

# CONFLICT 746 — PEACEBUILDING

## SPRING 2011

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Meeting Time: Monday, 4:30 PM –7:10 PM  
Classroom: Founders Hall 312  
Office hours: Monday 3:00–4:00 PM,  
by appointment, phone call, and walk-in

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### Questions and Goals

*“It is not enough to end the war; we must build the peace. It is not enough to reject the dark past; we must build a bright future.”* – William J. Clinton at Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 30, 1999

How can countries torn apart by direct and structural violence begin to build peace? And how can outsiders help such communities do so? In this course, we will grapple with these two critical questions for 14 weeks. And with good reason: the success (or lack thereof) of peacebuilding efforts in Liberia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, and elsewhere affects the lives of millions of people. Furthermore, these questions are at the core of ICAR’s mission, as well as your practice and research. Yet seeking to understand the process of peacebuilding confronts us with issues of bewildering complexity. How can ex-combatants, particularly child soldiers, be reintegrated into a society that may not trust them? Is democratization the right choice for all post-conflict countries? Does development and humanitarian aid truly assist post-conflict countries?

In particular, I believe we face three challenges in studying peacebuilding. First, we must merge theory, research, and practice. Success in peacebuilding demands that practitioners be informed by sound theory and research. Yet it also demands that theorists and researchers must respond to the realities on the grounds and the needs of practitioners and policymakers. Second, understanding peacebuilding requires the fusion of different academic disciplines. During this course, we will wrestle with questions from macroeconomics, political science, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. For practitioners, this means considering economic, political, and cultural questions and all their interconnections simultaneously, rather than as separate spheres. Finally, the breadth and length of the peacebuilding challenge forces us to think carefully about time and the sequencing of different goals. Should development aid be phased in slowly or quickly? Must we at times sacrifice long-term goals for short-term needs?

For the next 14 weeks, these are our challenges.

## Details: Requirements, Grading, Etc.

“The harder I work, the luckier I get.” – Samuel Goldwyn

“Outside of a dog, a book is a man’s best friend. Inside of a dog, it’s too dark to read.” – Groucho Marx

### Prerequisites

CONF 501 and/or 801. All others require my permission, which should be obtained immediately.

### Course Materials

Readings for the course come in two forms. First, the following books are required. They are available for purchase at the Arlington branch of the GMU Bookstore (first floor of Founders Hall) and via online booksellers. I unfortunately ordered from the GMU Bookstore very late, so I would strongly recommend buying the books from an online bookseller, if possible:

- Collier, Paul, et al. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington, DC: The World Bank Press and Oxford University Press. Also available online.
- Lederach, John Paul. 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.
- Jeong, Ho-Won. 2005. *Peacebuilding in Postconflict Societies*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Stedman, Stephen John, Donald Rotchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens, eds. 2002. *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Duffy Toft, Monica. 2009. *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil War* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jarstad, Anna K and Timothy D. Sisk. 2008. *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Roeder, Philip G. and Donald Rothchild, eds. 2005. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- del Castillo, Graciana. 2008. *Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Second, the majority of the journal articles for the course are available electronically via a Google Docs site, to which you will receive an invitation very soon. These are marked “Electronic” in the reading list.

## Expectations

This class is demanding and fast-paced. I would therefore like to define precisely what the class will ask of you. By enrolling in this course, you agree to the following:

- You will attend every class and arrive on time; there are only fourteen meetings, so missing one means missing a big chunk of material. You will turn off *all* electronic devices; laptops may be left on for note-taking, but the wireless device must be turned off. You will give class your full attention. I will take attendance in every class. You are allowed to miss only one class meeting, regardless of the reason. After that one class, you will lose a half grade off your final grade per class missed. There are no exceptions to this policy.
- You will complete all readings *before* the class in question. *Do not fall behind — it will prove very difficult to catch up.* Read carefully and, above all, *think!* Take notes in preparation for assignments and prepare questions and arguments you wish to discuss in class.
- I will expect you to participate in the intellectual life of our class. There are three ways you can do so:
  - *In class.* This is primarily a discussion course and will include little, if any, lecture from me apart from 15 minutes or so of introductory comments. I will lead discussion by asking questions, pushing you on your answers, encouraging particular students to speak, etc. However, most of the heavy lifting in class will come from you. So be prepared to discuss the issues at hand by reading carefully. Trust me when I say that I value quality over commentary, though, so don't feel a need to speak every possible second.
  - *In office hours.* I encourage you to come to office hours to review outstanding questions from class or readings, or get advice on your paper. I have found that office hours are best conducted with short appointments, rather than walk-ins. If you are planning on attending, e-mail me and I will make time for you.
  - *Online.* I encourage you to ask questions via e-mail and phone calls; I'll always do my best to answer. If properly written, such conversations can be as beneficial as those held in-person.

## Assignments and Grading

There will be three components to your grade in this course.

- **Participation.** As discussed above, participating in class is required and will be worth **20%** of your grade.
- **Short Response Papers.** You will write 3 short (about 2–3 pages) papers throughout the semester. Each paper will respond to a particular week's readings and hence must be turned in the day of that class (e.g., due on 2/21 if you wish to write refugees and IDPs). If you wish, you may turn in more than three papers and I will count only your best three. Each paper will be worth 10% of your grade. Together, they will constitute **30%** of your grade. More information on this assignment will follow.

- **Research Paper.** You will write a long paper (about 20 pages) that considers theories, research or interventions in light of a particular case of peacebuilding. During **Weeks 13 and 14 (April 25 and May 2)**, you will take about 15 minutes to present your paper and respond to questions from your classmates and me. The paper will be due on **Monday, May 9, 2010 by 5:00 PM**. More information will be forthcoming. Your presentation of your paper will be worth **15%** of your grade and the paper itself will be worth **35%** of your grade.

I know that many of you are concerned about your grades and I will do everything in my power to help you throughout the course. However, I do have high standards for you, a function of the respect I have for your ability and ambition. Due to that respect, I simply will not allow you to produce work that is below your potential. Therefore, do not expect a high grade for minimal effort. In general, these will be the standards for your written assignments:

- **A:** Excellent work that thinks precisely, creatively and clearly. The research, if necessary for the assignment, is appropriate to the ideas under examination, creative, and exhaustive in nature. The paper is ready to begin the process of being transformed into published research, a Masters thesis, or a doctoral dissertation.
- **A-:** Strong work that does everything an 'A' paper does but not quite as strongly. There are small gaps in the author's thinking and/or research. I would want the author to revise and resubmit the work before she committed to it for a published paper, doctoral dissertation ,or Masters thesis.
- **B+:** About average work for a graduate student. The paper contains some strong ideas or research, but suffers from at least one major problem that remains unresolved (e.g., only weak research, ideas not fully thought out, etc.). The work is still several revisions away from being considered as a published paper, doctoral dissertation, or Masters thesis.
- **B:** Work that only barely rises to the standards I set for a graduate student. There may be a core idea that deserves merit, but the author fails to consider that idea fully. There are extensive problems with both the ideas and research.
- **B- or lower:** Failing work. There is virtually nothing deserving about the analysis in the paper. The author fails to develop a central theme or line of research. There are such massive problems in ideas and research that the author cannot expect to pass this class.

I do not grant extensions on any assignments. Late assignments will earn a 0.

### The Writing Center

The Writing Center is a free writing resource that offers individual, group, and online tutoring. For general questions and comments, please e-mail [wcenter@gmu.edu](mailto:wcenter@gmu.edu) or call 703-993-4491.

### Honor Code and Plagiarism

All George Mason University students have agreed to abide by the letter and the spirit of the Honor Code. You can find a copy of the Honor Code at [academicintegrity.gmu.edu](http://academicintegrity.gmu.edu) and it is reproduced here:

To promote a stronger sense of mutual responsibility, respect, trust, and fairness among all members of the George Mason University community and with the desire for greater academic and personal achievement, we, the student members of the university community, have set forth this honor code. Student members of the George Mason University community pledge not to cheat, plagiarize, steal, or lie in matters related to academic work.

In this class, these requirements mainly pertain to your paper-writing. Plagiarism is the attempt, whether accidental or intentional, to present another's thoughts as your own. It includes but is not limited to the following acts: submitting a paper that someone else wrote; paraphrasing a sentence from another writer without proper citation; failing, even once, to place a quote in quotation marks; and so riddling your paper with long quotes of another's work that your paper functionally ceases to be "yours." Note that plagiarism need not be intentional; on the contrary, most cases are the result of carelessness.

All violations of the Honor Code will be reported to the Honor Committee for review. With specific regards to plagiarism, three fundamental and rather simple principles to follow at all times are that: (1) all work submitted be your own; (2) when using the work or ideas of others, including fellow students, give full credit through accurate citations; and (3) if you are uncertain about the ground rules on a particular assignment, ask for clarification. If you have questions about when the contributions of others to your work must be acknowledged and appropriate ways to cite those contributions, please contact me. The punishment for plagiarism ranges from automatic failure of this course to expulsion from the University, depending on the severity of the case.

In addition to the University's rules, ICAR requires that all written work submitted in partial fulfillment of course or degree requirements must be available in electronic form so that it can be compared with electronic databases, as well as submitted to commercial services to which the School subscribes. I may at any time submit a student's work without prior permission from the student. I may also require that written work be submitted in electronic as well as printed form. ICAR's policy on plagiarism is supplementary to the University's Honor Code; it is not intended to replace or substitute for it.

I will circulate materials about avoiding plagiarism, which we will discuss in class.

## Course Outline

*"It is a nuisance, but God has chosen to give the easy problems to the physicists . . . Man is capable of producing more complex behavior than he is capable of understanding."*

- Charles Lave and James G. March

*"Everything is connected to everything else."*

- General Anthony Zinni

After a short introduction to our subject area in Weeks 1 through 3, we will study four interconnected elements of the peacebuilding challenge over the intervening weeks: security, politics, economics, and reconciliation. We'll conclude by discussing your own research into cases of peacebuilding around the world.

1. (1/24) Introduction
2. (1/31) The Costs of War
3. (2/7) Defining the Challenge of Peacebuilding
4. (2/14) Security: Peacekeeping Forces and Security Sector Reform
5. (2/21) Security: Refugees and IDPs
6. (2/28) Security: Ex-Combatants
7. (3/7) Politics: Power-Sharing and Transitional Governments
8. (3/21) Politics: Democracy as a Tool for Peacebuilding
9. (3/28) Economics: Economic Challenges of Peacebuilding
10. (4/4) Economics: Evaluating Economic and Humanitarian Aid
11. (4/11) Reconciliation: An Overview
12. (4/18) Reconciliation: Justice and a Presentation on Darfur
13. (4/25) Reconsidering the Challenge of Peacebuilding: Roundtable I
14. (5/2) Reconsidering the Challenge of Peacebuilding: Roundtable II

Please note that we will not meet on 3/14, during George Mason's Spring Break.

## Detailed Course Schedule

### Week 1. January 24. Introduction

#### Required Readings:

- None

### Week 2. January 31. The Costs of War

#### Required Readings:

- Ramsbotham, Oliver, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall. 2005. *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Malden, MA: Polity Press. Chapters 8–10. For background only; we won't discuss this in class. I assume that you own or can easily gain access to this book.
- Collier, et al, pp. 11–49.
- Lederach, Chapters 1–2.

## Week 3. February 7. Defining the Challenge of Peacebuilding

### Required Readings:

- United States Institute of Peace. *Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press and the United States Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute. “Introduction,” “Strategic Framework for Stabilization and Reconstruction,” “Cross-Cutting Principles,” “High-Level Tradeoffs, Gaps and Challenges,” and “Fundamentals of a Comprehensive Approach” (pp. 10–42 as counted by your .pdf reader). Electronic.
- Walter, Barbara F. (1999), “Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace”, *International Security* 24 (1), 127-155. Electronic.
- Collier, et al, pp. 79–88.
- Roeder and Rothchild, Chapter 1.
- Jeong, Chapters 1, 2, and 7.
- Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. 1999. “Building Peace: Challenges and Strategies After Civil War.” Working Paper. Electronic.
- Bar-Tal, Daniel. 2000. “From Intractable Conflict through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis,” *Political Psychology* 21(2): 351–365. Electronic.
- Caprioli, Mary, Rebecca Nielsen, and Valerie M. Hudson. 2010. “Women and Post-Conflict Settings,” in *Peace and Conflict 2010*. Edited by . Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers. pp. 91–102. Electronic.

## Week 4. February 14. Security: Peacekeeping Forces and Security Sector Reform

### Required Readings:

- Jeong, Chapter 3.
- Jarstad and Sisk, Chapter 2, pp. 39–79
- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2008. *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents’ Choices after Civil War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 4, pp. 76–103. Electronic.
- Chapters from Duffy Toft. TBA.

## Week 5. February 21. Security: Refugees and IDPs

### Readings:

- UNHCR, 2010 Global Report on Refugees, IDPs, and Stateless Persons. Electronic.

- Salehyan, Idea and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2006. “Refugees and the Spread of Civil War.” *International Organization* 6-(2): 335–366. Electronic.
- Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, Chapter 10, pp. 273–302.
- Gururaja, Srilakshmi. ”Gender dimensions of displacement.” Electronic.
- Crisp, Jeffrey. 2001. “Mind the Gap! UNHCR, Humanitarian Assistance and the Development Process,” *International Migration Review* 35(1): 168–191. Electronic.
- Abild, Erik. 2009. “Creating humanitarian space: a case study of Somalia.” UNHCR Research Paper No. 184. Electronic.
- Hoenig, Wiebke. 2004. “Self-image and the well-being of refugees in Rhino Camp, Uganda.” UNHCR Research Paper No. 103. Electronic.

## Week 6. February 28. Security: Ex-Combatants

### Readings:

- Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, Chapter 6, pp. 141–182.
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2007), “Demobilization and Reintegration,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(4): 531-567. Electronic.
- Theidon, Kimberly. 2009. “Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatant,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 31(1): 1–34. Electronic.
- Blattman, Christopher and Jeannie Annan. 2008. “Child combatants in northern Uganda: Reintegration myths and realities,” in Robert Muggah, ed. *Security and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Dealing with Fighters in the Aftermath of War*, Routledge: 103–126. Electronic.
- Veale, Angela and Aki Stavrou. 2007. “Former Lord’s Resistance Army Child Soldier Abductees: Explorations of Identity in Reintegration and Reconciliation.” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 13(3): 273–292. Electronic.
- Synge, Richard. 1997. *Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action, 1992–1994*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press. Chapters 4 and 6, pp. 55–68 and 91–114. Also read for background. Electronic.

## Week 7. March 7. Politics: Power-Sharing and Transitional Governments

### Readings:

- Jeong, Chapter 4.
- Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, Chapter 3, pp. 71–88.



- Lake, David A. 2010. “Building Legitimate States after Civil Wars,” in *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States: Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders*, Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie eds. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. pp. 29–51. Electronic.
- Roeder and Rothchild, Chapters 2–5, 9, 12.

## **Week 8. March 21. Politics: Democracy as a Tool for Peacebuilding**

### **Readings:**

- Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, Chapter 8. pp. 215–236.
- Jarstad and Sisk, Chapters 1, 5–8, pp. 17–36, 134–238.
- Roeder and Rothchild, Chapter 7.
- López-Pintor, Rafael. 2005. “Postconflict Elections and Democratization: An Experience Review. USAID: Issue Paper, No. 8. Electronic.
- Synge, Richard. 1997. *Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action, 1992–1994*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press. Chapter 7, 115–144. Also read for background. Electronic.

## **Week 9. March 28. Economics: Economic Challenges of Peacebuilding**

### **Readings:**

- Review Collier, Paul, et al, pp. 11–49.
- Jeong, Chapter 5.
- Stedman, Rothchild, and. Cousens, Chapter 7. pp. 183–214.
- del Castillo, Graciana. Introduction, Chapters 1–4 (pp. 1–47).

## **Week 10. April 4. Economics: Evaluating Economic and Humanitarian Aid**

### **Readings:**

- del Castillo, Chapters 5–7, 9, (pp. 51–136, 166–190).
- Fearon, James D., Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2009. “Evaluating Community-Driven Reconstruction.” *Development Outreach: World Bank Institute* October 2009, pp. 50–52. Electronic.

## Week 11. April 11. Reconciliation I: An Overview

### Readings:

- All of Lederach.
- Jeong, Chapter 6, pp. 155–186.

## Week 12. April 18. Reconciliation II: Truth and Justice

### Readings:

- Review Bar-Tal article from Week 3
- Rotberg, Robert I. 2000. “Truth Commissions and the Provision of Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation.” In *Truth v. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, edited by Robert I Rotberg and Dennis Thompson. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp. 3–21. Electronic.
- Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, Chapter 12. pp. 327–352.
- Meernik, James, et al. 2010. “The Impact of Tribunals and Truth Commissions on Post-Conflict Peace Building,” in *Peace and Conflict 2010*. Edited by Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers. pp. 103–116. Electronic.
- Raper, Jessica. 2005. “The Gacaca Experiment: Rwanda’s Restorative Dispute Resolution Response to the 1994 Genocide.” *Pepperdine Dispute Resolution Law Journal* 5(1): 1–56. Electronic.
- Gibson, James L. 2004. “Does Truth Lead to Reconciliation? Testing the Causal Assumptions of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Process.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(2): 201–217. Electronic.
- Borer, Tristan Anne. 2003. “A Taxonomy of Victims and Perpetrators: Human Rights and Reconciliation in South Africa,” *Human Rights Quarterly*, 25(4): 1088–1116. Electronic.

## Week 13. April 25. Reconsidering the Challenges of Peacebuilding: Roundtable I

## Week 14. May 2. Reconsidering the Challenges of Peacebuilding: Roundtable II