

**Ph.D. Program in Political Science
The Graduate Center, The City University of New York**

P SC 86207 Peacebuilding
Seminar Topics and Reading List
Spring Semester 2018

Professor Susan L. Woodward
Graduate Center, Room 5200.02
Email: SWoodward@gc.cuny.edu

Tuesdays 4:15-6:15 p.m.
Seminar Room: 4422
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3-4 pm

This seminar is simultaneously one in international relations and in comparative politics. As an IR course, peacebuilding is primarily about intervention in the domestic affairs of countries, both in general and by specific international actors such as the UN, regional security organizations such as the African Union and NATO, and both bilateral and multilateral development donors and banks. Addressing the primary contemporary form of armed conflict (intrastate rather than interstate), the literature on mediation, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding is now quite extensive, both in academic and policy spheres. Because peacebuilding is about ending this violence, building peace (currently called “sustainable peace”), and either restoring or creating states within countries, the seminar is simultaneously a topic of comparative politics, especially its very long tradition on the relation between war and state formation and, more recently, on the causes and termination of civil wars. Critical to the entire literature is a focus on the state. The seminar will read into both sets of literatures, IR and comparative.

As a specialization, this seminar fits into the field called “peace studies,” which began immediately after World War I in response to what Peter Wallensteen calls historical traumas that challenged prevailing assumptions about violence and led to new research questions, new research, and new proposals for improving the conditions and prospects for peace. The current focus, reacting to the end of the Cold War but, in fact, the almost 50-year decline in interstate war and end to war among major powers, is on intrastate conflict and international intervention to end the violence and build peace. This entails negotiating ceasefires and peace agreements, helping to implement those agreements, and engaging in a range of activities aimed at creating a sustainable peace (peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace enforcement, peacebuilding, statebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction, stabilization operations, and so on).

I propose that this is a particularly interesting moment for us, as political scientists, to analyze peacebuilding and to make a contribution. First, the practice of peacebuilding is in turmoil, both at the UN and with Northern development donors, because of a decade and more of disappointing outcomes. The UN is in the process of defining a significant reform of peacekeeping and peacebuilding while donors such as the British aid agency, DFID, say they need a new “paradigm” for their work in these countries and would welcome our suggestions. Second, a consensus has emerged in the

policy world (policymakers and practitioners) to explain these poor outcomes that they have not taken into account the fact that peacebuilding is profoundly political. This is not a new idea, but it appears to have gained legitimacy and heightened awareness recently. As political scientists, we have a special opportunity to contribute to this discussion, by bringing analyses of domestic politics, power, and related literatures in comparative politics to analyses of peacebuilding interventions. Third, the concepts of strategic interaction, in comparative politics, and of two-level games, in international relations, both give us leverage on an essential aspect of this world that is little studied -- the interaction between international and domestic actors, such as in the domestication or not of international norms (e.g., human rights, transitional justice, responsibility to protect), the role of third parties in mediating and then implementing peace agreements, and local resistance against external imposition.

Learning Goals

I think of this course as simultaneously academic and practical, that is, I hope to introduce you to the literature on peacebuilding, in the widest possible sense, and also to engage you in the issues faced by policy makers and practitioners, not because you will become one, at least not right away, but because I think we need to understand their frameworks, decisions, and practices to analyze processes and outcomes.

Outcomes Assessment

Your final grade will be based on (1) active participation in weekly seminars on the readings; (2) your weekly written reflections on the readings; and (3) your final research paper. I try to balance among these, not deciding your grade by one, but I hope you know that your “grade” in this seminar, or any in the time you are in the program until you are working on your dissertation, is not very important except as information to you; what matters is what you learn and can demonstrate in the first exams and use for your dissertation proposal.

Writing Assignment Deadlines

1. Each week: identify in writing, preferably in one page or less (it can be two sentences, one for each) (1) the key argument/debate of the readings for that week and (2) an empirically researchable question that the issue you identify suggests.
2. March 6: In class, a one-page or less statement of your research topic and question.
3. May 22: Research Paper due 5:00 pm (can be sent to me electronically).

Grading: 50% Research Paper + 50% Seminar participation and weekly assignment.

Books you may wish to purchase:

Peter Uvin, *Life after Violence: A People's Story of Burundi* (Zed Books 2009).
Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Rienner 2002).

Most required readings will be available on Blackboard, organized by the week they are assigned, unless they are easily available through the GC Journals access at the library website. *Additional readings* are up to you to locate, but ask me if you can't find any (some are only unpublished papers that I have) (although I have placed a few in Blackboard because I had them; you can check there first). I also have a large archive of studies on particular countries, so feel free to ask me for ones if you know you are focusing on a country or set of countries.

In class, I will hand out a list of the books placed on Reserve.

NOTE: Some of you already know, but for those of you whose encounter with me is the first time, you will discover that I care a great deal about craftsmanship in writing, that is, correct punctuation and grammar and a minimum of typographical errors. It is your public face and a matter of courtesy to your reader, and it is better to begin now paying careful attention to the appearance of your work just as you would to your personal appearance, if you do not already do so; both leave lasting impressions, however unfair that may be. Most of this is a matter of habit, so you have to start, or continue, those habits. So, first, please, always proofread what you give me before you hand it in (we all make some mistakes, but the word processing programs we all use should save you from most mistakes), then also give your research paper a good read before you send it off. If you would like some guidance on punctuation and style, we use *The Chicago Manual of Style* in political science (though sometimes supplemented by the Harvard referencing system for references); it is online and searchable. I especially recommend that you obtain for your own library, the very handy, short reference manual, Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 8th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) [Turabian is long deceased, but it is regularly revised by the press and three authors]. It is \$18.00 in paperback or as an e-book; on Amazon, \$11.35 or less.

Seminar Schedule

1. January 30 Introduction

As I will discuss and explain in class, there is an ongoing discussion (it would be too glamorizing to call it a debate as I used to do) about how to characterize peacebuilding in general as an international activity. If you wish to read into that literature for your own edification, this list is representative. If any of this becomes relevant for your own research, please talk to me if you would like advice among these and about others I do not list here.

Astri Suhrke and Ingrid Samset (2007), "What's in a Figure? Estimating Recurrence of Civil War," *International Peacekeeping* 14:2 (April): 195-203.

Lise Morjé-Howard, *UN Peacekeeping in Civil Wars* (2008), ch. 1 and conclusion (pp. 1-20, 327-346).

Mats Berdal and Dominik Zaum, "Power after Peace," in Berdal and Zaum, eds., *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace* (Routledge 2013): 1-14.

Roger MacGinty, *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance: Hybrid Forms of Peace* (Palgrave Macmillan 2011).

Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict* (Cambridge 2004).

John Heathershaw review in *Peacebuilding*, 1:2 (2013), of Richmond, MacGinty, Chandler, and Pugh.

David Chandler, *Peacebuilding; The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1997-2017* (Springer 2017).

Peter Wallensteen, *Quality Peace: Peacebuilding, Victory, and World Order* (Oxford 2015).

Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, eds., *Peace Operations and Global Order* (originally a special issue of *International Peacekeeping*, Spring 2004).

Kristoffer Liden, Roger Mac Ginty, and Oliver P. Richmond, "Introduction: Beyond Northern Epistemologies of Peace: Peacebuilding Reconstructed?" *International Peacekeeping* 16:5 (November 2009): 587-598.

Jonathan Goodhand and Mark Sedra, "Rethinking liberal peacebuilding, statebuilding and transition in Afghanistan: an introduction," *Central Asian Survey* 32:3 (2013): 239-54.

Jonathan Goodhand and Oliver Walton, "The Limits of Liberal Peacebuilding? International Engagement in the Sri Lankan Peace Process," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 3: 3 (November 2009): 303-323.

Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6:3 (1969): 167-191.

Oliver P. Richmond and Jason Franks, *Liberal Peace Transitions: Between Statebuilding and Peacebuilding* (2009).

2. February 6 Initial Conditions

Susan L. Woodward, "Do the Root Causes of Civil War Matter? On Using Knowledge to Improve Peacebuilding Interventions," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 1: 2 (June 2007): 143-170.

Peter Uvin, *Life after Violence: A Peoples' Story of Burundi* (Zed Books 2009), chs. 3-5 (pp. 43-122); I highly recommend reading chs. 6 and 7 (123-170), too.

David Keen, "War and Peace: What's the Difference?" *International Peacekeeping* 7:4 (Winter 2000): 1-22.

Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization*, 51:3 (Summer 1997): 335-364 (but then read Stephen Stedman's discussion of this article for February 27).

Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Ending Revolutions and Building New Governments," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 49-73.

Roland Marchal on upward mobility of entrepreneurs in Somalia (I will tell you).

Mona Christopherson, "Development in Myanmar: Building Peace or Generating Conflict?" *IPI Global Observatory*, December 11, 2017.

(<https://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/12/development-myanmar-building-peace-or-generating-conflict/>)

Livelihoods, conflict and recovery: Findings from the Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium (June 2017): read the Executive Summary v-vii (you may wish to read the entire report, pp. 1-31).

Displacement (needs to be added; I don't have a reading for you).

Additional Readings:

Astri Suhrke and Mats Berdal, eds., *The Peace In Between: Post-war Violence and Peacebuilding* (Routledge 2012).

Christine Cheng, "Private and public interests: informal actors, informal influence, and economic order after war," in Berdal and Zaum, eds., *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace* (2013): 63-78.

Kai Erickson, *Everything in its Path: Destruction of Community in the Buffalo Creek Flood* (Simon and Schuster 1972).

3. February 13 Actors and their interaction: is peacebuilding an international activity, a local one, or an interaction between the two? And does it matter who the actors, both international and local, are?

Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective," Working Paper Number 57 (April 2005), Center for Global Development, Washington, DC, available at

<http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/2731/>

Terezinha da Silva, "Building Peace in Mozambique," ms.

Devon Curtis, "Introduction: The Contested Politics of Peacebuilding in Africa," in Devon Curtis and Gwinyayi A. Dzinesa, eds., *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa*: 1-28.

Yasmin Busran-Lao and Nawal Nassreena Sampaco, "Horizontal Peace Building in Mindanao: Perspectives from A Moro Woman," ms.

Anthony Goldstone, "Building a state and 'statebuilding,' East Timor and the UN, 1999-2012," in Mats Berdal and Dominik Zaum, eds., *Political Economy of Statebuilding*: 209-229.

Severine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (2014), chapter 3 ("Local Reactions"): 97-114.

Ole-Jacob Sending, "Why Peacebuilders Fail to Secure Ownership and be Sensitive to Context," *Security in Practice* 1 - 2009 [NUPI Working Paper 755] (Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, 2009). Available online at:

<http://english.nupi.no/Publications/Working-Papers/2009/Why-Peacebuilders-Fail-to-Secure-Ownership-and-be-Sensitive-to-Context>

Jarat Chopra, "The UN's Kingdom of East Timor," *Survival*, 42:3 (Autumn 2000): 27-39.

Jason Brownlee, "Can America Nation-Build? A Review Article," *World Politics* 59 (January 2007): 314-40.

Annika Björkdahl and Kristine Höglund, "Precarious Peacebuilding: Friction in Global-Local Encounters," *Peacebuilding*, 1:3: 289-299.

Andrew Gilbert, "The Limits of Foreign Authority: Publicity and the Political Logic of Ambivalence in Postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 59:2 (2017): 415-445.

James Mayall, "Introduction," in Mats Berdal and Spyros Economides, eds., *United Nations Interventionism: 1991-2004* (Cambridge UP 2007): 1-31.

Tanja Hohe, "The Clash of Paradigms: International Administration and Local Political Legitimacy in East Timor," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. 24: 3 (2002): 569-589.

Additional Readings:

General Assembly Resolution 70/262, "Review of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture" (27 April 2016) (on Blackboard for week 5).

Kathleen M. Jennings and Morten Boås, "Transactions and Interactions: Everyday Life in the Peacekeeping Economy," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 9:3 (2015): 281-295.

Beatrice Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen from Below: UN Missions and Local People* (2006).

Simon Chesterman, *You, The People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (2004), introduction and chs. 1-2, 8 (pp. 1-98, 236-56).

Mats Berdal and Hannah Davies, "The United Nations and international statebuilding after the Cold War," in Berdal and Zaum, eds., *Political Economy of Statebuilding: Power after Peace* (Routledge 2013): 111-139.

Othon Anastasakis, Richard Caplan, and Spyros Economides, "Regional Approaches to Statebuilding I: the European Union," in Berdal and Zaum, eds., 158-173.

Kwesi Aning and Naila Salihu, "Regional Approaches to Statebuilding II: the African Union and ECOWAS," in Berdal and Zaum, eds., 174-188.

John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (1999).

Charles T. Call and Cedric de Coning, *Rising Powers & Peacebuilding: Breaking the Mold?* (Palgrave Macmillan 2017).

Alix J. Boucher and Victoria K. Holt, *Targeting Spoilers: The Role of United Nations Panels of Experts* (Stimson Center Report No. 64, Future of Peace Operations, January, 2009).

Richard Caplan, *A New Trusteeship? The International Administration of War Torn Territories*, Adelphi Paper 41 (2002), International Institute for Strategic Studies, or: *International Governance of War-Torn Territories: Rule and Reconstruction* (2005).

Bruno Charbonneau, "The Imperial Legacy of International Peacebuilding: The Case of Francophone Africa," *Review of International Studies*, 40: 3 (2014): 607-30.

Luke Patey, Adam Day, and Sebastian von Einsiedel, "China, Japan, and the Future of Peacekeeping," *The Diplomat*, July 21, 2017.

****NO CLASS ON FEBRUARY 20 (GC classes are on a Monday schedule)**

4. February 27 "Settlements" and their conditions

Martii Ahtissari: “the purpose of a peace agreement is to stop the violence, thus, that the issues they fought over can be addressed; what is necessary for peace comes after; it is not mediators who should be praised [e.g., his Nobel Prize] but parties who have to make the hard decisions in order to get peace; it’s much harder than war”!

Stephen John Stedman, “Introduction,” to Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: the Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Rienner 2002): 1-38.

George Downs and Stephen John Stedman, “Evaluation Issues in Peace Implementation,” chapter 2 in Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: the Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Rienner 2002): 43-69.

Donald Rothchild, “Settlement Terms and Postagreement Stability,” in Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars: the Implementation of Peace Agreements* (Rienner 2002): 117-138.

Joakim Kreutz, “How and When Armed Conflicts End: Introducing the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset,” *Journal of Peace Research* 47:2 (2010): 243-250.

Madhav Joshi, Jason Michael Quinn, and Patrick M. Regan, “Annualized implementation data on comprehensive intrastate peace accords, 1989-2012,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 52:4 (2015): 551-562.

Roy Licklider, “The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993,” *The American Political Science Review*, 89:3 (September 1995): 681-690.

V. Page Fortna, “Where Have All the Victories Gone? War Outcomes in Historical Perspective,” working paper 2009.

Katia Papagianni, “Political Transitions after Peace Agreements: The Importance of Consultative and Inclusive Political Processes,” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 3: 1 (March 2009): 47-63.

Desiree Nilsson, *In the Shadow of Settlement: Multiple Rebel Groups and Precarious Peace*, Uppsala Universitet Report No 73, chapter 1.

I. William Zartman, “The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments,” in J. Darby and R. Mac Ginty, eds., *Contemporary Peacemaking* (2008): 22-35.

Marieke A. Kleiboer, “Review: Ripeness of Conflict: A Fruitful Notion?” *Journal of Peace Research* 31: 1 (February 1994): 109-116.

Stephen John Stedman, “Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes,” *International Security* 22 (Fall 1997): 5-53.

Chaim Kaufman, “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Conflict,” *International Security*, 20: 4 (Spring 1996): 136-175.

Nicholas Sambanis and J. Schulhofer-Wohl, “What’s in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?” *International Security*, 34: 2 (2009), 82-118.

Additional Readings:

V. Page Fortna, *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace* (Princeton UP 2004).

Virginia Page Fortna, “Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace,” *International Organization* 57:2 (2003): 337-372.

Marie-Joelle Zahar, "Reframing the Spoiler Debate in Peace Processes," in Darby and Mac Ginty, eds., *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Peace Processes and Post-War Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (2008): 159-177.

Mia Bloom and Roy Licklider, "What's All the Shouting About?" introduction to a special issue on Chaim Kaufmann thesis (population transfers as solution to ethnic civil wars), *Security Studies*, 13: 4 (Summer 2004): 219-229; read further if you wish.

Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, eds. (1999), *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World* (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace Press) [most chapters are specific case studies; very useful].

Hussein Agha and Ahmad Samih Khalidi, "The End of This Road: The Decline of the Palestinian National Movement," *New Yorker* daily, August 6, 2017.

Bruce D. Jones, *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure* (2001).

Peter Wallensteen and Mikael Ericksson, *Negotiating Peace: Lessons from Three Comprehensive Peace Agreements* (distributed by the Mediation Support Unit, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations and the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 2009).

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

Pierre du Toit, "Why Post-Settlement Settlements?" *Journal of Democracy* 14:3 (July 2003).

Interpeace (2009), *The Search for Peace: A History of Mediation in Somalia since 1988* (2009): 6-23 (if you wish more detail, also read pp. 24-69) (pdf available from me).

5. March 6 Implementation usually begins with fielding a peacekeeping operation

Christine Wade, *Captured Peace*, on El Salvador: "The implementation phase is where peace is won or lost."

Gert Rosenthal, "Assessing the Reform of the UN's Peacebuilding Architecture: Progress and Problems, Two Years On," Future United Nations Development System Briefing 47, June 2017.

Amitav Ghosh, "The Global Reservation: Notes toward an Ethnography of International Peacekeeping," *Cultural Anthropology*, 9:3 (August 1993): 412-422.

Richard Gowan, "The Security Council and Peacekeeping," ch. 36 in Sebastian von Einsiedel, David M. Malone, and Bruno Stagno Ugarte, eds., *The UN Security Council in the 21st Century* (2016): 749-770.

Sergio Vieira de Mello, "How not to run a country: Lessons for the UN from Kosovo and East Timor," nd.

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

Simon Chesterman, *You, The People: The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building* (2004), introduction and chs. 1-2 (pp. 1-98).

Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (2008): 1-8, 16-17, and 127-179.

William J. Durch and Madeline L. England, "The Purposes of Peace Operations," *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations* (2009): 9-21.

Alex de Waal, "Mission without End? Peacekeeping in the African Political Marketplace," *International Affairs* 85 (2009): 1, 99-113.

Additional Reading:

United Nations A/RES/70/262 (12 May 2016), Resolution Adopted by the General Assembly on 27 April 2016: "Review of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture.

Virginia Page Fortna, "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2004): 269-292.

Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, *Making War and Building Peace: United Nations Peace Operations* (2006): 6-23.

Severine Autesserre, *Peaceland: Conflict Resolution and the Everyday Politics of International Intervention* (2014). (This is a fun but infuriating read, at what she shows.)

Susan L. Woodward, "On War and Peace-Building: Unfinished Legacy of the 1990s," in Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, and Ashley Timmer, eds. *Understanding September 11* (2002): 212-237.

John Heathershaw, "Seeing like the International Community: How Peacebuilding Failed (and Survived) in Tajikistan," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 2:3 (November 2008): 329-352.

Beatrice Pouligny, *Peace Operations Seen from Below: UN Missions and Local People* (2006).

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peace-keeping. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992* (New York: United Nations).

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace: Position Paper of the Secretary-General on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the United Nations* UN Doc A/50/60-S/1995/1 (January 3, 1995).

Lakhdar Brahimi, *Report of the Panel of Experts on United Nations Peace Keeping Operations A/55/305-S/2000/809* (New York: United Nations, 2000) www.un.org/peace/reports/peace_operations/

Nora Bensahel, "Organising for Nation Building," *Survival* 49:2, 43-76.

6. March 13 First Steps: Security (DDR, SSR, armies, police, etc.)

Arne Strand, "to do disarmament and reintegration, one has to understand the patterns of mobilization originally" (based on his research in Afghanistan, but generally related).

Demobilized Soldiers Speak: Reintegration and Reconciliation in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Mozambique (Centro de Estudios Internacionales: Managua, Nicaragua, 1995).

David H. Bayley, "The Morphing of Peacekeeping: Competing Approaches to Public Safety," *International Peacekeeping* 18: 1 (February 2011): 52-63.

Joanna Spear, "Disarmament and Demobilization," in Stedman, Rothchild, Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars* (2002): 141-182.

Roy Licklider and Ronald B. Krebs, "United They Fall: Why the International Community Should Not Promote Military Integration after Civil War," *International Security*, 40:3 (Winter 2015-2016): 93-138.

Charles Call and William Stanley, "Civilian Security," in Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars* (2002): 303-325.

Corinna Hauswedell, "Small Arms, Bigger Issues: Lessons from the Case of Decommissioning Paramilitary Weapons in Northern Ireland," in Michael Brzoska and Axel Krohn, eds., *Overcoming Armed Violence in a Complex World: Essays in Honour of Herbert Wulf* (2009): 51-64.

Kees Kingma, "From Conversion to Peacebuilding: A Reassessment of Demobilization and Reintegration in Africa," in Michael Brzoska and Axel Krohn, eds., *Overcoming Armed Violence in a Complex World* (2009): 65-78.

Fen Osler Hampson and David Mendeloff, "Intervention and the Nation-Building Debate," in Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict management in a divided world* (2007), ch. 38 (pp. 1051-1072).

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Demobilization and Reintegration," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51: 4 (August 2007): 531-67.

Desmond Molloy (2008), "DDR: A Shifting Paradigm & the Scholar/Practitioner Gap," Pearson Peacekeeping Centre, Occasional Paper 1. Available at:

http://www.peaceoperations.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/OP1_Molloy2.pdf

Kathleen M. Jennings, "The Political Economy of DDR in Liberia: a gendered critique," *Conflict, Security and Development* 9: 4 (December 2009): 475-494.

Arne Strand, "Fighting for Peace? Former Combatants and the Afghan Peace Process," in Stephen Baranyi, ed., *The Paradoxes of Peacebuilding Post-9/11* (2008): 235-262.

Additional Reading:

Eboe Hutchful, "Security Sector Governance and Peacebuilding," in Curtis and Dzinesa, eds., *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa* (2012): 63-86.

Gwinyayi A. Dzinesa, "Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration in Southern Africa: Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique," in Curtis and Dzinesa, eds., *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa* (2012): 276-294.

Paul Omach, "The Limits of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration," in Curtis and Dzinesa, eds., *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa* (2012): 87-104.

Jesse S. G. Wozniak, "Iraq and the material basis of post-conflict police reconstruction," *Journal of Peace Research* 54:6 (2017): 806-818.

Matthew Hoddie and Caroline Hartzell, "Civil War Settlements and the Implementation of Military Power-Sharing Arrangements," *Journal of Peace Research* 40:3 (May 2003): 303-320.

Christopher Blattman and Jeannie Annan, "Can Employment Reduce Lawlessness and Rebellion? A Field Experiment with High Risk Men in a Fragile State," June 12, 2015, ms.

Roy Licklider, *New Armies from Old: Merging Competing Militaries after Civil Wars* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2014).

Astri Suhrke and Mats Berdal, eds., *The Peace In Between: Post-war Violence and Peacebuilding* (Routledge 2012).

Heiner Hänggi, "Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict Settings: Concepts, Policy and Practice," in Michael Brzoska and Axel Krohn, eds., *Overcoming Armed Violence in a Complex World* (2009): 119-142.

David Keen, "Peace as an Incentive for War," in Devon Curtis and Gwinyayi A. Dzinesa, eds., *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa*: 31-46.

Matthew Longo and Ellen Lust, "The Case for Peace Before Disarmament," *Survival*, 51:4 (August-September 2009): 127-148.

Susan L. Woodward, "In Whose Interest Is Security Sector Reform? Lessons from the Balkans," in Gavin Cawthra and Robin Luckham, eds., *Governing Insecurity: Democratic Control of Military and Security Establishments in Transitional Democracies* (London: ZED Books, 2003): 276-302.

Cornelius Friesendorf, "Paramilitarization and Security Sector Reform: The Afghan National Police," *International Peacekeeping*, 18: 1 (February 2011): 79-95.

Sean McFate, "I Built an African Army," *Foreign Policy* (January 7 2010).

Stephan Hensell, "Police Reform as a 'Solicitous Siege' – International Actors and Local Subversion in the Balkans," in Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, ed., *OSCE Yearbook 2009* (Baden-Baden, Nomos): 303-319.

Katherine Glassmyer and Nicholas Sambanis, "Rebel-Military Integration and Civil War Termination," *Journal of Peace Research* 45:3 (2008): 365-384.

United Nations DDR Resource Centre: www.unddr.org

New data set on police reform provisions in peace agreements (PRPA), 1975-2011: *Journal of Peace Research*, 53:4 (July 2016).

7. March 20 Restoring political authority and Statebuilding

return to Arthur Stinchcombe (1999), "Ending Revolutions and Building New Governments," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2 (1999): 49-73.

Ken Menkhaus, "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping," *International Security*, 31: 3 (Winter 2006/2007): 74-106.

Susan L. Woodward, *The Ideology of Failed States* (2017), chapters 4, 6, and 7 (and if you have time, also chapter 5): 52-69, 126-220, and possibly 70-125.

Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds., *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars* (2005): chapter 1, "Dilemmas of State-Building in Divided Societies": 1-25.

Devon Curtis, "The International Peacebuilding Paradox: Power Sharing and Post-conflict Governance in Burundi," *African Affairs*, 112/446: 72-91.

Stephen D. Krasner (2004), "Sharing Sovereignty: New Institutions for Collapsed and Failing States," *International Security*, 29: 2 (Fall 2004): 85-120.

Susan L. Woodward, "State-Building for Peace-building: What Theory and Whose Role?" in Richard Kozul-Wright and Piergiuseppe Fortunato, eds., *Securing Peace: State-Building and Economic Development in Post-Conflict Countries* (London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, in association with the United Nations: 2011): 87-112.

Donald Horowitz, 2000. "Constitutional Design: An Oxymoron?" in *Designing Democratic Institutions* (Nomos v. 42) 253-284 and *Democratic Culture*, vol. 3: 117-147.

Toby Dodge, "Intervention and dreams of exogenous statebuilding: the application of Liberal Peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq," *Review of International Studies*, 39 (2013): 1189-1212.

Deborah H. Isser, "Introduction," in Isser, ed., *Customary Justice and the Rule of Law in War-Torn Societies* (2011): 1-11.

Additional Readings:

Marc Lynch, "Our Men in Yemen," Dec. 6, 2017

(www.marclynch.com/2017/12/06/our-men-in-yemen/)

Fabio Sanchez and Maria del Mar Palau, "Conflict, Decentralisation and Local Governance in Colombia, 174-2004," *Documento CEDE 2006-20* (May 2006)

Chandra Lekha Sriram (2008), *Peace as Governance: Power-Sharing, Armed Groups and Contemporary Peace Negotiations* (2008), introduction, ch. 1, and conclusion (pp. 1-43, 181-192).

Timothy D. Sisk, *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts* (1996).

Denis Tull and Andreas Mehler, "The Hidden Costs of Power Sharing: Reproducing Insurgent Voices in Africa," *African Affairs*, 104: 416 (July 2005): 375-398.

Leonard Wantchekon, "Credible Power-Sharing Agreements," *Constitutional Political Economy*, 11: 4 (2000): 329-352

Michael Barnett and Christoph Zuercher, "The Peacebuilder's Contract: How External Statebuilding Reinforces Weak Statehood," in R. Paris and T. Sisk, eds., *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Post War Peace Operations* (2009), 23-51.

Anna K. Jarstad and Desiree Nilsson (2008), "From Words to Deeds: The Implementation of Power-Sharing Pacts in Peace Accords," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 25:3: 206-223.

Adis Merdzanovic, *Democracy by Decree: Prospects and Limits of Imposed Consociational Democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Ibidem 2015).

Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (2004).

Caroline A. Hartzell, and Matthew Hoddie, *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars* (2007).

Astri Suhrke, "Upside-down state-building: The contradictions of the international project in Afghanistan," in Whit Mason and Martin Krygier, eds. (2011).

James Dobbins, et al., *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* (RAND 2007): xvii-xxxviii.

Susan L. Woodward, "Varieties of State-Building in the Balkans: A Case for Shifting Focus," in Beatrix Austin, Martina Fischer, and Hans J. Giessmann, eds., *Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II* (2011).

Charles T. Call, ed., *Building States to Build Peace* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner 2008).

8. March 27 Economic Policies/Post-Conflict Reconstruction/Livelihoods

Sumie Nakaya: “exclusionary and inegalitarian policies that cause civil wars tend to be reinforced by the policies of external actors (especially aid and development) after the war, ostensibly as donor approaches to local ownership, but, in fact, only making things worse (preserving or reinforcing wartime patterns of exclusion in the distribution and redistribution of resources and leading to violence after the war).”

Alvaro de Soto and Graciana del Castillo, “Obstacles to Peacebuilding,” *Foreign Policy* 94 (September 1994): 69-83.

Renata Dwan and Laura Bailey, 2006. “Liberia’s Governance and Economic Management Assistance Programme (GEMAP) (United Nations Peacekeeping Best Practices and World Bank, Fragile States Group: LICUS Initiative, May).

Arnim Langer, Frances Stewart, and Rajesh Venugopal, eds., *Horizontal Inequalities and Post-Conflict Development: Laying the Foundations for Durable Peace* (Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2012), chapter 1 (introduction): 1-25.

Then, choose country studies of interest to you (Rwanda, Burundi, Bosnia-Herzegovina [by me], Guatemala, Peru, Afghanistan, and Nepal) plus topical chapters, especially those on privatization (with illustration from Sri Lanka, Mozambique, Cambodia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina), employment (with illustration from Sierra Leone, Uganda, Kosovo, Nepal and Bosnia-Herzegovina), and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (with illustration from Haiti, Liberia and Nepal).

Mark Peceny and William Stanley, “Liberal Social Reconstruction and the Resolution of Civil Wars in Central America.” *International Organization* 55:1 (2001): 149-182.

Susan L. Woodward, 2012. “The IFIs and Post-Conflict Political Economy,” in Berdal and Zaum, eds., *The Political Economy of Post-conflict Statebuilding*: 140-157.

Inger Osterdahl and Esther van Zadel, “What Will *Jus Post Bellum* Mean? Of New Wine and Old Bottles,” *Journal of Conflict and Security Law* 14:2 (July 2009), 175-207.

Additional Readings:

Peter Uvin, “The Development/Peacebuilding Nexus: A Typology and History of Changing Paradigms,” *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 1:1 (2002): 5-24.

Kristen E. Boon, “ ‘Open for Business’: International Financial Institutions, Post-Conflict Economic Reform, and the Rule of Law,” *International Law and Politics*, 39 (2007): 513-581.

Graciana del Castillo, *Rebuilding War-Torn States: The Challenge of Post-Conflict Economic Reconstruction* (2008); read the entire book for information on her recommended economic policies for peacebuilding plus country studies of El Salvador, Kosovo, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

James Fearon, Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2009), “Development Assistance, Institution Building, and Social Cohesion after Civil War: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Liberia,” *Center for Global Development Working Paper* 194 (December). Available at:

www.cgdev.org/files/1423322_file_Weinstein_CGD_WP.pdf

Susan L. Woodward, "Economic Priorities for Successful Peace Implementation," in Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars* (2002): 183-214.

Susan L. Woodward, "Soft Intervention and the Puzzling Neglect of Economic Actors," in Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A. Hartzell, eds., *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States; Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders* (2010): 189-218.

Astri Suhrke and Julia Buckmaster, "Post-War Aid: Patterns and Purposes," *Development in Practice*, 15: 6 (November 2005): 737-746.

National Academy of Public Administration (2006), "Why Foreign Aid to Haiti Failed," (February 2006), Academy International Affairs Working Paper Series.

Available online at: www.napawash.org

Jonathan Goodhand and Mark Sedra, "Who owns the peace? Aid, reconstruction, and peacebuilding in Afghanistan," *Disasters* 34: Issue Supplement s1 (January 2010): S78-S102.

Tanja Hohe, "Developing Local Governance," in Gerd Junne and Willemijn Verkoren, eds., *Postconflict Development: Meeting New Challenges* (2005): 59-72

Ben Moxham, *State-Making and the Post-Conflict City: Integration in Dili, Disintegration in Timor-Leste*, Cities and Fragile States Series, Crisis States Research Centre, DESTIN/LSE, Working Papers Series No. 2, WP 32 (February 2008). Available online at:

<http://www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/Publications/phase2papers.aspx>

Thomas Edward Flores and Irfan Nooruddin, "Democracy under the Gun: Understanding Postconflict Recovery," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53:1 (2009), 3-29.

Thomas E. Flores and Irfan Nooruddin, "Financing the Peace: Evaluating World Bank Post-conflict Assistance Programs," *Review of International Organizations* 4:1 (2009), 1-27.

James K. Boyce and Shepard Forman, "Financing Peace: International and National Resources for Postconflict Countries and Fragile States," Background Paper for WDR 2011 (2010) (available online).

James K. Boyce and Madalene O'Donnell, eds., *Peace and the Public Purse: Economic Policies for Postwar Statebuilding* (2007), including case study chapters on Uganda, Cambodia, Guatemala, Timor L'este, Afghanistan, and post-Oslo Palestine and an important chapter calling for a new approach on post-war debts by Patricia Alvarez-Plata and Tilman Brück.

Secure Livelihoods Research Consortium, Overseas Development Institute (ODI): <http://www.securelivelihoods.org/our-findings>

Households in Conflict Network (www.hicn.org) (look into it for your own interests; very careful empirical research)

**** Spring Recess, March 28 – April 8**

9. April 10 Nation-Building; Dialogue; Reconciliation; Refugee and IDP Return

Jayadeva Uyangoda, "Sri Lanka: Continuing Dilemmas of Peace Building and Reconciliation," September 13, 2017 keynote at ICES conference, Colombo, on "Memory, Justice and Reconciliation."

Howard Adelman, "Refugee Repatriation," in Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars* (2002): 273-302.

Bauer, et al., "Can War Foster Cooperation?" NBER Working Paper 22312, June 2016. (<http://www.nber.org/papers/w22312>).

Naomi Levy, "International Peacebuilding and the Politics of Identity: Lessons from Social Psychology using the Bosnian Case," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 8:1 (2014): 68-90.

Roland Kostic, "Nation-building as an instrument of peace: Exploring local attitudes towards international nation-building and reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina," *Civil Wars* 10:4 (2008): 386-414.

Susan L. Woodward, "Can We Measure Legitimacy?" *Suedosteuropa* 60 (2012), H.4, S. 472-484.

Additional Reading:

Pui-Hang Wong, "How can political trust be built after civil war?" *Journal of Peace Research* 53:6 (2016).

Susan Thomson, "Whispering Truth to Power: The Everyday Resistance of Rwandan Peasants to Post-Genocide Reconciliation," *African Affairs* (June 2011): 1-18.

10. April 17 Transitional Justice

Bronwyn Leebaw, "The Irreconcilable Goals of Transitional Justice," *Human Rights Quarterly* (February 2008): 95-118.

Jack Snyder and Leslie Vinjamuri, "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice," *International Security* 28: 3 (Winter-Spring 2003-2004): 5-44.

Ann Nee and Peter Uvin, "Justice, silence, and social capital," ch. 7 of Uvin, *Life After Violence*: 145-170.

Erica Caple James, "Ruptures, rights, and repair: The political economy of trauma in Haiti," *Social Science & Medicine* 70 (2010): 106-113.

Chandra Lekha Sriram, "Beyond Transitional Justice: Peace, Governance, and Rule of Law," *International Studies Review*, 0 (2017): 1-17.

Mahmoud Mamdani, (1) "Beyond Nuremberg: The Historical Significance of the Post-Apartheid Transition in South Africa," (working paper 2011); (2) "The Logic of Nuremberg," debate in *London Review of Books*, 19 December 2013, with R.W. Johnson; and (3) "Responsibility to Protect or Right to Punish?" *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 4:1 (March 2010).

Sarah Nouwen, "The International Criminal Court: A Peacebuilder in Africa?" in Curtis and Dzinesa, eds., *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa* (2012): 171-192.

Christine Wade, *Captured Peace: Elites and Peacebuilding in El Salvador*, Introduction (1-14).

Additional Reading:

Martina Fischer and Ljubinka Petrovic-Ziemer, eds., *Dealing with the Past in the Western Balkans: Initiatives for Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia*, Berghof Report No. 18, Berghof Foundation, 2013.

- Ruti G. Teitel, *Transitional Justice* (2000).
- Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness* (1998).
- Chandra Lekha Sriram, "Justice as peace? Liberal peacebuilding and strategies of transitional justice," *Global Society: Journal of Interdisciplinary International Relations*, 21: 4 (October 2007): 579-91.
- Bronwyn Leebaw, "The Politics of Impartial Activism: Humanitarianism and Human Rights," *Perspectives on Politics* 5:2 (June 2007): 223-239.
- Journal of Intervention and State-building*, special issue "Mapping the Nexus between Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding," 10:3 (2016).
- Kora Andrieu (2009), "'Sorry for the Genocide': How Public Apologies Can Help Promote Reconciliation," *Millennium* 38:1.
- Carsten Stahn and Jann K. Kleffner, eds., *Jus Post Bellum: Towards a Law of Transition from Conflict to Peace* (2011).
- John Paul Lederach, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (2005).
- Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Walk with Us and Listen: Political Reconciliation in Africa* (2009): 1-16, 129-182.
- David Kennedy, *Of War and Law* (2006).
- Victor Peskin, "Courting Rwanda: The Promise and Pitfalls of the ICTR Outreach Programme," *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 3 (2005): 950-961.

11. April 24 Democratization; Elections (and political parties from militia)

- Peter Burnell, "The Coherence of Democratic Peacebuilding," in Tony Addison and Tilman Brück, eds., *Making Peace Work: The Challenges of Social and Economic Reconstruction* (2009): 51-74.
- Carrie Manning, *The Making of Democrats: Elections and Party Development in Postwar Bosnia, El Salvador, and Mozambique* (2008), at least chs. 1-2 (1-42).
- Alberto Martin Alvarez, "From Revolutionary War to Democratic Revolution: The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador," *Berghof Conflict Research* 9 (2010): 23-26.
- Leonard Wantchekon, "The Paradox of 'Warlord' Democracy: A Theoretical Investigation," *American Political Science Review*, 98 (February 2004): 17-33.
- Page Fortna and Reyko Huang, "Democratization after Civil War," November 2009 version, unpub. paper.
- Anna Jarstad and Tim Sisk, eds., *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding* (2008): introduction (Jarstad) and chapters 1-2 (Jarstad and Sisk and Fortna (pp. 1-79).
- Christopher Blattman, "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda," *American Political Science Review*, 103: 2 (May 2009): 231
- Marina Ottaway, "Promoting Democracy after Conflict: The Difficult Choices," *International Studies Perspectives* 4: 314-322.
- Terrence Lyons, "The Role of Postsettlement Elections," ch. 8 in Stedman, et al., eds., *Ending Civil Wars*: 215-235.
- Benjamin Reilly, 2013. "Elections and post-conflict political development," in Berdal and Zaum, eds., *Political Economy of Statebuilding*: 33-47.

Shaheen Mozaffar, 2010. "Electoral Rules and Post-Civil War Conflict Management: The Limitations of Institutional Design," in Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A. Hartzell, eds., *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States; Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders* (2010): 79-104.

Dawn Brancati and Jack L. Snyder, "Rushing to the Polls: The Causes of Premature Post-conflict Elections," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55: 3 (2011): 469-92.

Additional Readings:

Jeroen de Zeeuw, ed., *From Soldiers to Politicians. Transforming Rebel Movements after Civil War* (Rienner 2008) [case studies: FMLN (El Salvador), RENAMO (Mozambique), RUF (Sierra Leone), CNDD-FDD (Burundi), Hamas (Palestine), SPLM/A (Sudan), various warlord militias in Afghanistan, and the LTTE (Sri Lanka)]

Jeroen De Zeeuw, "Projects Do Not Create Institutions: The Record of Democracy Assistance in Post-Conflict Societies," *Democratization* 12: 4 (2005): 481-504.

Christoph Zurcher, Carrie Manning, Kristie D. Evenson, Rachel Hayman, Sarah Riese, and Nora Roehner, eds., *Costly Democracy: Peacebuilding and Democratization after War* (2013).

Karin von Hippel, *Democracy by Force: US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World* (2000).

Leonard Wantchekon, "A Theory of Post-Civil War Democratization" (with Zvika Neeman), *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 4:14 (2002).

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs (2006), "Intervention and Democracy," *International Organization* 60 (Summer): 627-649.

Carrie Manning, "Party-building on the Heels of War: El Salvador, Bosnia, Kosovo and Mozambique," *Democratization* 14:2 (April 2007): 253-272.

Terrence Lyons, *Demilitarizing Politics: Elections on the Uncertain Road to Peace* (2005).

12. May 1 Role of women: a discussion

Kathleen Jennings, "The political economy of DDR in Liberia: A gendered critique," working paper or *Conflict, Security, and Development* (see above, March 13)

Kathleen Jennings, "Women's participation in UN peacekeeping operations: agents of change or stranded symbols?" NOREF Report, September 2011.

Kathleen M. Jennings, "Service, sex and security: Gendered peacekeeping economies in Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo," *Security Dialogue*, 45: 4 : 1-18.

Alejandro Bendana and Tanja Chopra, 2011, "Rethinking Gender, Legal Pluralism and Rule of Law Approaches in Somaliland" (ms.)

Re-read "Horizontal Peace" in the Philippines

Vanessa Pupavac, "Weaving Postwar Reconstruction in Bosnia? The Attractions and Limitations of NGO Gender Development Approaches," *Journal of Intervention and Development* 4:4 (December 2010): 475-493.

Mary H. Moran, "Gender, Militarism, and Peace-Building: Projects of the Postconflict Moment," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (2010): 261-74.

Louise Olsson, *Equal Peace: United Nations Peace Operations and the Power-Relations between men and women in Timor-Leste*, Report No. 76, 2007, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Additional reading:

Inclusive Security: www.inclusivesecurity.org/

The Council on Foreign Relations' program on Women's Roles in Peace Processes has good data: www.cfr.org/interactive/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/explore-the-data

Kim Howe and Peter Uvin, "I want to marry a dynamic girl": changing gender expectations in Burundi," ch. 6 in Uvin, *Life after Violence*: 123-144.

Patricia Justino, Ivan Cardona, Rebecca Mitchell and Catherine Müller, *Quantifying the Impact of Women's Participation in Post-Conflict Economic Recovery* (Households in Conflict Network Working Paper 131, November 2012).

Birgitte Sørensen, *Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources*, Occasional Paper No. 3, The War-torn Societies Project, June 1998.

13. May 8 Civil Society

Michael W. Foley, 2010. "Cautionary Tales: Soft Intervention and Civil Society," in Matthew Hoddie and Caroline A. Hartzell, eds., *Strengthening Peace in Post-Civil War States: Transforming Spoilers into Stakeholders*: 163-188

Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "The NGO Scramble: Organizational Insecurity and the Political Economy of Transnational Action," *International Security* 27:1 (Summer 2002): 5-39.

Tonya L. Putnam, "Human Rights and Sustainable Peace," in Stedman, Rothchild, and Cousens, eds., *Ending Civil Wars* (2002): 237-271.

May 15 Student Reports

May 22 Research Paper due by 5:00 p.m. (by email or in my office)

Resources:

GSDRC: "quick access to the latest evidence on governance, social development, conflict and humanitarian assistance": gsdrc.org. Based at the University of Birmingham, this was originally funded by DFID (UK), now (2017) by Australian Aid, this is a wonderful resource, largely bibliographic with summaries of findings for each item (you'll look at the conflict component, primarily, but you'll see what is of use to you); you can also get on their email listserv (news@mail.gsdrc.org). (It seems to be appearing less often in the past year, but you could still go onto their archive, too.)

<http://www.zif-berlin.org/en/> (Berlin Center for International Peace Operations); weekly report on all peace operations worldwide; very useful; click on link at top, Analysis and Information, then in drop down, click on Peace Operations Update)

Journals:

Accord: An International Review of Peace Initiatives
Asian Journal of Peacebuilding
Civil Wars
Conflict, Security, and Development
Cooperation and Conflict
Development in Practice
Disasters
Global Governance
Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding
Journal of Peacebuilding and Development
Journal of Peace Research
International Peacekeeping
International Security
Security Dialogue
The Transnational (a website)

Institutes whose websites have useful papers and documents:

Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), Waterloo, Canada, *Security Sector Reform Monitor* (www.cigionline.org)
Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway: www.cmi.no
Clingendael Institute, Conflict Research Unit (CRU): www.clingendael.nl
Conciliation Resources www.c-r.org
International Alert: www.international-alert.org
International Center for Transitional Justice: www.ictj.org
International Conflict Research (INCORE): www.incore.ulster.ac.uk
International Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO): www.prio.no
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI): www.sipri.org
Uppsala Conflict Data Program, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University: <http://ucdp.uu.se/> (This is the main source of data on conflict, though done with PRIO in Oslo. The visual and interactive displays of the data on this website are extremely useful – and interesting.)

Country case studies

Books of case studies:

Devon Curtis and Gwinyayi A. Dzinesa, eds., *Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa* (Ohio University Press 2012): theme chapters are good; then Sudan, Great Lakes region, Sierra Leone and Liberia, Niger Delta, Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique, Somalia.

Astri Suhrke and Mats Berdal, ed., *The Peace in Between: Post-war violence and peacebuilding* (Routledge 2012): chapters on Spain (1936-48); the US (1865-77); Bosnia and Herzegovina; Kosovo; Lebanon; post-invasion Iraq; Afghanistan; Cambodia; East Timor; eastern Congo; Liberia; Rwanda; Guatemala.

Charles Call and Vanessa Wyeth, eds., *Building States to Build Peace* (Lynne Rienner 2008): chapters are primarily thematic, but case chapters are on Somalia, Palestine, Bosnia-Herzegovina, East Timor, Afghanistan, and Liberia.

Stephen Baranyi, ed., *The Paradoxes of Peacebuilding Post 9/11* (Stanford University Press 2008): Guatemala, Mozambique, Haiti, Palestine, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Guatemala, Afghanistan, Palestine.

Simon Chesterman, Michael Ignatieff, and Ramesh Thakur, eds. *Making States Work: State Failure and the Crisis of Governance* (UNU Press 2005), topical chapters and then on the Great Lakes and South Central Asia, Colombia and the Andean Crisis, the South Pacific, Pakistan, DPRK, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Costa Rica, Singapore.

Elizabeth Cousens and Chetan Kumar, *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies* (IPA 2001), Somalia, Cambodia, Haiti, Bosnia, El Salvador.

Jane Boulden, ed., *Responding to Conflict in Africa: The United Nations and Regional Organizations* (Palgrave Macmillan 2013): Burundi; Chad and the Central African Republic; Ivory Coast; the Democratic Republic of Congo; Liberia; Sierra Leone; Somalia; Darfur; and South Sudan.

Jeroen de Zeeuw, ed., *From Soldiers to Politicians. Transforming Rebel Movements after Civil War* (Rienner 2008): FMLN (El Salvador), RENAMO (Mozambique), RUF (Sierra Leone), CNDD-FDD (Burundi), Hamas (Palestine), SPLM/A (Sudan), various warlord militias in Afghanistan and the LTTE (Sri Lanka).

Deborah H. Isser, ed., *Customary Justice and the Rule of Law in War-Torn Societies* (2011): Mozambique, Guatemala, East Timor, Afghanistan, Liberia, al Anbar Iraq, Sudan.

Country cases:

Afghanistan

Go onto the Chr. Michelsen Institute website and read their publications on Afghanistan (www.cmi.no), including everything by Astri Suhrke, plus:

Astri Suhrke, *When More is Less: The International Project in Afghanistan* (2011)

Antonio Giustozzi, "Afghanistan: Transition without End," Crisis States Research Center (CSRC) Working Paper (WP) 40 (November 2008); (available at: www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/Publications/phase2papers.aspx)

Antonio Giustozzi, 2013. "March towards Democracy? The development of political movements in Afghanistan," *Central Asian Survey* 32:3, 318-35.

Antonio Giustozzi (2011), "Double-edged Swords: Armies, Elite Bargaining and State-Building (February), Crisis States Research Centre, Working Paper 86 (Series 2). www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/Publications/phase2papers.aspx

Dipali Mukhopadhyay, *Warlords, Strongmen Governors, and State Building in Afghanistan* (Cambridge University Press 2014).

Rory Stewart, 2011, "The Plane to Kabul," in Rory Stewart and Gerald Knaus, *Can Intervention Work?* pages 34-50.

Mats Berdal & Astri Suhrke, "A Good Ally – Norway and International Statebuilding in Afghanistan, 2001-2004," *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2017): 1-28.

Algeria

William Quandt, *Between Ballots & Bullets: Algeria's Transition from Authoritarianism* (1998)

Angola

Christopher Cramer, *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries* (Hurst 2006), chapter 4.

Tony Hodges, *Angola from Afro-Stalinism to Petro-Diamond Capitalism* (James Currey and Indiana University Press 2001).

Balkans/Southeast Europe

Susan L. Woodward, "Varieties of State-Building in the Balkans: A Case for Shifting Focus," in Beatrix Austin, Martina Fischer, and Hans J. Giessmann, eds., *Advancing Conflict Transformation*. The Berghof Handbook II (2011).

Andrew Gilbert, "Legitimacy Matters: Managing the Democratization Paradox of Foreign State-Building in Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Suedosteuropa*, 60:4 (2012): 483-96.

Stephan Hensell, "Police Reform as a 'Solicitous Siege' – International Actors and Local Subversion in the Balkans," in Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, ed., *OSCE Yearbook 2009* (Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2010): 303-319.

Dominik Zaum, *The Sovereignty Paradox* (for research on Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina)

Paula M. Pickering, *Peacebuilding in the Balkans: The View from the Ground Floor* (2007) [only on Bosnia-Herzegovina]

Burma/Myanmar

Mary Callahan, *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Cornell University Press 2003).

Burundi

Peter Uvin, *Life after Violence: A People's Story of Burundi* (Zed: 2009).

Devon Curtis, "The International Peacebuilding Paradox: Power Sharing and Post-conflict Governance in Burundi," *African Affairs*, 112/446: 72-91.

Peter Uvin and Leanne Bayer, "The political economy of statebuilding in Burundi," in Berdal and Zaum, eds., *Political Economy of Statebuilding*: 263-276.

Janvier D. Nkurunziza, "Inequality and Post-Conflict Fiscal Policies in Burundi," in Langer, Stewart, and Venugopal, eds., *Horizontal Inequalities and Post-Conflict Development* (Palgrave 2012): 209-229.

Central America

Mark Peceny and William Stanley, "Liberal Social Reconstruction and the Resolution of Civil Wars in Central America." *International Organization* 55:1 (2001): 149-182.

Colombia

Nazih Richani, *Systems of Violence: The Political Economy of War and Peace in Colombia* (SUNY Press 2002). (and many articles by Richani since then)

Congo, Democratic Republic of (formerly Zaire)

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

El Salvador

William Stanley, *The Protection Racket State: Elite Politics, Military Extortion and Civil War in El Salvador* (Temple University Press 1996).

Dirk Kruijt, *Guerrillas* (Zed Books 2008).

Alberto Martin Alvarez, "From Revolutionary War to Democratic Revolution: The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador," *Berghof Transitions Series 9: Resistance/Liberation Movements and Transition to Politics* (2010)

Christine Wade, *Captured Peace*.

Côte d'Ivoire

Michael McGovern, *Making War in Cote d'Ivoire* (University of Chicago Press 2011).

Till Foster, "Maintenant on sait qui est qui: Statehood and Political Reconfiguration in Northern Côte d'Ivoire," in Tobias Hagmann and Didier Picard, eds., *Negotiating Statehood: Dynamics of Power and Domination in Africa* (Wiley 2011), but also published originally in *Development and Change* 41:4 (July 2010).

Georgia/Abkhazia/South Ossetia

Svante E. Cornell, "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict," *World Politics* 54 (January 2002): 245-276.

Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *World Politics* 53 (July 2001): 524-552.

Guatemala

William Stanley, *Enabling Peace in Guatemala: The Story of MINUGUA*, 2013.

Haiti (civil war?)

Alex Dupuy, *The Prophet and Power: Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the International Community, and Haiti* (Rowman and Littlefield: 2007).

Robert Fatton, jr. *The Roots of Haitian Despotism* (Lynne Rienner: 2007).

Peter Hallward, *Damming the Flood: Haiti, Aristide, and the Politics of Containment* (Verso: 2007).

Terry F. Buss and Adam Gardner, 2006. *Why Foreign Aid to Haiti Failed*, A Summary Report, Academy International Affairs Working Paper Series (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Public Administration, February)

Jonathan M. Katz, *The Big Truck That Went By: How the World Came to Save Haiti and Left Behind a Disaster* (2013).

Iraq

Toby Dodge, 2013. "Intervention and dreams of exogenous statebuilding: the application of Liberal Peacebuilding in Afghanistan and Iraq," *Review of International Studies*, 39: 1189-1212.

Toby Dodge, *Iraq: From War to a New Authoritarianism*.

India (northeast and Kashmir)

Jaideep Saikia, ed., *Frontier in Flames: Northeast India in Turmoil* (Penguin Viking 2007).

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