

**University of Toronto**  
**Faculty of Arts and Science**  
**Department of Political Science**

**POL418H1S: Human Security and Intra-State Conflicts in the Global South, W2026**

Professor: Abbas Gnamo, PhD.

Time: Tuesdays, 5:00PM– 7:00PM

Office # 3062

Office hours: Tuesdays, 4:00PM-5:00 PM (in class or virtual)

Email : abbas.gnamo@utoronto.ca

Telephone: (416) 978-3345

**Themes**

What are the underlying causes of insecurity and instability, and what factors support or undermine attainment of durable peace after episodes of violent conflict in the Global South? This course explores these questions using comparative case studies of civil wars and theoretical perspectives from political science and other disciplines on understanding the root causes of intra-state wars in the global south and their ramifications, the challenges, and opportunities of ending them and achieving sustainable peace and human security.

**Texts**

Library Reading List

One two-hour seminar per week

**Procedure**

In the weekly in-class meetings, Tuesdays 5:00 pm, 7:00pm, we will follow a brief presentation of conceptual frameworks by the instructor revolving around the issues raised in the readings and of the questions that the class should address. Students are expected to read and present (12-15 minutes) one of the required readings for the weekly seminar in addition to a regular participation in the discussion and attendance. More importantly, each student will choose one major civil war from the given list and shares his/her findings with the group through a presentation of 20 minutes.

**Course requirements and due dates**

<b>Criteria</b>	<b>Evaluation</b>	<b>Due date</b>
Critical review of a suggested article <sup>1</sup>	10%	February 3, 2026
Critical Book Review <sup>2</sup>	30%	February 24, 2026
Presentations <sup>3</sup>	15%	TBA (to be scheduled)
Major Research paper <sup>4</sup>	35%	March 31, 2026
Participation/attendance <sup>5</sup>	10%	Throughout the term

\*Late penalty of 2% per working day will apply to all late papers and unjustified delays. But extension can be granted if requested 48 hours before the due date.

1. Students are required to critically assess one article from the required readings in 2pp for the total mark of 10%. Options will be given.
2. A critical review of ONE of the following books should be submitted on February 24, 2026 (30%). The length of the paper is 10 pages, double-spaced. The following books are selected for the critical review, and they can be purchased from U of T Bookstore. There is a digital option for the two books.
3. A presentation of a required article (10-12 minutes) and the Civil war paper (15-20 Minutes) for 15 % of the total mark. You will select the article you want to present from the assigned weekly readings in the course outline.
4. Lastly, the final research paper of approximately 16-18 pages words, double spaced maximum on a civil war to be submitted on March 31, 2026. It will account for 35% of the total mark. The list case studies of intra-state conflict in the global south Students are expected to choose one of these conflicts unless they want to come up with their own proposal that must be approved.
5. Attendance and participation in the weekly discussion (10%) is important in the seminar and attendance is taken regularly.

Required and recommended readings are available electronically at U of T libraries and you can access through Quercus, List of Readings

The purchasing link online:

<https://www.uoftbookstore.com/adoption-search-results?ccid=5906147&itemid=57356>

- a. J. Holsti, *The State, War, and the State of War* (Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[https://www.campusebookstore.com/integration/AccessCodes/default.aspx?bookseller\\_id=96&Course=STG+POL+418HS+eBOOK+STATE%2c+WAR%2c+AND+THE+STATE+OF+WAR&frame=YES&t=permalink](https://www.campusebookstore.com/integration/AccessCodes/default.aspx?bookseller_id=96&Course=STG+POL+418HS+eBOOK+STATE%2c+WAR%2c+AND+THE+STATE+OF+WAR&frame=YES&t=permalink) (Digital option)

- b. Richard Caplan, *International governance of war-torn territories: rule and reconstruction*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

<https://uoftbookstore.vitalsource.com/products/international-governance-of-war-torn-territories-richard-caplan-v9780191532498?term=9780191532498>  
<https://uoftbookstore.vitalsource.com/products/international-governance-of-war-torn-territories-richard-caplan-v9780191532498?term=9780191532498> (Digital option)

- c. Alex J. Bellamy, *Responsibility to protect: the global effort to end mass atrocities*, 2009 (No digital option for this book)

Please note: Assignment grading will follow the University of Toronto's grading regulations as outlined in the Arts and Science 2006/2007 course calendar ([www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/ofr/calendar](http://www.artsandscience.utoronto.ca/ofr/calendar)). Assignments are due at the beginning of class. Extension may be granted for compassionate and medical reasons. But the request for an extension cannot be made in 48 hours before the due date. A penalty of 2% per working day will be applied to all late assignments up until a maximum of ten late days, after which late papers will not be accepted except under exceptional circumstances. Assignments will also not be accepted via email. Late assignments should be delivered to the receptionist's office (Room 3018, Sidney Smith Hall) to be date stamped. Students are strongly advised to keep draft work and hard copies of their essays. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. Any medical-based assignment extension requests or make-up term test requests will require an official Student Medical Certificate and will require advance notice ([www.utoronto.ca/health/forms/medcert.pdf](http://www.utoronto.ca/health/forms/medcert.pdf)).

## Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a most serious academic offense, and the offender will be punished. In the academy where the currency of the realm is ideas, to cite someone else's words or thinking without due attribution is theft. It is not sufficient merely to list your sources in the bibliography or to use only footnotes. You must ensure that you identify and attribute all your sources in text, whether you are quoting them directly or paraphrasing them – and every time you cite someone verbatim, you MUST indicate this using quotation marks.

According to the University's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters, it shall be an offence for a student knowingly:

- a. to forge or in any way alter or falsify any document or evidence required for admission to the University, or to utter, circulate or make use of any such forged, altered, or falsified document, whether the record be in print or electronic form.
- b. to use or possess an unauthorized aid or aids or obtain unauthorized assistance in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work.
- c. to personate another person, or to have another person personate, at any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work.
- d. to represent as one's own idea or expression of an idea or work of another in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work.
- e. to submit, without the knowledge and approval of the instructor to whom it is submitted, any academic work for which credit has previously been obtained or is being sought in another course or program of study in the University or elsewhere.

- f. To submit for credit any academic work containing a purported statement of fact or reference to a source which has been concocted.

For further information on plagiarism and how to avoid it, please refer to the University's policy at [www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html](http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html). Students are strongly encouraged to explore the numerous resources available at the "Writing at the University of Toronto" website at [www.utoronto.ca/writing](http://www.utoronto.ca/writing)

## Turnitin

"Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>)".

Students who object to using turnitin may use the following alternative procedure: inform the instructor, in the first two weeks, that they will not be using turnitin and discuss alternative arrangements including submitting a disc with all saved drafts of their paper and handing in all notes, outlines, bibliographic research, etc.

## Late/Missed Assignments

Please see the [A&S Academic Handbook \(https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/faculty-staff/teaching/academic-handbook\)](https://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/faculty-staff/teaching/academic-handbook) sections on missed term work (Section 4.7), late term work and extensions (section 4.8), and missed term tests (Section 5.3) for more information.

## Verification of Illness

"For 2021-22, the **Verification of Illness (or "doctor's note") is not required**. Students who are absent from academic participation for any reason (e.g., COVID, cold, flu and other illness or injury, family situation) and who require consideration for missed academic work have been asked to record their absence through the ACORN online absence declaration. The absence declaration is considered sufficient documentation to indicate an absence, and no additional information or documentation should be required when seeking consideration from an instructor."

## Writing Support in FAS

1. All seven FAS writing centres will be operating during this summer session, and all will be offering synchronous one-on-one instruction with asynchronous options at some colleges. Students should visit each individual center's site for information on how to make an appointment.

The FAS centres are listed at <https://writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/arts-and-science>.

Note that undergraduate students taking summer courses in the Faculty of Arts and Science are eligible to seek help at their home college's center and at other centres for work in college program courses. In the summer, students may book up to TWO appointments per week.

2. More than 60 Advice files on all aspects of academic writing are available from <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca>. Students benefit from your recommendation of specific material relevant to your course and assignments. Printable PDF versions are listed at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/student-pdfs>.

You may especially want to refer students to "How Not to Plagiarize" and other advice on documentation format and methods of integrating sources. These pages are all listed at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources>.

3. Information about the English Language Learning program (ELL)'s summer offerings is available at <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/advising/ell>. For more information, please contact the ELL coordinator Leora Freedman at [ell.newcollege@utoronto.ca](mailto:ell.newcollege@utoronto.ca).

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## SEMINAR SCHEDULE

**Tuesday, January 06, 2026: First class, Introduction, course overview**

**Tuesday, January 13, 2026: The Concept of Human Security**

**Readings:**

Human Security: East versus West Author(s): Amitav Acharya Source: International Journal, Summer, 2001, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Summer, 2001), pp. 442- 460

EDWARD NEWMAN, "Critical human security studies" Review of International Studies, January 2010, Vol. 36, No. 1 (January 2010), pp. 77-94

Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" International Security, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Fall 2001), pp. 87–102

Heloise Weber & Mark T Berger, "Human (In)Security and Development in the 21st Century", Third World Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 1, 2009, pp 263–270

**Tuesday, January 20, 2026: The causes and escalation of intra -state war**

**Readings:**

TATHIS N. KALYVAS, "NEW" AND "OLD" CIVIL WARS: A Valid Distinction? World Politics 54 (October 2001), 99–118

Edward Aspinall, "The Construction of Grievance Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict", Journal of Conflict Resolution Volume 51 Number December 2007

Root Causes of Violent Conflict in Developing Countries Author(s): Frances Stewart Source: BMJ: British Medical Journal, Feb. 9, 2002, Vol. 324, No. 7333 (Feb. 9, 2002), pp. 342-345

Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War Author(s): Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler and Dominic Rohner Source: Oxford Economic Papers, Jan. 2009, New Series, Vol. 61, No. 1 (Jan. 2009), pp. 1-27

Michael E. Brown, et al (Eds), Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, pp.3-26 K.J. Holsti, The State, War, and the State of War. chaps. 2,

Why Bad Governance Leads to Repeat Civil War Author(s): Barbara F. Walter Source: The Journal of Conflict Resolution, October 2015, Vol. 59, No. 7 (October 2015), pp. 1242-1272

Muzaffer Ercan Yilmaz S, "NTRA-STATE CONFLICTS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA"

*International Journal on World Peace*, DECEMBER 2007, Vol. 24, No. 4 (DECEMBER 2007), pp. 1133

## **Tuesday, January 27, 2026: The regional and international implications of Civil Wars**

### **Readings:**

Mark T Berger & Douglas A Borer, "The Long War: insurgency, counterinsurgency and collapsing states" *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 2007, pp. 197 – 215.

Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "Fighting at Home, Fighting Abroad: How Civil Wars Lead to International Disputes, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Volume 52 Number 4 2008.

Michael Brown, (ed.), *International Dimensions of Internal Conflicts*, chaps. 10, 14, 15, and 18

Kimberly Marten, "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective" *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (winter 2006/07), pp. 41–73

Frances Stewart; Frank P. Humphreys; Nick Lea, "Civil conflict in developing countries over the last quarter of a century: An empirical overview of economic and social consequences" *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 1, 1997

Paul Collier, *Civil War, War Economies, and International Cooperation Transforming War Economies* Swiss peace (2007) Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep11113.7>

Johannes Karreth and Jaroslav Tir "International Institutions and Civil War Prevention" *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (Dec. 21, 2012), pp. 96-109

## **Tuesday, February 3, 2026: Ending Civil conflict.**

### **Readings:**

Roy Licklider, ed., *Stop the Killing: How Civil Wars End*, chaps. 1, 10,

Stephen J Stedman et al. (eds.), *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Introduction)

*Understanding Civil War: A New Agenda* Author(s): Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis Source: *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Feb. 2002, Vol. 46, No. 1, *Understanding Civil War* (Feb. 2002), pp. 3-12

*Greed and Civil War in Post-Cold War Africa* Author(s): Adrien M. Ratsimbaharison Source: *African Security*, October-December 2011, Vol. 4, No. 4 (October-December 2011), pp. 269-282

## **Tuesday, February 10, 2026: Human rights and Humanitarian Intervention**

### **Readings:**

Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*, New York, UN, 1992.

Diplomacy and Other Forms of Intervention in Civil Wars Author(s): Patrick M. Regan and Aysegul Aydin Source: *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Oct. 2006, Vol. 50, No. 5 (Oct. 2006), pp. 736-756

Shashi Tharoor and Sam Daws, "Humanitarian Intervention: Getting Past the Reefs," *World Policy Journal*, summer 2001.

Mohammed Ayoob, "Third World Perspectives on Humanitarian Intervention and International Administration," *Global Governance*, January 2004.

Bruce Cronin, "The Tension between Sovereignty and Intervention in the Prevention of Genocide" *Human Rights Review*, July 2007

## **Tuesday, February 16- 20: Family Day and Reading Week**

## **Tuesday, February 24, 2026: Conflict Resolution and Peace- building in falling /collapsed states**

### **Readings:**

Max Blouin and Stephane Pallage, "Humanitarian Relief and Civil Conflict" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Volume 52 Number 4 August 2008 548-565

Barbara F. Walter, "Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization,

Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull, "Post-conflict Reconstruction in Africa" *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2008), pp. 106–139

Kelly M. Greenhill and Solomon Major, "The Perils of Profiling Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords" *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Winter 2006/07), pp. 7–40

DAVID CHARLES-PHILIPPE. "Does Peacebuilding Build Peace? Liberal (Mis)steps in the Peace Process" Source: *Security Dialogue*, MARCH 1999, Vol. 30, No. 1 (MARCH 1999), pp. 25-41

Seven Principles for Building Peace Author(s): Michael Steiner Source: *World Policy Journal*, Summer, 2003, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Summer, 2003), pp. 87-93.

Jeroen de Zeeuw "Concepts: Report Title: Building Peace in War-Torn Societies: Report Subtitle:

From Concept to Strategy” Clingendael Institute (2001) Stable  
URL: <http://www.jstor.com/stable/resrep05399.6>

## **Tuesday, March 3, 2026: Democratization and liberalization of post conflict state**

### **Readings:**

Carter Johnson, "Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars" *International Security*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2008), pp. 140–170

Stephen D. Krasner, "Sharing Sovereignty New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States" *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Fall 2004), pp. 85–120.

ALINA ROCHA MENOCA, "State Building for Peace: a new paradigm for international engagement in post-conflict fragile states? *Third World Quarterly*, 2011, Vol. 32, No. 10, State Building, Security and Development (2011), pp. 1715-1736

Michael Barnett, "Building a Republican Peace: Stabilizing States after War" *International Security*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006), pp. 87–112

Democratization, and Commitments to Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (Summer 1999), pp. 127–155.

Michael W. Doyle, "Building Peace" *Global Governance*, January–March 2007, Vol. 13, No. 1 (January–March 2007), pp. 1-15

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## **The beginning of presentations of Civil War papers**

Tuesday, March 10, 2026

Presentations

Tuesday, March 17, 2026:

Presentations

Tuesday, March 24, 2026:

Presentations

Tuesday, March 31, 2026:

## Civil War Project

	Countries selected	Name of the Presenter
1	Cambodia	
	Sri Lanka	
2	Somalia	
	Sudan	
3	Guatemala	
	El Salvador	
4	Liberia	
	Sierra Leone	
5	Colombia	
	Nicaragua	
6	Angola	
	Mozambique	
7	Syria	
	Lebanon	
8	Rwanda	
	Burundi	

9	Algeria	
	Afghanistan	
10	DRC	
	Cote D'Ivoire	
11	Eritrea/Ethiopia	
	Tigray/Ethiopia	

<p>El Salvador  Nicaragua  Colombia  Afghanistan  Angola  Lebanon  Kampuchea (or Cambodia)  Liberia  DRC  Algeria  Syria  Philippines</p>	<p>East Timor  Guatemala  Sudan (South or Darfur, not both)  Mozambique  Cote d'Ivoire  Somalia  Sierra Leone  Rwanda  Burundi  Sri Lanka  Ethiopia (Eritrea 1962–1991 or Tigray (1975–1991))</p>
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