

**Peacebuilding Theory and Organization**  
**SIS 619-016**  
**Spring 2018**

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How do societies in conflict or emerging from violent conflict achieve sustaining peace? What are the main theoretical approaches to transitions from war to peace? How do different international and local actors think about “peacebuilding” and organize themselves around that endeavor and related efforts like state-building and stabilization? Is there an appropriate marker for successful “peacebuilding”? What negative roles do external actors play?

This course addresses the theory and organization of building peace in war-torn societies. It is a gateway course for the “peacebuilding” concentration within IPCR, and thus covers many of the core readings on this topic in the field. Students will learn different conceptual approaches to peacebuilding and related concepts. The course takes a broad view of peacebuilding across the conflict spectrum, from efforts during armed conflicts (e.g., Syria, Israel/Palestine) and after “victorious” military interventions (e.g., Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Kosovo) to post-civil war negotiated peace processes (e.g., Liberia, Colombia, Burundi, El Salvador, Northern Ireland), and at the local level on conflicts without warfare (e.g., Guinea, Kenya, Honduras, everywhere).

Students will also learn how international society organizes itself around peacebuilding. The course is named “organization” rather than “organizations” because it examines the global organization of peacebuilding efforts and relative roles rather than examining specific institutions in detail (although a sound foundational understanding of the United Nations’ role should emerge). The course will not teach students how to plan, execute or evaluate peacebuilding projects. Instead it ties international relations theoretical frameworks and assumptions to efforts to foster peace before, during and after internal armed conflicts, addressing a range of political, military, economic and social challenges. The course ends by examining empirical cases of peacebuilding.

**COURSE OBJECTIVES.** By the end of this course, you should be able to

- Critically analyze the main theoretical approaches to peacebuilding.
- Articulate how peacebuilding relates to concepts such as state-building, stabilization, conflict prevention and crisis response.
- Articulate how core international actors organize themselves around efforts to secure and sustain peace within war-torn societies.
- Critically analyze empirical cases of peacebuilding

**Required Books:**

- Severine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2010).
- Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Little America: The War within the War for Afghanistan* (Knopf Doubleday 2012).

## **Course Requirements**

**10%. One Seven-minute Oral Presentation of a Week's Readings.** Prepare and present to class an oral presentation on that week's readings, in conjunction with another student. You will sign up to do this for two different weeks during the semester.

**Each presentation should address these questions:**

- #1. (Very brief): What (in one sentence, perhaps two) is the MAIN argument or point each author is trying to make? What is his or her ultimate agenda (to show X is wrong? To put forth a clear argument?)?
- #2. What is most persuasive in each piece and why? What is not? All readings make omissions, but is there something crucial these authors have missed? If more than one author, which is most persuasive?
- #3. What do these readings tell us about peacebuilding or statebuilding? How do they contribute (or not) to the big picture?

**Guidelines for the Oral Presentation:**

- The presentation should be 7 or fewer minutes long (I will cut you off).
- It must not be read word-for-word, but presented from notes.
- You may consider visual aids, such as a powerpoint presentation or a diagram. These should **aid**, not **impede**, your presentation.
- Since usually two students will present, try to work with the other student to ensure there is not considerable overlap.
- You will be graded on
  - Accuracy of rendering the readings
  - Persuasiveness (that these are interesting, important and relevant questions)
  - Dynamism & Connection with audience (eye contact, responsiveness to confusion, boredom)
  - Insightfulness of your points. Are these the MAIN contributions and weaknesses? What is the importance for our theory and practice of PB?
  - Clarity

**35%. Mid-term Exam.**

**45%. 20-page Paced Research Exercise / Paper.**

Students will write a 20-page, fully annotated research paper exploring themes and concepts addressed in the class. The research process will be a paced exercise, interactive with a small cohort of your classmates. The pacing is as follows:

Session 6: Selection of a topic after discussion with cohort. This topic must be posted to Blackboard 24 hours before Session 6.

Session 9: Draft of a complete outline and a complete introduction (framing the problem, indicating what evidence will be brought to bear, and putting forth a hypothesized argument) for discussion with a selected cohort of classmates. This introduction/outline must be posted to Blackboard by 5 pm three days before Session 9.

Session 11: Discussion of complete draft of your paper with your cohort. The draft must

be posted to Blackboard by 5 pm three full days before Session 11 of the course.

Session 14: Final Paper due Sunday midnight before Session 14, emailed to the instructor.

Some ideas for paper topics:

- 1) Compare the relative merits of conceptual approaches to peacebuilding (or state-building / stabilization) covered in class.
- 2) Explore what a successful peacebuilding approach would look like for a specific country or region.
- 3) Explore whether peacebuilding can be carried out in the context of ongoing warfare. Draw on specific cases and on the readings of the course and others.
- 4) Evaluate a case of failed or successful peacebuilding (not the DRC).

#### **10%                      Class Attendance and Participation.**

Attendance is mandatory, and class participation is important. If you wish assistance in enhancing your participation, please let me know. More than one absence or lack of participation in classroom discussions will be reflected in the grade. If you have a genuine emergency please let me know.

This participation grade will also reflect the degree and quality of your participation in class discussions. The grade will also reflect evidence that you have not completed the readings.

**Readings:** Do all of the assigned readings. Otherwise, it will be difficult for you to participate, and you won't get as much out of the discussion. Through Blackboard, the articles and some book chapters should be available electronically. Please read the articles in the order presented below, as I've arranged them with a certain logic in mind.

**Late Paper Policy:** Out of fairness to others, I do not accept late assignments without penalty except in cases of genuine emergency. Late preparatory assignments for the paced research paper will be marked down two-thirds letter grade (e.g., from a B+ to a B-) for each 24 hours they are late. The Final Paper will be marked down one-third letter grade for the first 24 hours late, and an additional one-third letter grade for each subsequent 24-hour period.

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#### **Session 1.                      Introduction to the Course and to One Another (Jan 17)**

Documentary: "No End in Sight" (on US post-war planning and administration in Iraq)

## **Session 2. What is Peacebuilding? Why is it important?**

- Boutros Boutros Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace*, 1992 (read parts on preventive diplo, peacemaking and peacekeeping and peacebuilding)
- Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. (2004), Chapter 2 "The Origins of PB".
- Charles T. Call, Article draft "A Genealogy of Peacebuilding" (30 pp).
- Executive Summary of the HIPPO Review, June 2015.
- Oliver P. Richmond, "A Genealogy of Peace and Conflict Theory," in his *Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding*, 2010, pp. 14-38.

## **Session 3. "Liberal" Peacebuilding (Jan. 31)**

- Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict*. (2004).
  - Chapter 9 "The Limits of Wilsonianism: Understanding the Dangers"
  - Chapter 10: "Toward more Effective Peacebuilding: Institutionalization before Liberalization"
- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 94, No. 4. (Dec., 2000), pp. 779-801.
- Advisory Group of Experts, "The Challenge of Sustaining Peace" UN Peacebuilding Review, Introduction and Context sections, pp. 11-24.
- Charles T. Call, Chapters 8 & 9 of *Why Peace Fails: The Causes and Prevention of Civil War Recurrence* (Georgetown Press, 2012).

## **Session 4. DRC and a Critique of UN "Peacebuilding Culture" (Feb. 7)**

- Severine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2010).

## **Session 5. State-building and its Critics**

- Roland Paris and Tim Sisk, Chapter 1 "Understanding Dilemmas of Postwar State-building," from *Dilemmas of State-building*. 2008.
- Stephen D. Krasner, "Shared Sovereignty," *International Security*. 2004.
- Pierre Englebert and Denis M. Tull. 2008. "Postconflict Resolution in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States." *International Security* 32 (4): 106-139.
- Jeremy Weinstein, Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective, Working Paper 57, April 2005, Center for Global Development [http://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/2731\\_file\\_WP57.pdf](http://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/2731_file_WP57.pdf)
- Jennings, Kathleen (2015). Life in a 'Peace-kept' City: Encounters with the Peacekeeping Economy. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*. 9(3): 296-315.

## **Session 6. El Salvador's Peace Process: A Success Story? (Feb 21)**

- Tommie Sue Montgomery, "Getting to Peace in El Salvador: The Roles of the UN Secretariat and ONUSAL," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 37, 4 (Winter), 1995, pp. 139-172.
- Irina Carlota Silber, "Mothers/Fighters/Citizens: Violence and Disillusionment in Post-War El Salvador," *Gender & History* 16, 3 (Nov) 2004: 561-587.

- Charles T. Call, “Democratization, State-building and the Rule of Law in El Salvador.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 2007.
- Ellen Modie, “Today They Rob You and They Kill You,” chapter in *El Salvador in the Aftermath of Peace: Crime, Uncertainty and the Transition to Democracy*, Univ of Penn Press, 2010.
- Ariane de Bremond, “The Politics of Peace and Resettlement through El Salvador’s Land Transfer Programme: Caught between the State and the Market,” *Third World Quarterly* 28 8 (2007), 1537-1556.

#### **Session 7. Critical Approaches: Civil Society, the Local and Hybridity**

- Roger MacGinty, “Gilding the Lily: International Support for Indigenous and Traditional Peacebuilding,” in Oliver Richmond, *Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding*, 2010, pp. 347-365.
- Christopher Zurcher, “The Liberal Peace: A Tough Sale?” in Campbell, Chandler and Sabaratnam, 2011, pp. 69-88.
- Thania Paffenholz, “Civil Society: Beyond the Liberal Peace and its Critique,” in Susanna Campbell, David Chandler, and Meera Sabaratnam, *A Liberal Peace?* pp. 138-155.
- Roland Paris, “Critiques of Liberal Peace,” in Campbell, Chandler and Sabaratnam, *A Liberal Peace?* (Zed, 2011), pp. 31-51.
- Beatrice Pouligny, “Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peace Building: Ambiguities of New Programs Aimed at Building ‘New Societies,’” Paper delivered at conference organized by the Graduate Institute of International Studies on Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: How to Gain Sustainable Peace? October 2004.

#### **Session 8. Take-Home Midterm and Use of Force/Stabilization. (Mar. 7)**

- John Karlsrud, “The UN at war: examining the consequences of peace-enforcement mandates for the UN peacekeeping operations in the CAR, the DRC and Mali,” *Third World Quarterly* 36, 1 (40-54), 2015.
- Cedric de Coning, “Is Stabilization the New Normal?” 2016 chapter from de Coning, forthcoming book on the use of force in peacekeeping.

#### **Session 9. Western Actors, Fragile States and Stabilization (Mar. 21)**

- U.S. Department of State, *Leading through Civilian Power: The First Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review*, Dec. 2010, Executive Summary (pp. i-xviii) AND Chap. 4, “Preventing and Responding to Crisis, Conflict and Instability,” pp 121-158.
- Michael Mazaar, “The Death of the Failed States Paradigm” *Foreign Affairs*.
- Charles T. Call, “The Lingering Problem of Fragile States” *Washington Quarterly*, Dec 2016.
- Stabilisation Unit (UK), *The U.K. Approach to Stabilisation*, 2014.

#### **Session 10. Global Southern Actors and Peacebuilding (Mar. 28)**

- Adriana Abdenur & Danilo De Souza (2014), “Rising Powers and The Security–Development Nexus: Brazil's Engagement with Guinea-Bissau,” *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 9:2, 1-16, DOI: [10.1080/15423166.2014.950118](https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2014.950118)

- Charles T. Call and Cedric de Coning, “Conclusions,” *Breaking the Mold?: Rising Powers and Peacebuilding*, accepted for publication by Palgrave/Macmillan 2017.
- Tim Murithi, “The African Union’s evolving role in peace operations: the African Union Mission in Burundi, the African Union Mission in Sudan and the African Union Mission in Somalia,” *African Security Review* 17, 1 (2008), 69-82.
- Choose from among Chapters on Turkey, Indonesia, or India from Call & de Coning, *Rising Powers and Peacebuilding*.

**Session 11. Non-governmental Approaches to Peacebuilding (Apr. 4)**  
**Professor away at Int’l Studies Assoc conference.**

- John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace in Divided Societies*, USIP Press, 1997, Chapter 4, pp. 37-61.
- Mahmood Monshipouri, “NGOs and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan,” *International Peacekeeping*, 10:1, 138-155 (2003).
- Susanna Campbell and Peter Uvin, “The Burundi Leadership Training Program,” in Lund and McDonald *Across the Lines of Conflict*, 2015, pp. 281-312.

**Session 12. DDR & SSR & Haiti (Apr. 11)**

- Stankovic, Tatjana and Stina Tejersen. “Fresh Insights on Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration.” NUPI Report, 2010.
- Johanna Mendelson-Forman, “Security Sector Reform in Haiti,” *International Peacekeeping* 13: 1 (2006): 14-27.
- Rob Muggah, “Revisiting Community Violence Reduction,” Paper prepared for the World Bank/UN report on Conflict Prevention, May 2017.
- Schubert, M. (2015a). A Transformation from Political to Criminal Violence? Politics, Organised Crime and the Shifting Functions of Haiti’s Urban Armed Groups. *Conflict, Security and Development*, 15(2), 169-196.
- Kimberly Theidon, “Transitional Subjects: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1: 1 (2007): 66-90.

**Session 13. Development and Peacebuilding (Apr. 18)**

- International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, “Fact Sheet on the New Deal,” 2014.
- Sarah Hearn, *Independent Review of the New Deal*, Center on International Cooperation, 2014, pp. 10-20 only.
- World Bank/UN, complete Companion Report, “Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict” (40 pp).
- Mary Anderson, Mary; Brown, Dayna; and Jean, Isabella. “Time to Listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid.” Cambridge, MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Project. ONLY PP. 1-64. Available online.

**Session 14. Case Study: Peacebuilding in Afghanistan (Apr. 25)**

- Rajiv Chandrasekaran, *Little America: The War within the War for Afghanistan* (Knopf Doubleday 2012. (whole book)

## SOURCES OF SUPPORT

If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don't hesitate to consult with me. In addition to the resources of the department, a wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements.

**Academic Support Center** (x3360, MGC 243) offers study skills workshops, individual instruction, tutor referrals, and services for students with learning disabilities. Writing support is available in the ASC Writing Lab or in the Writing Center, Battelle 228.

**Counseling Center** (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.

**Disability Support Services** (x3315, MGC 206) offers technical and practical support and assistance with accommodations for students with physical, medical, or psychological disabilities. If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me in a timely manner with a letter from the Academic Support Center or Disability Support Services so that we can make arrangements to address your needs.

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY CODE

All students must adhere to American University's Academic Integrity Code, which you can find at: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>.

Please take particular note of Section II.A, which lists violations adjudicated under the academic integrity code. They include:

- **plagiarism** (i.e., "the representation of someone else's words, ideas, or work as one's own without attribution...")
- inappropriate collaboration (i.e., "when work that the professor presumes is original to the student is in fact the product of collaboration so close that the originality is no longer individual to the student...")
- dishonesty in examinations (i.e., "the use of inappropriate or unauthorized materials, information, or study aids in a test. Unless the instructor directs otherwise, an examination is assumed to be solely a student's own work. No communication is allowed among students either through voice, written, electronic, or any other form of transmission, nor are students permitted to consult books, papers, study aids, or notes without explicit permission...")
- dishonesty in papers (i.e., "submitting material obtained from another person or company or purchased from either. All papers and materials submitted must be the student's original work unless the sources are cited.")
- **work done for one course and submitted to another** ("This category of violation covers the presentation of the same work in more than one course at any time during a student's academic career without prior consent from both instructor. When incorporating their own past research into current projects, students must cite previous work...")
- "bribes, favors, and threats ... with the purpose of affecting a grade or the evaluation of academic performance and other academic misconduct (which includes " any form of academic deceit has violated the intellectual enterprise of the university...").

## Course Content Advisory

At times we will discuss events that may be disturbing, even (re)traumatizing for some students. If you suspect that specific material is likely to be emotionally challenging for you, I am happy to discuss any concerns you may have before the subject comes up in class, or after class. You may also, if need be, step outside during a class discussion without academic penalty. You will still be responsible for material / discussion you miss, so make sure you get notes from another student or me as needed.

## **EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS**

In the event of a declared pandemic (influenza or other communicable disease), American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence due to illness. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site ([www.prepared.american.edu](http://www.prepared.american.edu)) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/ college-specific information.