as an exemplar of the life cycle of a conflict through the phases of analysis, negotiation, and implementation.

### Course Learning Outcomes:

At the end of this course, students will:

- Understand in depth the Irish peace process;
- Use the Irish peace process as a comparator with other conflicts; and
- Analyse differences and similarities between theoretical literature (particularly the consociational model) and practical experience

### Required Text(s):

D.Mc Kitterick and D. Mc Vea, *Making Sense of the Troubles* (2000)

### Recommended Reading(s):

#### Possible Reading Selections

#### Contextualising ethnic conflict in the western world

Halliday, F *The Cold War: Lessons and Legacies* Government and Opposition, 45, 1, 2010

Kratochwil, F *Of Systems, Boundaries and Territoriality: An Inquiry into the Formation of the State System*, World Politics, 39, 1, October 1986

Kagan, R *Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* 2003

Ramsbotham, O *Et.al* Conflict Resolution (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2003) chapter 11 *Terror and Global Justice*

Judt, T *Postwar: a History of Europe since 1945* 2005

#### The consociational model

Lijphart, A *Democracy and Plural Societies* 1977

Lijphart, A *The Northern Ireland Problem: Cases, theories and solutions* World Politics 5, 1, 1975

Daalder, H *The Consociational Democracy Theme* World Politics July 1974

Taylor, R (ed.) Consociational Theory: O'Leary and McGarry and the Northern Ireland conflict 2009

McGarry, J & The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements 2004  
O'Leary, B

### **The genesis of the Northern Ireland problem: themes and myths**

Arthur, P Government and Politics of Northern Ireland (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1990)  
Arthur, P. Special Relationships: Britain, Ireland and the Northern Ireland problem  
(2001)  
Arthur, P & Northern Ireland since 1968 1996  
Arthur, P Time, Territory, Tradition and the Anglo-Irish 'Peace' Process  
Government and Opposition, 31, 4, Autumn 1996  
Jeffery, K  
Wright, F Northern Ireland: a comparative analysis 1987  
Whyte, J Interpreting Northern Ireland 1990

### **The Northern Ireland conflict: the role of civil resistance**

Purdie, B Politics in the Streets: the origins of the civil rights movement  
in Northern Ireland 1990  
Roberts, A & Civil Resistance and Power Politics: the experience of non-violent  
Garton Ash, T action from Gandhi to the present 2009  
Prince, S Northern Ireland's '68ers 2007  
Arthur, P The People's Democracy 1968-1973 1974  
Apter, D A View from the Bogside in Gilomee, H & J. Galiano (eds.),  
The Elusive Search for Peace: South Africa, Israel and Northern  
Ireland 1990

Week 2

### **Terrorism and political violence**

Arthur, P 'Reading' Violence: Ireland in D. Apter (ed.) The Legitimization of Violence  
1997  
Adams, G The Politics of Irish Freedom 1986  
Richardson, L What terrorists want: understanding the enemy, containing the threat 2006  
English, R Armed Struggle: the history of the IRA 2003  
Art, R & L Democracy and Counterterrorism: Lessons from the Past 2007  
Richardson (eds.)

### **Back channels and unofficial diplomacy**

BBC DVD The Secret Peacemaker 2007  
Popielkowski, Public Diplomacy, Cultural Interventions and the Peace Process  
J & N. Cull in Northern Ireland 2009  
Arthur, P Peer Learning Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict  
[www.ccpdc/pubs/art/art.htm](http://www.ccpdc/pubs/art/art.htm)  
Arthur, P Negotiating the Northern Ireland problem: Track One or Track Two  
diplomacy? Government and Opposition 25, 4, Autumn 1990  
Arthur, P Multiparty Mediation in Northern Ireland in C. Crocker et. al. (eds.)  
Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World 1999  
O'Dochartaigh, N. "Together in the middle: Backchannel negotiation in the Irish peace  
process", Journal of Peace Research (2011)

### **Exogenous actors**

- Arthur, P Special Relationships, chapters 6 and 7  
Arthur, P The role of the European Union as a Peace Builder: Northern Ireland as a case study Peace and Conflict Studies 17, 1, 2010  
Laffan, B & J. O'Mahony Ireland and the European Union 2008  
Hume, J Personal Views: Politics, Peace and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland 1996  
Craig, A Crisis of Confidence: Anglo-Irish Relations in the Early Troubles, 1966-1974 2010  
Lynch, T Turf War: the Clinton Administration and Northern Ireland 2004

### **Constructive ambiguity**

- Aughey, A The Politics of Northern Ireland: Beyond the Belfast Agreement 2005  
Dixon, P The Politics of Northern Ireland 2008  
Wilford, R ed. Aspects of the Belfast Agreement (chapter by A. McIntyre)  
Porter, N The Elusive Quest: Reconciliation in Northern Ireland 2003  
Hamber, B ed. Past Imperfect: Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland and Societies in transition 1998  
Arthur, P Memory Retrieval and Truth Recovery in D. Sandole et. al. (eds.) A Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution 2009  
Mitchell, D Sticking to their Guns? Arms Decommissioning in Northern Ireland 1998-2007 Contemporary British History 24, 3, 2010

### **Leadership**

- Gormley-Heenan, C Political Leadership and the Northern Ireland Peace Process 2007  
Heifetz, R & M. Linsky Leadership on the Line: Staying Alive through the Dangers of Leading 2002  
MacGinty, R Ethnic Outbidding and Party Modernization: Understanding the DUP's Electoral Success in the Post-Agreement Environment  
C. Gormley-Heenan Ethnopolitics 2008  
Chazan, N Political Leadership in Divided Societies: the case of Israel/Palestine INCORE 2000  
Gordham, P Political Leadership in Divided Societies: the case of South Africa INCORE 2000

### **Instructional Methods:**

The summer program will divide its time between London and Amman. The latter will be concerned with issues in the Middle East whereas the former will concentrate on specific European case studies and on the state of the literature on conflict resolution and management. It will be a Summer School based on collegiality, reflection and sound academic criteria. Site visits, group discussion and guest lectures will enhance the richness of the experience.

## Week-by-Week Class Plan:

**Preprogramme:** Students will be required to engage with an **online section of the course prior to departure**. Readings to be assigned. This is an opportunity for faculty and students to introduce themselves, to share their experiences and to anticipate what they expect from the Summer School. Faculty will outline the formal aspects of the programme and its capacity as a learning experience that will combine theory and practice and that will be based firmly on collegial practices. The significance of London as one location - as a former imperial power, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and as a polity that has withstood intense internal conflict and that has contributed to conflict resolution – will be utilised to allow for a visit to Parliament and to make use of specialist speakers.

Part 1	Topic to be Covered	Preparation Reading
Topic 1	<b>Morning and afternoon:</b> A brief history of the conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• J. Darby: 'Conflict in Northern Ireland: a background essay'</li> <li>• P. Arthur: 'Government and Politics of Northern Ireland' 1-15</li> <li>• P. Arthur + K. Jeffery: 'Northern Ireland since 1968' (2nd edition) 5-20</li> <li>• B. Purdie: 'Politics in the streets: the origins of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland'</li> <li>• J. Loughlin: 'The Ulster Question since 1945' 22-46</li> </ul>
Topic 2	<p><b>Morning:</b> Seminar led by Jonathan Powell (chief of staff to prime minister, Tony Blair) Showing of "Special Relationships"</p> <p><b>Afternoon:</b> Imposing a solution: the role of the British and Irish governments</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• P. Arthur: 'Special Relationships: Britain, Ireland and the Northern Ireland problem' 1-30 and 96-115</li> <li>• J. Loughlin: 'The Ulster Question since 1945' 47-63</li> </ul>
Topic 3	<p><b>Morning:</b> The impact of geopolitics on ethnic conflict</p> <p><b>Afternoon:</b> Tour of Brick Lane</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• F. Halliday: <i>The Cold War: Lessons and Legacies Government and Opposition</i> 45, 1, 2010</li> <li>• P. Arthur: 'Special Relationships' 116-131</li> </ul>
Topic 4	<p><b>Morning:</b> Consociationalism and the Northern Ireland conflict</p> <p><b>Afternoon:</b> The role of political leadership A showing of an RTE documentary on John Hume</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A. Lijphart: <i>The Northern Ireland problem: cases, theories and solutions</i>, <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>, 5, 1, 1975</li> <li>• A. Lijphart: 'Democracy in Plural Societies: a Comparative Exploration'</li> <li>• C Gormley-Heenan: 'Political Leadership and the Northern Ireland'</li> </ul>

		Peace Process' • N. Chazan: 'Political Leadership in Divided Societies: the Case of Israel/Palestine'
Topic 5	<b>Morning:</b> Seminar by Lord Alderdice on decommissioning (House of Lords)	
<b>Part 2</b>		
Topic 6	<b>Morning:</b> Complex Mediation: the role of Europe  <b>Afternoon:</b> Visit to the Imperial War Museum	• P. Arthur: <i>The Role of the European Union as a Peace Builder: Northern Ireland as a case study</i> , <i>Peace and Conflict Studies</i> , 17, 1, 2010 • B. Laffan + J. O'Mahoney: 'Ireland and the European Union' 196-218
Topic 7	<b>Morning:</b> The impact of violence  <b>Afternoon:</b> Showing of 'The Secret Peacemaker' followed by a discussion	• J. Darby ( <i>et.al.</i> ): 'Conflict in Northern Ireland; the development of a polarised community' • G. Adams: 'The Politics of Irish Freedom' • R. English: 'Armed Struggle: the history of the IRA' • P. Arthur: 'Special Relationships' 48-70
Topic 8	<b>Morning:</b> Civil Society and the role of unofficial diplomacy  <b>Afternoon:</b> Coming out of violence: the place for constructive ambiguity	• J. Popielkowski + N. J. Cull: 'Public Diplomacy, Cultural Interventions and the Peace Process in Northern Ireland' 1-32 • P. Arthur: <i>Peer Learning</i> • G. Berridge: 'Constructive ambiguity' A. Aughey / 'The Politics of Northern Ireland: Beyond the Belfast Agreement'
Topic 9	<b>Morning and afternoon:</b> Showing of "Five minutes to midnight" followed by discussion	• D. Sandole ( <i>et. al.</i> ): 'A Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution' Healing through Remembering <u>Making Peace with the Past</u> . • B. Hamber: 'Past Imperfect' – can be downloaded from INCORE
Topic 10	<b>Morning:</b> Comparisons: preparing for Amman  <b>Afternoon:</b>	• R. Rose: 'Governing without Consensus', 447-473

	Tour of Parliament	

### Assignments and Due Dates:

#### Attendance & Participation

Merely attending class is not enough. Instructors expect students to be actively engaged in their learning and class participation, reaction, and reflection are essential. Students are evaluated on their ability to relate course readings to class discussions and their fieldtrips along with their ability to participate constructively in the discussion of other students' projects.

#### London Reflection and Amman Research Proposal Paper

A paper titled "Does the Irish peace process (or elements thereof) suggest that this is a model that can be transferred to, or modified for, other conflicts?" is due at the end of the London segment of the programme and is both a reflection of what the student has learned in London and how he or she intends to approach one of the topics that will be studied in Jordan. The instructors will provide additional information during the London segment but the paper must utilise the theoretical framework and lessons learned from the application of theory to the Irish conflict while in London. This paper will include appropriate references and citations.

#### Presentation

Each student will present on an agreed seminar topic.

### Co-curricular Activities:

Excursion to Northern Ireland to include: tour of Belfast, visit to the Bloody Sunday Museum, visit to Stormont, visit to (loyalist) Apprentice Boys Hall, St Columb's Cathedral, the Tower Museum, INCORE (International Conflict Research Institute) at the University of Ulster for a seminar on CAIN, and guest speakers.

In addition there will be a symposium on arms decommissioning in the House of Lords chaired by Lord John Alderdice (Independent International Decommissioning Commission); and a Symposium: Britain in the Middle East in the near past. Additionally, there will be a visit to the Irish Embassy for a diplomatic overview on the peace negotiations and to the Northern Ireland Office for a British perspective.

### Assessment Plan:

- 20% for attendance and participation
- 20% oral presentation
- 60% essay

### FIE Attendance Policy:

**Under UK Border Agency regulations class attendance is mandatory.** In addition, regular attendance is essential to achieving a passing grade in a course. A class constitutes lectures, student presentations, discussions, seminars, field visits, tests, and examinations.

In addition to physical presence in class, a student's class **participation score of 20%** will be

based on the mastery of assigned course readings as reflected in a consistent, valid contribution to class discussions, in-class exercises, and in asking questions that enrich the on-going discourse. Occasional participation will have a negative impact on a student's participation score.

**Class/placement attendance is formally recorded and incorporated into a student's final grade.**

Attendance is taken at the beginning of each class. Any student arriving late to class by five minutes or more will be marked absent for that session, unless the tardiness is excusable. (Note that commute time from a residence hall/class/placement site is not usually a valid excuse.)

In the event of an anticipated absence, it is the responsibility of the student to contact the faculty member/placement site supervisor in advance to request approval. Absence from class does not relieve a student of responsibility for assignments. Class/placement absences are deemed excused only at the discretion of the faculty member/placement site supervisor and require documentation, where possible.

An excused absence or an excused reason for being late to class is any documented emergency and/or acute illness or injury directly involving the student. **Unexplained absence is not permitted.** Two unexplained absences by a student are immediately reported to the Associate Academic Officer/Experiential Education Manager who will then liaise with the member of faculty/placement site supervisor to make a joint decision on further action.

<b>FIE Grading Rubric:</b>				
<b>Letter Grades</b>	<b>Knowledge &amp; Content</b>	<b>Methodology &amp; Structure, Language &amp; Style</b>	<b>Understanding, Reflection &amp; Critique</b>	<b>Integrative thinking &amp; demonstration of experiential learning</b>
<b>A</b>	Interesting topic handled with intelligence, originality, and depth; wealth of supporting material, smoothly integrated into the text; tone is evident and maintained throughout; no factual inaccuracies	Material is unified and well focused; organization is clear, logical and purposeful throughout the essay; well-chosen examples. Uses sophisticated sentences effectively; usually chooses words aptly; observes conventions of written English and manuscript format; makes few minor or technical errors	Well-chosen examples; persuasive reasoning used to develop and support thesis consistently; uses quotations and citations effectively; causal connections between ideas are evident	Gives full insight into the nature of an event, experience, or artefact; achieves complete integration of knowledge from diverse disciplines to interpret an issue. Shows clear understanding of cultural impact through appropriate examples
<b>B</b>	Content is above average; worthwhile topic; satisfactory depth of development; supporting details for the thesis and topic sentences are specific, concrete, and plentiful; has only minor factual inaccuracies	Material is unified and well focused; pattern of organization is clear, logical, and well executed; makes an effort to organize paragraphs topically. Some mechanical difficulties or stylistic problems; may make occasional problematic word choices or awkward syntax errors; a few spelling or punctuation errors or cliché; usually presents quotations effectively	Pursues thesis consistently; develops a main argument with clear major points and appropriate textual evidence and supporting detail; makes an effort to organize paragraphs topically	Gives some insights into the nature of an event, experience, or artefact; achieves partial integration of knowledge from diverse disciplines to interpret an issue; some understanding of cultural impact through appropriate examples
<b>C</b>	Worthwhile topic; supporting material for thesis and topic sentences is general and abstract rather than specific and concrete; most information is correct	Organization is clear, logical, and coherent; some ideas unsupported; fails to integrate quotations appropriately. More frequent wordiness; several unclear or awkward sentences; imprecise use of words or over-reliance on passive voice; one or two major grammatical errors	Only partially develops the argument; shallow analysis; some ideas and generalizations undeveloped or unsupported; makes limited use of textual evidence; fails to integrate quotations appropriately	Able to explain to a limited extent, the quality of a performance, event, or artefact; gives few insights into event, experience; discusses few qualities of an experience; a limited understanding of cultural impact with few examples
<b>D</b>	Trivial subject; very few supporting details	Not logically organized; digresses from one topic to	Frequently only narrates; digresses from one topic	Little integration of experience and

	for the thesis and topic sentences; has some correct & incorrect information	another; no clear organizational pattern. Some major grammatical or proofreading errors (subject-verb agreement; sentence fragments); language marred by clichés	to another without developing ideas or terms; makes insufficient or awkward use of textual evidence	narrative; limited insight of issues and insufficient understanding of cultural impact
<b>F</b>	Consists of unsupported generalities and/or the repetition of commonplace ideas; lacks originality and insight; information is inaccurate or absent	Does not follow the instructions; rambling, disorganized and incoherent. Numerous grammatical errors	Little or no development; may list incorrect facts or misinformation; uses no quotations or fails to cite sources or plagiarizes	Little or no integration experience and narrative; lack of insight and fails to understand cultural impact

**Late Submission of Written Work**

Written work may be submitted later than the due date only with express permission from the faculty. Credit will not be given for work received late, except in exceptional circumstances of personal illness or similar (which must be made known to FIE at the time). Documentation of exceptional circumstances from a third party, such as a doctor's note will be required. Any extensions made beyond the last class meeting must be committed to writing and include information on the exceptional circumstances that require the extension, the nature of work yet to be submitted, and the date by which the work will be received. If said work is not received by the agreed extension date, barring further exceptional circumstances, the work will not be given credit.

**Disability/Special Needs Statement:**

Any student who feels s/he may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability/special need should contact me privately to discuss your specific needs. Please ensure you have provided FIE with documents that establish the special accommodations made for you at your home institution.