



**Graduate Seminar**

# **PEACE OPERATIONS AND POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION**

**API 6337A**

**Graduate School of Public and International Affairs**

**University of Ottawa**

**Fall 2011**

**Prof. Roland Paris**

**Office: Desmarais Building (Room 11-121), 55 Laurier Ave. E.**

**Office hours: By appointment**

**Email: [rparis@uottawa.ca](mailto:rparis@uottawa.ca)**

## **Course Description**

This course examines the theory and practice of peace-making, peacekeeping, and post-conflict reconstruction. Topics include the history and development of peace operations, strategies for conflict resolution, the role of NGOs in peacebuilding, post-conflict transitional justice, economic reconstruction, and the relationship between peacebuilding and counterinsurgency.

# Requirements

Quiz (Sept. 15)	10%
Commentary on WDR 2011 (Nov. 10)	10%
Research paper (Dec. 1)	30%
Final exam (date TBC)	30%
Class participation	20%

## Quiz

At the beginning of class on September 15, students will write a short quiz on that week's reading.

## Commentary on WDR 2011

Students will analyze the *World Development Report 2011* and submit a commentary on November 10. Detailed instructions will be provided in class.

## Research Paper

Students will research and write an essay on one aspect of post-conflict peacebuilding, comparing at least three recent missions. Detailed instructions will be provided in class. Date: December 1 by 4 p.m.

## Final Exam

The final exam, to be held in class, will cover the entire course (focusing on the weekly readings). Date: TBC.

## Class Participation

The participation grade will be based not only on students' involvement in seminar discussions but also on evidence that they have completed, and understood, the weekly readings.

## Books

The following texts have been ordered by the Agora Bookstore (145 Besserer St.):

1. Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, 2nd edition (Polity, 2010). Be sure to purchase the second edition.
2. *World Development Report 2011* (World Bank, 2011). This text is also available online, but it is a very long document and I recommend purchasing a bound copy.

## **Cheating and Plagiarism**

Academic fraud – including plagiarism, submitting work that was produced by someone else, or submitting the same work in more than one course – may result in a failing grade for a particular assignment, a failing grade for the course, and/or suspension for various lengths of time or permanent expulsion from the university. The onus is on each student to know and comply with the university's regulations on academic fraud.

## **Lateness Policy**

There will be a penalty for late submissions. Exceptions are made only for illness or other serious situations deemed as such by the professor. University regulations require all absences from exams and all late submissions due to illness to be supported by a medical certificate. The Faculty reserves the right to accept or reject the reason put forth if it is not medical. Reasons such as travel, work and errors made while reading the exam schedule are not usually accepted. In the event of an illness or related complications, only the counseling service and the campus clinic (located at 100 Marie-Curie) may issue valid certificates to justify a delay or absence. *Each day of late submission will result in a penalty of 5% (weekends included).* This also applies to assignments sent by email (in which case the time of receipt of the email by the recipient indicates the time of delivery). Please notify the professor as soon as possible if a religious holiday or event forces your absence during an evaluation.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### Sept. 8 Introduction to the Course

“Why the Dramatic Decline in Armed Conflict?” in *Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2005), pp. 147-158.

<http://www.hsrgroup.org/docs/Publications/HSR2005/2005HumanSecurityReport-Part5-DramaticDeclineArmedConflict.pdf>

Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk, “Managing Contradictions: The Inherent Dilemmas of Postwar Statebuilding,” International Peace Academy report (November 2007).

<http://aix1.uottawa.ca/~rparis/IPA.pdf>

### Sept. 15 Peace Operations: Past and Present

Bellamy and Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2010), pp. 13-298.

### Sept. 22 Negotiating Peace in Civil Wars

Visitor: [Peter Jones](#), Associate Professor, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa.

Jeffrey Pugh, “The Structure of Negotiation: Lessons from El Salvador for Contemporary Conflict Resolution,” *Negotiation Journal* 25:1 (January 2009), pp. 83-105.

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1571-9979.2008.00209.x/abstract>

Barbara F. Walter, “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement,” *International Organization* 51:3 (Summer 1997), pp. 335-364.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2703607>

Monica Duffy Toft, “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *International Security* 34:4 (Spring 2010), pp. 7-36

<http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/isec.2010.34.4.7>

Katia Papagianni, "Mediation, Political Engagement, and Peacebuilding," *Global Governance* 16:2 (April-June 2010), pp. 243-263.

<http://journals.riener.com/doi/abs/10.5555/ggov.2010.16.2.243>

## **Sept. 29 Partition and Power-Sharing as Peace-Making Strategies**

Chaim Kaufmann, "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Conflict," *International Security* 20:4 (Spring 1996), pp. 136-175.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539045>

Nicholas Sambanis and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, "What's in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?" *International Security* 34:2 (Fall 2009), pp. 82-118.

<http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/abs/10.1162/isec.2009.34.2.82>

Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management," *American Journal of Political Science* 47:2 (April 2003), pp. 318-332.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3186141>

Alan J. Kuperman, "Power-Sharing or Partition? History's Lessons for Keeping the Peace in Bosnia," in M. Innes, ed., *Bosnian Security After Dayton: New Perspectives* (Routledge, 2006).

[Instructor will provide an electronic copy of this reading.]

Andreas Mehler, "Peace and Power Sharing in Africa: A Not So Obvious Relationship," *African Affairs* 108:432 (July 2009), pp. 453-473.

<http://afraf.oxfordjournals.org/content/108/432/453.short>

## **Oct. 6 Post-Conflict Elections and Democracy**

Visitor: *Grant Kippen*, Co-founder and Principal of the Hillbrooke Group; former Chair of Afghanistan's Electoral Complaints Commission.

Larry Diamond, "Promoting Democracy in Post-Conflict and Failed States: Lessons and Challenges," *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 2:2 (2006), pp. 93-116.

<http://www.tfd.org.tw/docs/dj0202/05%20Larry%20Diamond.pdf>

Dawn Brancati and Jack L. Snyder, "Time to Kill: The Impact of Election Timing and Sequencing on Post-Conflict Stability," unpublished paper (February 6, 2011).

[http://brancati.wustl.edu/T2K\\_Feb62011.pdf](http://brancati.wustl.edu/T2K_Feb62011.pdf)

Benjamin Reilly, "Political Engineering and Party Politics in Conflict-Prone Societies," *Democratization* 13:5 (November 2006), pp. 811-827.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510340601010719>

Christoph Zürcher, "Building Democracy While Building Peace," *Journal of Democracy* 22:1 (January 2011), pp. 81-95.

[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v022/22.1.zurcher.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v022/22.1.zurcher.html)

## **Oct. 13 NGO Roles in Peacebuilding**

Visitor: Khalil Shariff, Chief Executive Officer of the Aga Khan Foundation Canada

World Bank, "Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Potential, Limitations and Critical Factors," World Bank Report No. 36554-GLB (December 2006).

[http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/3182370-1164110717447/Civil\\_Society\\_and\\_Peacebuilding.pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/244362-1164107274725/3182370-1164110717447/Civil_Society_and_Peacebuilding.pdf)

Béatrice Pouligny, "Civil Society and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Ambiguities of International Programmes Aimed at Building 'New' Societies," *Security Dialogue* 36:4 (December 2005), pp. 495-510.

<http://sdi.sagepub.com/content/36/4/495.short>

Julien Barbara, "Nation Building and the Role of the Private Sector as a Political Peace-builder," *Conflict, Security & Development* 6:4 (December 2006), pp. 581-594.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14678800601066595>

## **Oct. 20 "All Politics is Local"**

Séverine Autesserre, "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention," *International Organization* 63 (Spring 2009), pp. 249-80.

<http://www.columbia.edu/~sa435/IOSev.pdf>

Astri Suhrke, "The Case for a Light Footprint: The International Project in Afghanistan," 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Anthony Hyman Lecture, SOAS (March 17).

<http://www.soas.ac.uk/cccac/events/anthonyhyman/file58420.pdf>

Roger Mac Guinty, "Indigenous Peace-Making Versus the Liberal Peace," *Cooperation and Conflict* 43:2 (June 2008), pp. 139-163.

<http://cac.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/43/2/139>

Dorothea Hilhorst, Ian Christoplos and Gemma Van Der Harr, "Reconstruction 'From Below': A New Magic Bullet or Shooting from the Hip?" *Third World Quarterly* 31:7 (2010), pp. 1107-1124.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01436597.2010.532616>

## **Nov. 3 Transitional Justice after Conflicts**

Visitor: [Rachel Kerr](#), Research Associate, Centre for International Policy Studies, University of Ottawa.

Pablo de Greiff, "Transitional Justice, Security, and Development," background paper prepared for the *World Development Report 2011* (October 2010).

[http://wdr2011.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/WDR%20Background%20Paper\\_de%20Greiff\\_0.pdf](http://wdr2011.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/WDR%20Background%20Paper_de%20Greiff_0.pdf)

Janine Natalya Clark, "The Three Rs: Retributive Justice, Restorative Justice, and Reconciliation," *Contemporary Justice Review* 11:4 (December 2008), pp. 331-350.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10282580802482603>

Ellen Emilie Stensrud, "New Dilemmas in Transitional Justice: Lessons from the Mixed Courts in Sierra Leone and Cambodia," *Journal of Peace Research* 46:1 (January 2009), p. 5-15.

<http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/46/1/5.full.pdf>

Oskar N.T. Thoms, James Ron and Roland Paris, "State-Level Effects of Transitional Justice: What Do We Know?" *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 4:3 (November 2010), pp. 329-354.

<http://ijtj.oxfordjournals.org/content/4/3/329.abstract>

## **Nov. 10 "Securing Development" in Fragile States**

Visitor: Michael Koros, Team Leader and Senior Analyst, Policy Development Division, Canadian International Development Agency.

World Bank, *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and Development* (2011).

[http://wdr2011.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/WDR2011\\_Full\\_Text.pdf](http://wdr2011.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/WDR2011_Full_Text.pdf)

## Nov. 17 Challenges of Coordination

*Visitor:* Barbara Martin, *Director-General, Middle East and Maghreb Bureau, and former Director-General, Afghanistan Task Force, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.*

Stewart Patrick and Kaysie Brown, "Greater Than the Sum of Its Parts? Assessing 'Whole of Government' Approaches to Fragile States," Centre for Global Development Policy Brief (June 2007).

[http://www.cgdev.org/doc/weakstates/Fragile\\_States.pdf](http://www.cgdev.org/doc/weakstates/Fragile_States.pdf)

Roland Paris, "Understanding the 'Coordination Problem' in Postwar Statebuilding," in Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk, eds., *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace Operations* (Routledge, 2009).

[Instructor will provide an electronic copy of this reading.]

Alexandra Gheciu, "Divided Partners: The Challenges of NATO-NGO Cooperation in Peacebuilding Operations," *Global Governance* 17:1 (January-March 2011), pp. 95-113.

<http://journals.riener.com/doi/abs/10.5555/ggov.2011.17.1.95>

Carolyn McAskie, "2020 Vision: Visioning the Future of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture," Centre for International Policy Studies, University of Ottawa, and Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (2010).

<http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/cepi-cips/eng/documents/McAskie.pdf>

## Nov. 24 Peacebuilding and Counterinsurgency

*Visitor:* Major-General Jonathan Vance, *Director of Staff, Strategic Joint Staff, Canadian Forces; former Commander, Task Force Kandahar.*

Eliot Cohen, Conrad Crane, Jan Horvath and John Nagl, "Principles, Imperatives, and Paradoxes of Counterinsurgency," *Military Review* 86:2 (May-June 2006), pp. 49-53.

<http://smallwarsjournal.com/documents/milreviewmarch5.pdf>

Carl Forsberg, "Counterinsurgency in Kandahar: Evaluating the 2010 Hamkari Campaign," Institute for the Study of War Afghanistan Report #7 (December 15, 2010).

[http://www.understandingwar.org/files/Afghanistan%20Report%207\\_16Dec.pdf](http://www.understandingwar.org/files/Afghanistan%20Report%207_16Dec.pdf)



Karsten Friis, "Peacekeeping and Counter-insurgency: Two of a Kind?" *International Peacekeeping* 17:1 (February 2010), pp. 49-66.

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~db=all~content=a920494829>

David H. Ucko, "Peace-building after Afghanistan: Between Promise and Peril," *Contemporary Security Policy* 31:3 (December 2010), pp. 465-485.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13523260.2010.521697>

## **Dec. 1 Evaluating Outcomes**

Michael Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 94:4 (December 2000), pp. 779-802.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2586208>

Håvard Hegre, Lisa Hultman and Håvard Mokleiv Nygård, "Evaluating the Conflict-Reducing Effect of UN Peacekeeping Operations," paper presented to the SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference (September 2010).

[http://stockholm.sgir.eu/uploads/PKO\\_prediction\\_SGIR.pdf](http://stockholm.sgir.eu/uploads/PKO_prediction_SGIR.pdf)

Lisa Bornstein, "Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) in Community Development: A Case Study from Mozambique," *Evaluation* 16:2 April 2010), pp. 165-176.

<http://evi.sagepub.com/content/16/2/165.abstract>

Andrew Blum, "Improving Peacebuilding Evaluation: A Whole-of-Field Approach," United States Institute of Peace Special Report 280 (June 2011).

[http://www.usip.org/files/resources/Improving\\_Peacebuilding\\_Evaluation.pdf](http://www.usip.org/files/resources/Improving_Peacebuilding_Evaluation.pdf)

Roland Paris, "Saving Liberal Peacebuilding," *Review of International Studies* 36:2 (April 2010), pp. 337-365.

[http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract\\_S0260210510000057](http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0260210510000057)

The final exam will be held during the exam period.