## GVPT 301 Identity and Conflict. Spring 2019

Professor: Dr. Jóhanna K Birnir Office: Chincoteague 3117B Voice: 301-405-7206 e-mail: CANVAS Time and Location: Mondays 2-4:45, TYD 1101. Office hrs: M 12-2 (see CANVAS for signup) and by apt.

**About the course:** Ethnic groups participate in civil wars more than any other types of dissident groups. At the same time religion plays an increasing role in global civil conflict, where sexual violence is a widely acknowledged threat. The common theme across these problems in international security is identity; ethnicity, religion and gender.

This course explores the questions of what identity is and where identities originate? Why do most contemporary conflicts centers in one way or another on identity and what are some solutions to conflict where perpetrators and targeted individuals or groups often espouse divergent identities? During the course students will gain a deeper understanding of how identity is embedded in context, how identity is manipulated for political ends, and how identity conflict may be resolved.

Taking advantage of the malleability of identity groups, political leaders use religion, ethnicity and gender norms to recruit in-group constituencies including combatants and to justify attacks against out-groups. This is not to say that all ethnic and religious leaders and followers instrumentally employ identity for political ends. Indeed, identity politics combine a complex mix of sincere and instrumental preferences. Examining the idea that identities are manipulable for political ends, students will explore the different meaning of nominally similar identities and how those identities are activated differently across cultures. To this end the course will also highlight some prominent cases of identity conflict across the world.

While much identity conflict is engineered, cultural misunderstanding and lack of trust often hampers conflict resolution. Solutions to conflict that involves identity, call for mutual respect and understanding of inter-personal and/or inter-group cultural differences By exploring the origin of diversity and thinking critically about their own instrumental and sincere identity preferences as well as that of others, students will learn some fundamental principles of conflict resolution.

## Learning Outcomes Cultural Competence

In this course students are expected to:

• Understand and articulate a multiplicity of meanings of the concept of identity.

- Reflect in depth about critical similarities, differences, and intersections between their own and others' identities so as to demonstrate a deepening or transformation of original perspectives.
- Explain how beliefs about identity influence behaviors and practices at the individual, organizational or societal levels.
- Compare and contrast similarities, differences, and intersections among two or more identities.
- Effectively use skills to negotiate identity conflicts.

# **Course Materials**

Electronic copies or links to course theoretical readings will be posted on CANVAS. In addition to theory we will explore a number of real world cases. Some of the case material is presented in class, some is posted on CANVAS but students will have to do substantial research of cases outside class to complete their assignments.

# Skills Assessment and Grading

The assessment of Cultural Competence learning will incorporate both evaluation of skills acquisition and social ownership.

- Skills assessment. The assessment of skills takes place via class *participation*, a *midterm* and a *term paper* where students are asked to explain and apply the concepts covered. Explanation pertains to the definition and understanding of concepts. Application refers to the use of conceptual tools in identifying and resolving a problem.
- Social ownership. The assessment of social ownership refers to the practice of putting students in the position of teachers by way of public *group presentation*. In this class students are asked to give short class *presentations* of the readings and cases. Furthermore, groups of students are asked to explore in depth and *present* to the class a given identity conflict along with actionable solutions to that conflict.

# The weight of each graded Assignment is as follows

# Class participation: 10%

Students are expected to read the materials assigned before class and come prepared to discuss the topics. It is especially important that students consider the theory in the context of the real world cases discussed and be prepared to debate or evaluate theories and strategies for conflict resolution with respect to identity types and real world cases. Because not everyone is at their personal best every time when called on in front of their peers, participation will include opportunities to submit reflections after class where students can reflect on parts they liked about the discussion, have the opportunity to raise points they wish had been addresses and ruminate on counterfactuals.

### Short presentations of cases as they pertain to the theoretical readings of the week: 10%

At each meeting the professor will set the stage for the days discussion and explain the context and broader theoretical significance of the readings. The professor will also deliver some background of the cases being discussed that day. Students will then take turns reflecting on the theory presented in the readings as it pertains to the cases being discussed. In their reflection students are asked to compare and contrast similarities, differences, and intersections among two or more identities presented in the readings. Students are also encouraged to bring into the discussion examples of identity groups that may not be discussed in the readings but that they feel are pertinent to the discussion.

For example, grievances are making a comeback in studies of ethnic conflict. One particular type of grievance – horizontal inequalities – is theorized as an important cause of ethnic conflict cross nationally. Students might be asked to explain what horizontal inequalities are, how they might contribute to conflict in the abstract, and how this explanation applies to the identity groups discussed. Students are also invited to reflect on how this theory relates to identity groups other than those discussed in the readings.

### Midterm: 25%

The first component of the course (identity: from primordial to constructed) introduces the fundamental concepts and theories about identity. Readings and discussions in this part of the course aim to help students understand and articulate a multiplicity of meanings of the concept of identity and reflect in depth about critical similarities, differences, and intersections between their own and others' identities. The second component of the course introduces students to ethnicity (ethnicity and ethnicity and conflict), as this is the classic identity type in the study of identity and conflict. Here we begin to read theories that explain how beliefs about identity influence behaviors and practices at the individual, organizational or societal levels. The third component of the course (conflict resolution) introduces students to two main types of conflict resolution strategies (citizen diplomacy and international intervention).

Before students address solutions to identity conflicts, in their group presentations and final paper, it is imperative that they master the core concepts and strategies. The objective of the midterm is to reinforce the learning of core concepts and strategies. Thus, the midterm consists of short definitions and explanations pertaining to identity, conflict, and conflict resolution. Furthermore, students will be asked to write short essays where they explain which tools are most appropriate and why for resolution of conflicts presented to them in short vignettes. The midterm grade is based on mastery and communication of the concepts both with respect to conceptual clarity and ability to apply the conceptual strategies learned to the cases presented.

Group presentation: 20%

Group presentations constitute the culmination of a group assignment where, drawing on the conflict resolution approaches covered in class, students use their skills in negotiating identity conflict. The projects are loosely structured simulations where each group is split into three actors, two identity groups at odds and mediators, both local and international. Each group is then assigned a difficult real world case where the conflict may center of ethnicity or religion and members of the group are asked to formulate an actionable solution to the conflict, incorporating both strategies of citizen diplomacy and international mediation. The groups then present both sides of their case and their conflict resolution to their classmates.

The group presentations are graded in two ways. First, classmates observing the presentation turn in individual assessments of the group presentation. The emphasis in peer evaluations is on clarity in presentation of the divergent viewpoints that the case represents, and with respect to content, the transparency and feasibility of the actionable program presented (40% of 20%). Second, the instructor evaluates the group presentations with emphasis on mastery of the material, clarity in presentation of the divergent identity viewpoints that the case represents, and the transparency and feasibility for all parties involved of the actionable program presented (60% of 20%).

### In group peer evaluation: 5%

To ensure equitable division of labor and equal contributions to the group project a survey (using qualtrics and with data only available to the professor) will be administered. In the survey each member of the team individually grades the contribution of other team members.

#### Final paper: 30%

The final paper for the class is an individual project where the student chooses a case of identity conflict (ethnicity, religion or gender) that resonates with them on a personal level. The student is expected to conduct in depth research, write an analysis of the case that represents relevant opposing viewpoints, and suggest actionable strategies to ameliorate the conflict. In this project students are expected to compare and contrast similarities, differences, and intersections among two or more identities and explain how beliefs about identity influence behaviors and practices at the individual, organizational or societal levels. It is in this project that students have the greatest opportunity to reflect in depth about critical similarities, differences, and intersections between their own and others' identities. Thoughtful considerations of actionable strategies to move participants toward resolution of a conflict that resonates with students on a personal level gives about identity and identity conflict.

#### For University policies including:

Attendance, Absences, or Missed Assignments: Read this prior to Schedule

Adjustment date.

Academic integrity Accessibility Code of conduct Grade complaints

See: http://www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html

## **Class Policies**

Be courteous in the classroom. Classroom courtesy is necessary to ensure that all students have the opportunity to learn without distractions. All viewpoints from all students are welcome and encouraged, irrespective of ethnicity, race, religion, gender, and sexual orientation.

A discussion of current political events will take place in class. Some students may find some of the political events disturbing and political discussions can often stimulate strong feelings and heated debate. Students are expected to be respectful of the opinions of others, regardless of whether they share similar opinions or beliefs. Debates will be cut short that do not enhance understanding of course concepts. Students are expected to offer substantive comments and questions when appropriate. Students are also expected to not dominate a conversation, but to allow a free discussion and exchange of ideas.

Please be on time for class and stay until the end, unless you have made special arrangements with me. Entering late and leaving early is distracting to the instructor and to other students. At the same time – make sure that you take care of your body during class time. Feel free to stand, walk around the classroom, sit on the floor and move in other ways that facilitate concentrating and participating.

# Class schedule

| Date     | Schedule                          | Assignments                       |
|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
|          | 1) Introductions and organization |                                   |
|          |                                   |                                   |
| Week 1   | 2) Ethnic identity: From          |                                   |
| Jan 28   | primordialism to constructivism.  | Readings/Organization             |
| Week 2   |                                   |                                   |
| Feb 4    | Ethnicity and conflict.           | Reading/Simulation                |
| Week 3   |                                   |                                   |
| Feb 11   | Conflict Resolution. Foundations. | Reading/ Case discussion          |
| Week 4   |                                   |                                   |
| Feb 18   | Conflict Resolution: Negotiations | Reading/ Simulation               |
| Week 5   | Ethnicity and Conflict resolution | Reading/ Case discussion          |
| Feb 25   |                                   |                                   |
| Week 6   | Religious Identity                | Reading/ Case discussion          |
| March 4  |                                   |                                   |
|          |                                   | Set up a meeting with the         |
| Week 7   |                                   | professor to discuss your group   |
| March 11 | Midterm                           | assignment presentation strategy. |
| Week 8   |                                   |                                   |
| March 18 | No Class UMD Spring Break         |                                   |
| Week 9   |                                   |                                   |
| March 25 | Religion and Conflict             | Reading/ Case discussion          |
| Week 10  |                                   |                                   |
| April 1  | Religion and Conflict Resolution  | Reading/ Case discussion          |
| Week 11  |                                   |                                   |
| April 8  | Gender and Conflict               | Reading/ Case discussion          |
| Week 12  | Gender, Conflict and Conflict     |                                   |
| April 15 | Resolutions.                      | Reading/ Case discussion          |
| Week 13  |                                   |                                   |
| April 22 | Organization Group presentations  | Prepare group presentations       |
| Week 14  |                                   |                                   |
| April 29 |                                   | Group Presentations               |
| Week 15  |                                   |                                   |
| May 6    |                                   | Group Presentations               |
| Week 16  |                                   |                                   |
| May 13   | Finals week                       | Final paper due                   |

## **Reading list:**

Readings are grouped into Theory readings and Background readings/films for the cases we will be discussing. Both groups of materials are required and available on ELMS in a folder for the corresponding week or via a hyperlink that is provided in a footnote associated with the assignment. Some additional materials are *Recommended* for some weeks but not required.

### Week 1

## Theory:

Chandra, Kanchan. 2001. "Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics." *APSA-CP*, 12(1): 7-25.

Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. "Primordialism Lives." APSA-CP, 12(1): 20-22.

Jóhanna Kristín Birnir, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, James D Fearon, David D. Laitin, Ted R. Gurr, Dawn Brancati, Stephen Saideman, Amy Pate, Agatha Hultquist. 2015. Socially relevant ethnic groups, ethnic structure and AMAR. 2015. *Journal of Peace Research*. 52(1): 110-115.

Film: Let that be your last battlefield. Star Trek.<sup>1</sup>

## Week 2

# Theory:

James Fearon, David D. Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization*. 54(4):845-877.

Stuart Kaufman. 2001. "The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War" in *Modern Hatreds*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.

Irene Baque. Tue 3 Oct 2017. "I was Catalan, Spanish, European. But Mariano Rajoy has changed all that." The Guardian.<sup>2</sup>

Jóhanna Kristín Birnir. 2007. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. New York, London: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6-7.

Kaufman, Stuart. 2016. "Ethnicity as a generator of conflict." In Cordell, Karl and Stefan Wolff eds. *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict*, second edition. 2016. London: Routledge.

 $<sup>^{1}\</sup> https://www.amazon.com/Let-That-Your-Last-Battlefield/dp/B005HEG990/ref=sr_1_1?s=instant-insta$ 

video&ie=UTF8&qid=1485534132&sr=1-1&keywords=let+that+be+your+last+battlefield

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/oct/03/catalan-spanish-european-mariano-rajoy-memoriescivil-war?fbclid=IwAR0Qodr57MEoDp7S0EL4aNXKBcvWjtga-wcYwOjZEAoOx69bZFn2N-XKq5g#img-2

Forsberg, Erika, Jóhanna K Birnir, and Christian Davenport. 2016. State of the Field of Ethnic Politics and Conflict: Introduction. *Ethnopolitics*.

### Case: Gerkania

### Background:

Rogers Brubaker. May 18. 2017. "The Uproar Over 'Transracialism'. "The New York Times.<sup>3</sup>

Ruth Padawer. Nov. 19, 2018. "Sigrid Johnson Was Black. A DNA Test Said She Wasn't." The New York Times Magazine.<sup>4</sup>

Garcia-Navarro, Lulu. 2016. "For affirmative Action Brazil sets up Controversial Boards to determine Race." *Morning Edition. National Public Radio.*<sup>5</sup>

### Week 3

## Theory:

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall. 2016. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Fourth edition. United Kingdom: Polity Press. Chapters 1 and 4.

#### Case: Northern Ireland

Film: Wind that Shakes the Barley.<sup>6</sup>

## Background:

The IRA by BBC Worldwide Ltd., Films for the Humanities & Sciences (Firm). (UMD on demand)<sup>7</sup>

http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/

#### Recommended:

Alexievich, Svetlana. 2016. "On a strangers grief that god has deposited on your doorstep." In Second Hand Time. Random House.

tv&ie=UTF8&qid=1485534244&sr=1-1&keywords=the+wind+that+shakes+the+barley

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/18/opinion/the-uproar-over-

transracialism.html?fbclid=IwAR3JQMHuVXlAj5oD1MymSOuLI0DD0zEI47KwZaqsSnCYaiYNhQQPuE2Z-pU <sup>4</sup> https://nyti.ms/2zbQLFt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2016/09/29/495665329/for-affirmative-action-brazil-sets-up-controversial-boards-to-determine-race

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://www.amazon.com/Wind-That-Shakes-Barley/dp/B0019XIRIO/ref=sr\_1\_1?s=movies-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> http://fod.infobase.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/p\_ViewVideo.aspx?xtid=57571

### Week 4

### Theory:

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall. 2016. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Fourth edition. United Kingdom: Polity Press. Chapter 7.

Allan Edward Barsky. Conflict Resolution for the Helping Professions. New York and London. 2017. Oxford University Press. Chapters 4-6. Pp 157-228.

Case: Assigned

### Background:

Conflict Resolution Negotiations (especially Barsky)

### Week 5

### Theory:

Christian Davenport, Sarah Soule and David Armstrong. 2011. "Protesting While Black? The Differential Policing of American Activism, 1960 to 1990" *American Sociological Review* 76(1): 152-178.

Petersen, Nick, and Geoff Ward. 2015. "The transmission of historical racial violence: Lynching, civil rights–era terror, and contemporary interracial homicide." *Race and Justice*. 5(2): 114-143.

Lilla, Mark 2016. "The end of identity liberalism." New York Times.<sup>8</sup>

Birnir, Jóhanna K; Christian Dvenport; Erika Forsberg. 2016. Is Diversity inherently dangerous? *The Monkey Cage*<sup>9</sup>.

Case: United States

Film: I am not your Negro<sup>10</sup>

## Background:

Personal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> http://nyti.ms/2eNk4WE

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/12/16/is-diversity-inherently-dangerous/?utm\_term=.45d4c06ea74d

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Also recommended 500 Years later. https://www.amazon.com/500-Years-Later-Kolfi-Adu/dp/B00T7SW41Y/ref=sr\_1\_1?s=instant-video&ie=UTF8&qid=1485534301&sr=1-1&keywords=500+years+later

### Week 6

## Theory:

Fox, Jonathan. 2018. An introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and practice. London and New York: Routledge. Chapters 3 and 4 pp 32-58.

Lynch, Cecilia. 2014. "A Neo-Weberian Approach to Studying Religion and Violence." *Millennium*. 43(1): 273-290.

McCauley, John F. 2014. "The Political Mobilization of Ethnicity and Religion in Africa." *American Political Science Review*. 108(4): 801-816.

### Case: Indonesia

Film: The act of killing.<sup>11</sup>

## Background:

Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeddin. 2014. Conflict and Violence in Indonesia: A Background. In *Explaining Collective Violence in Contemporary Indonesia: From Conflict to Cooperation*. Australia: Palgrave McMillan. Chapter 1.

Timeline: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15114517

#### Week 7

Midterm

## Week 8

No class UMD spring break.

## Week 9

## Theory:

Basedau, Matthias; Birte Pfeiffer and Johannes Vüllers. 2014. "Bad Religion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 1-30.

Svensson, Isak. 2013. "One God, Many Wars: Religious dimensions of armed conflict in the Middle East and North Africa", *Civil Wars*. 15(4):411-430.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> https://www.amazon.com/Look-Silence-Adi-Rukun/dp/B018SYXIRQ/ref=sr\_1\_1?s=movies-tv&ie=UTF8&qid=1485533927&sr=1-1&keywords=the+look+of+silence

Fox, Jonathan. 2018. An introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and practice. London and New York: Routledge. Chapter 9. pp 109-126.

Birnir, Johanna K; Nil Satana; Katherine Sawyer nd. "Alternatives in Outbidding."

Case Pakistan.

Film: Among the Believers. 2015.<sup>12</sup>

## Background:

Dalrymple, William. 2015. "The great divide." The New Yorker.<sup>13</sup>

## Week 10

## Theory:

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall. 2016. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Fourth edition. United Kingdom: Polity Press. Chapter 15.

McCauley, John F. 2014. "Measuring and Reducing Religious Bias in Post-Conflict Zones: Evidence from Côte d'Ivoire." *Political Psychology*. 35(2): 267-289.

Isak Svensson, 2007. "Fighting with Faith: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars". *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51(6): 930-949.

Isak Svensson & Emily Harding. 2011. "How Holy Wars End: Exploring the Termination Patterns of Conflicts with Religious Dimensions in Asia." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 23:133-149.

Abu-Nimer. M. 2001. "Religious Leaders in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: From Violent Incitement to Nonviolence Resistance." *Peace and Change*, 36 (4): 556-580.

Cases: Myanmar and the US

Films: Iron Kingdom (2018)<sup>14</sup> and/or Myanmar: The Hidden Genocide<sup>15</sup>

## Background:

Various articles: https://www.nytimes.com/search?query=Rohingya

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4504626/?ref\_=amzn\_sr\_tt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/06/29/the-great-divide-books-dalrymple

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> https://topdocumentaryfilms.com/iron-kingdom/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dSkZlgk76-E&vl=en

## *Recommended film:* Children of Abraham (2004)<sup>16</sup>

## Week 11

## Theory:

Joshua S Goldstein. 2001 War and Gender. New York and London: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3 and 4. Pp.128-249.

Laura Sjoberg. 2010. "Women fighters and the beautiful soul narrative." International Review of the Red Cross, 92(877):53-68.

Gilsinan, Kathy. 2016. "The myth of female foreign policy". *The Atlantic.*<sup>17</sup>

Dara Kay Cohen. 2013. "Female combatants and the perpetration of violence: Wartime rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War. World Politics 65(3): 83-415.

Genderless in Japan<sup>18</sup>

Case: Israel-Palestine

Film: "To See If I'm Smiling: An IDF Feminine Perspective on Draft Service In "The Territories""<sup>19</sup>

# **Background:**

Shah, Anup. 2006. "The Middle East Conflict. A background." Global Issues.<sup>20</sup> See especially the list of additional resources at the end.

Recommended Film: Women in War: Makers: Women Who Make America (Volume 2) (UMD direct streaming)

Week 12<sup>2122</sup>

http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> https://topdocumentaryfilms.com/children-abraham/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/-foreign-policy-clinton-may-thatcher-womenleadership/497288/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> https://www.nytimes.com/video/world/asia/10000004852253/genderless-in-

japan.html?fbclid=IwAR2pyi59GC8pIcbnPCB96eF0yIVwWm5UON\_tN9YhV5c-VxMXNHI b173 zo https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JvjjozoAOyY

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> http://www.globalissues.org/article/119/the-middle-east-conflict-a-brief-background

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> See also Gender in Peacebuilding. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-2dd7SFdsjY : "Three women... share their experience in fostering peace and human rights in Uganda, the Philippines and Colombia...Series: "Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice Distinguished Lecture Series" [11/2006]."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For background on violence against women in various conflicts see: http://www.womenundersiegeproject.org/conflicts and

## Theory:

Jóhanna Kristín Birnir. And David Waguespack. Gender norms and violent behavior in a virtual world. N.d. ilcss working paper. Current version will be uploaded later in the semester.

Karim, S, and Beardsley, K. 2013. "Female Peacekeepers and Gender Balancing: Token Gestures or Informed Policymaking?." *International Interactions* 39(4): 461-488.

Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall. 2016. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Fourth edition. United Kingdom: Polity Press. Chapter 13.

Case: Liberia

Film: Pray the devil back to hell.<sup>23</sup>

### Background:

Liberia chronology<sup>24</sup> Liberia root causes of the war<sup>25</sup>

### Week 13

Preparation for group presentations.

Prof Birnir away at a conference - Classroom available for meetings.

#### Week 14

Group presentations of case and conflict resolution.

#### Week 15

Group presentations of case and conflict resolution.

Week 16

Final paper due.

http://www.genderandwar.com/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> https://www.amazon.com/Pray-Devil-Back-Leymah-Gbowee/dp/B01JK3I83S/ref=sr\_1\_1?s=instant-video&ie=UTF8&gid=1548368479&sr=1-1&keywords=pray+the+devil+back+to+hell

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/liberia/conflict-profile/conflict-timeline/

and https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13732188

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> http://www.peacebuildingdata.org/research/liberia/results/civil-war/root-causes-civil-war see also www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org various publications on Liberia including:

https://www.theadvocatesforhumanrights.org/uploads/chapter\_4-background\_on\_liberia\_and\_the\_conflict.pdf