



The Politics of Peacebuilding

EGOB-4808

2017-II

Profesora: Devin Finn – d.finn@uniandes.edu.co

Class schedule: Miércoles, 5:00 pm – 7:50 pm; Bloque LL, Room 201

Office hours: Jueves, 10 am-1 pm. Por favor pedir una cita por correo electrónico.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The course will explore the postconflict experiences of societies that have emerged or are emerging from internal armed conflicts. The objective of the course is to understand *the politics behind* Peacebuilding programs in different contexts, including countries in Southeast Asia, Latin America, Europe, and Africa – as distinct from the implementation of technical tools such as security sector reform; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration; and elections – that the discipline of Peacebuilding has focused on in both practical and theoretical spheres. With this focus on political processes and practices, the course serves as a complement to the institutional and technocratic approach.

The objective is to investigate and confront the problems of power and violence; the relationship between the “root causes” of conflicts and the postconflict political challenges; the domestic and international politics of Peacebuilding; and how these processes have unfolded in countries after war, with attention to the social and political context and the incentives of the actors. The course will explore the case of Colombia and the political dynamics of its Peacebuilding dynamics, including through a historical lens. Finally, the course will expose students to the experiences and insights of practitioners and researchers of Peacebuilding in at least ten different countries.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students will acquire and strengthen the ability to analyze theories and practices of peacebuilding. A focus on the experiences of societies emerging from war, atrocities, and

political violence will illustrate the dilemmas that governments, international organizations, and individual peacebuilders face in their efforts to address the causes and consequences of war.

The instructor seeks to cultivate student skills and knowledge that are directly relevant to their professional careers, whether in peacebuilding, government, academia, civil society, or another field. As a result, the readings and discussions will seek to develop a critical lens; to pose certain questions about peacebuilding programs and objectives; and to identify the barriers to efforts to achieve sustainable peace.

Students will deepen their research and writing skills, through the cumulative production of a comprehensive study of a country emerging from civil war and its efforts to build peace – and the politics involved in these processes. Through this project, students develop extensive expertise on a given civil war, country context, and peacebuilding efforts. Students will be able to draw on this in-depth knowledge in professional settings.

Students will also focus on their speaking skills in English, through oral presentations on their research papers and participation in class discussions.

To Build Peace

Political struggle – shaped by a country’s social and economic problems and its history of mobilization and violence – continues during and after civil wars. The course seeks to trace the imprints of violence, its effects, and the ways that the practices of violence have changed society, its networks, and its institutions. How states, individuals, and international organizations respond to the challenges posed by war affect political participation, the construction of institutions, and the meaning of citizenship once conflict ends.

Peacebuilding, in its domestic, international, and hybrid forms, seeks to develop programs, build states, and reconstruct a country’s physical infrastructure.

Can we conceive of a more political framework for Peacebuilding, one that acknowledges the structures and institutions of conflicted societies, but also takes seriously the political realities and context-specific logics of power that operate in post-war societies? If we do, how would it inform our ideas about negotiating and designing policies and programs to help create peace in violent societies? “One size fits all” peacebuilding programs, even those that acknowledge the importance of local cultures and histories, often fail in implementation because they confront political challenges and deeply-ingrained structural problems facing countries struggling to recover from war. Students in the course will interrogate patterns and debates in the field of Peacebuilding and analyze a case of their own choosing throughout the semester, bringing knowledge gleaned from the investigation of the case context to bear on the problems and controversies encountered in the course.

METHODS OF ASSESSMENT

Requirements

1. **Class participation and preparedness (20%)** – Engaged participation in every session is required. Exchanging knowledge, questions, and experiences in class is central to learning and success in the course. This includes interacting with guest speakers and engaging them by asking questions.
2. **Leading class discussion and synthesis of readings (20%)** – These two tasks complement one another. The first, leading class discussion, involves choosing one unit of the course and preparing discussion questions to guide the class session for the day. Students will sign up for a particular unit on the first day of class. The second task, carrying out a synthesis of readings, is required once per semester. Students will choose one unit – different from the unit for which they lead class discussion – and write a 2-3 page analysis and interpretation of the readings for that week.
3. **Comprehensive Research Paper (50%)** – Students conduct focused research on a single case of civil conflict, negotiations, and peacebuilding efforts. See breakdown of this assignment into 4 separate papers (below), written over the course of the semester. Each of the three papers in Parts I-III below counts for roughly 15% of the course grade.
4. **Presentation of Research Paper (10%)** – Students will present the findings of their research project during one of the final two class sessions.

ASSIGNMENTS*

Students will submit the following assignments during the course:

- 1) Proposal and outline for research paper: **due September 6**
- 2) Reading analysis paper (due in class on the date of unit/session that you choose)
- 3) Leading discussion for one class session (on the unit/session that you choose)

Either Assignment 2) or 3) should be submitted by October 4.

Comprehensive Research Paper:

- 4) **Part I** – Civil War, its Causes, and Violence: **due September 27 (15%)**
- 5) **Part II** – Efforts to negotiate and build peace: **due October 25 (15%)**
- 6) **Part III** – Analysis of Peacebuilding: **due November 25 (Parts 6 and 7 together worth 20%)**

7) **Final Integrated Report: due December 10**

***Optional: Electiva con Proyecto**

This course is categorized as “Electiva con Proyecto.” For students who would like to complete two “Electivas con Proyecto” as part of the “opción de grado” for the Masters in Public Policy (MPP) in the Escuela de Gobierno, they may do so, by taking advantage of the comprehensive research paper required in this course.

The requirements for an Electiva con Proyecto include: a written product examining a research question or problem; synthesis of existing literature and evidence; analysis of the project’s relevance and implications for public policies; and an oral or video presentation demonstrating the results of the project.

If you are planning to fulfill the requirements of the opción de grado through this course, please let the professor know immediately. Students should discuss with the professor the full requirements and how they plan to carry out the project.

CLASS ATTENDANCE

Attendance at all class sessions is expected of all students and will be taken in every class. Please be punctual.

Please inform the professor beforehand if you must miss a particular class meeting because of a religious holiday that forbids work, an illness, or family emergency. Please plan to submit a one-page review of the readings assigned for the day that you miss class, which will make up for missed participation and count toward your participation grade.

Missing more than 20% of classes will result in failure of the course.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

The Escuela de Gobierno Alberto Lleras Camargo fosters an atmosphere of intellectual curiosity and honesty and expects the highest standards of academic honesty from its students. This includes maintaining respect for your classmates and listening carefully to their opinions.

All the behaviors listed in Artículo 104 del Reglamento General de Estudiantes de Maestría are considered academic fraud. These violations include (but are not limited to) copying someone else’s work and presenting it as your own; committing plagiarism; failing to cite and provide credit to even one author whose work you draw on in your own written product; and attempting to deceive the professor any academic or university authority.

The use of cellular phones is prohibited during class, including calls, text messages, and internet browsing. Phones should be turned off and out of sight, so they do not disrupt the

class. The use of laptops is highly discouraged in class. Please take notes by hand. If you must use a computer, it is only to be used for taking notes.

EL CENTRO DE INGLÉS

Please use the resources that the Centro de Inglés offers to all students, including for writing in English. It is located in Edificio Santo Domingo, on the 3rd floor near the stairs.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

Students with disabilities who need disability-related accommodations are encouraged to make an appointment to see the professor as soon possible. Disabled students who need test or classroom accommodations should be registered with the Decanatura de Estudiantes.

All students can request that adjustments be made to the methodology, grading, and whatever other aspect of the course when their individual circumstances do not permit them to take full advantage of the course. Included in these circumstances are limitations on motor or sensory abilities and different learning disabilities.

UNIVERSITY REGULATIONS

Please find the regulations of the Universidad de los Andes below:

[Reglamento General de Estudiantes de Maestría](#)

[Reglamento General de Estudiantes de Pregrado](#)

THEMES AND READINGS

I. Introduction: What is Peacebuilding? [August 9]

Required Readings:

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, [Agenda for Peace](#), 1992.

Michael Barnett, Hunjoon Kim, Madalene O'Donnell, and Laura Sitea, "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?" *Global Governance* 13 (2007): 35-58.

Caroline Hughes, Joakim Öjendal, and Isabell Schierenbeck, "The struggle versus the song – the local turn in peacebuilding: an introduction," *Third World Quarterly* 36, no. 5 (2015): 817-824.

II. Civil wars, their “root causes” and the politics of violence [Aug. 16]

Frances Stewart, “Horizontal inequalities as a cause of conflict: a review of CRISE Findings,” World Development Report 2011, World Bank, 2010.

Stathis Kalyvas, “The Ontology of “Political Violence”: Action and Identity in Civil Wars,” *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 3 (2003): 475-494.

Sarah Parkinson, “Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War,” *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3 (2013): 418-432.

Michael Doyle, “The politics of global humanitarianism: The responsibility to protect before and after Libya,” *International Politics* 53, no. 1 (2016): 14-31.

III. Negotiating to End Civil Wars [Aug. 23]

I William Zartman, “The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments,” *Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1, no. 1 (2001): 8-18.

Marie-Jöelle Zahar, “Understanding the violence of insiders: Loyalty, custodians of peace, and the sustainability of conflict settlement,” in *Challenges to Peacebuilding: Managing Spoilers During Conflict Resolution*, eds. Edward Newman and Oliver P. Richmond (Tokyo: United Nations University Press), 2006: 40-58.

Teresa Whitfield, “The Role of the United Nations in El Salvador and Guatemala: A Preliminary Comparison,” in Cynthia Arnson, ed., *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), 1999: 257-296.

Elizabeth Cousens, “Building Peace in Bosnia,” *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies*, eds. Elizabeth Cousens and Chetan Kumar (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner), 2000: 113-152.

Guest speaker: Marc Chernick, Associate Professor, Georgetown University and Universidad de los Andes

IV. United Nations Peacebuilding: politics and security [Aug. 30]

Virginia Page Fortna, “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War,” *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 2 (2004): 269-292.

Theodora-Ismene Gizelis, "Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding," *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 4 (2009): 505-523.

Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, "Explaining sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping missions: The role of female peacekeepers and gender equality in contributing countries," *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no. 1 (2016): 100-115.

Rwanda: Michael Barnett, *Eyewitness to a Genocide: The United Nations and Rwanda* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), 2002:

- Read Introduction: "Depraved Indifference?," pgs. 1-21; Ch. 1, "It Was a Very Good Year," pgs. 22-48; and Ch. 4, "The Fog of Genocide," pgs. 97-129.

Guest Speaker: Dr. Anjali Dayal, Assistant Professor, Fordham University, New York City

Film screening: *Shake Hands with the Devil* (2005; 90 min.)

NOTE: Proposal and brief outline for Research Paper **DUE Wednesday, September 6**

V. Colombia's Experience with Building Peace: local mobilization, negotiations, and "political will" [Sept. 6]

Medófilo Medina, "Las Continuidades de la Guerra, Las Intermitencias de la Paz," in *Qué, cómo y cuándo negociar con las Farc*, eds. Alfredo Rangel, Yezid Arteta, Carlos Lozano, and Medófilo Medina (Bogotá: Intermedio Editores Ltda), 2008. [No page numbers]

Marc Chernick, "Negotiating Peace and Multiple Forms of Violence: The Protracted Search for a Settlement to the Armed Conflicts in Colombia," in *Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America*, ed. Cynthia Arnson (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press), 1999: 159-196.

Oliver Kaplan, "How Civilian Organizations Affect Civil War Violence," *Resisting War: How Communities Protect Themselves* (Cambridge University Press), 2017. (Chapters 3 and 5)

Guest Speaker: Dr. Oliver Kaplan, Assistant Professor, Josef Korbel School, University of Denver

VI. Peacebuilding and Development [Sept. 13]

Desha M. Girod, "Effective Foreign Aid Following Civil War: The Nonstrategic Desperation Hypothesis," *American Journal of Political Science* 56, no. 1 (2012): 188-201.

Philippe LeBillon, "Corrupting Peace? Peacebuilding and Post-conflict Corruption," *International Peacekeeping* 15, no. 3 (2008): 344-361.

Jonathan Goodhand, "Corrupting or Consolidating the Peace? The Drugs Economy and Post-conflict Peacebuilding in Afghanistan," *International Peacekeeping* 15, no. 3 (2008): 405-423.

Guest Speaker: Subindra Bogati, Nepal Peacebuilding Institute, Kathmandu, Nepal

VII. Social reintegration of combatants and communities [Sept. 20]

Elisabeth Jean Wood, "The social processes of civil war: The wartime transformation of social networks," *Annual Reviews of Political Science* 11 (2008): 539-561.

Oliver Kaplan and Enzo Nussio, "Explaining Recidivism of Ex-Combatants in Colombia," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1-30.

Kimberly Theidon, "Transitional Subjects: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia," *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1 (2007): 66-90.

Bill Rolston, "Demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants: The Irish case in international perspective," *Social & Legal Studies* 16, no. 2 (2007): 259-280.

Shiva K. Dhungana, "Security Sector Reform and Peacebuilding in Nepal: A Critical Reflection," *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 3, no. 2 (2012): 70-78.

Guest Speaker: Anil Raj, UNDP, on demobilization and security after wars

VIII. Institutional politics and electoral participation after war [Sept. 27]

Jennifer Raymond Dresden, "From combatants to candidates: Electoral competition and the legacy of armed conflict," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 34, no. 3 (2015): 240-263.

Charles T. Call, "Democratization, War, and State-Building: Constructing the Rule of Law in El Salvador," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35, no. 4 (2003): 827-862.

Michael Allison and Alberto Martín, "Unity and Disunity in the FMLN," *Latin American Politics and Society* 54, no. 4 (2012): 89-118.

Terence Lyons, "The Importance of Winning: Victorious Insurgent Groups and Authoritarian Politics," *Comparative Politics* 48, no. 2 (2016): 167-184.

Guest Speaker: Dr. Jennifer Raymond Dresden, Assistant Professor, Georgetown University

October 2-6: Week of individual work; no class October 4

IX. Justice and Peace: Investigations of Atrocities after War [Oct. 11]

Beatrice Pouligny, "Building Peace after Mass Crimes," *International Peacekeeping* 9, no. 2 (2002): 202-223.

Priscilla B. Hayner, "Fifteen Truth Commissions: 1974 to 1994," *Human Rights Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1994): 597-655.

Stef Vandeginste and Chandra Lekha Sriram, "Power Sharing and Transitional Justice: A Clash of Paradigms?" *Global Governance* 17, no. 4 (2011): 489-505.

Milli Lake, "Building the Rule of War: Postconflict Institutions and the Micro-Dynamics of Conflict in Eastern DR Congo," *International Organization* 71, no. 2 (2017): 281-315.

Guest Speaker: Masana Ndinga-Kanga, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Cape Town, South Africa

X. Making Peacebuilding Policies: Governance and Implementation [Oct. 18]

Severine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 2010: 84-125. (Chapter 3, “A Top-Down Solution”)

Jason Miklian, Kristoffer Lidén, and Ashild Kol, “The perils of “going local”: liberal peace-building agendas in Nepal,” *Conflict, Security and Development* 11, no. 3 (2011): 285-308.

Andries Odendaal, “The Political Legitimacy of National Peace Committees,” *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development* 7, no. 3 (2012): 40-53.

Astri Suhrke, “Restructuring the state: Federalist Dynamics in Nepal,” Christian Michelsen Institute (CMI) Report, April 2014.

Guest Speaker: Dr. Patrick Barron, The Asia Foundation, Bangkok, Thailand

XI. Natural resources and Peacebuilding [Oct. 25]

Michael Ross, “How Does Natural Resource Wealth Influence Civil Wars?” *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (2004): 35-67.

Angelika Rettberg and Juan Felipe Ortiz-Riomalo, “Conflicto dorado: Canales y mecanismos de la relación entre minería de oro, conflicto armado y criminalidad en Colombia,” Informe final del proyecto CESED, 2014.

William A. Byrd and Javed Noorani, “Industrial-Scale Looting of Afghanistan’s Mineral Resources,” United States Institute of Peace Special Report 404, June 2017.

XII. Peacebuilding and the Politics of Victims [Nov. 1]

Lisa J. Laplante and Kimberly Theidon, “Truth with Consequences: Justice and Reparations in Post-Truth Commission Peru,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 29 (2007): 228-250.

Diane M. Nelson, *Who Counts? The Mathematics of Life and Death After Genocide* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press), 2015: 63-92. (Chapter 2, “The Algebra of Genocide”)

Sari Kuovo and Dallas Mazoori, “Reconciliation, Justice, and Mobilization of War Victims in Afghanistan,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 5, no. 3 (2011): 492-503.

Enzo Nussio, Angelika Rettberg, and Juan E. Ugarriza, “Victims, Non-victims, and their Opinions on Transitional Justice: Findings from the Colombian Case,” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 9 (2015): 336-354.

Listen to some of the testimonies available online (in Spanish and English) through the efforts of La Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala (FAFG) and other forensic anthropology organizations to collect and record accounts of wartime violence directly from witnesses and victims: <https://sfi.usc.edu/collections/guatemalan>

Guest Speakers: Fiorella Vera-Adrianzen, University of New Mexico, and Catalina Vallejo, Universidad de los Andes

XIII. Peacemakers and Activists [Nov. 8]

Roberto Belloni, “Civil society in war-to-democracy transitions,” in *From War to Democracy*, eds. Timothy Sisk and Anna Jarstad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 182-210.

Wendy Pearlman, *We Crossed a Bridge and It Trembled: Voices from Syria* (New York: HarperCollins), 2017.

Béatrice Pouligny, “Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Ambiguities of International Programmes Aimed at Building 'New' Societies,” *Security Dialogue* 36, no. 4 (2005): 495-510.

Angelika Rettberg, “The Private Sector and Peace in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Colombia,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 39, no. 3 (2007): 463-494.

XIV. Oral presentations of research papers [Nov. 15]

XV. Oral presentations of research papers [Nov. 22]

Final class: Review, discussion, reflection, and evaluations