

# **POL5042F Peacebuilding: Issues and Problems**

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## **Objectives**

- To discuss and debate the key issues and problems in the area of peacebuilding; and
- To critically assess the approaches, measures and policies about how to resolve these problems.

## **Overview**

Johan Galtung, a Norwegian sociologist, coined the term 'peacebuilding' in the 1970s, and described it as a process that would bring about a fundamental shift in the structural causes of violence. Galtung advocated the need for 'positive peace', a state of affairs that went beyond a mere absence of violence to include social justice for all.

Peacebuilding permeated out of academia and entered into the popular lexicon after the publication of the *Agenda for Peace* (1992), penned by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the United Nations Secretary General at the time. The rationale for this document was for it to be a new mission statement for UN operations in a post-Cold War era. The UN is now the most prominent actor in the area of international peacebuilding.

Over the past 20 years the field and industry of peacebuilding has expanded dramatically. Throughout this time peacebuilding has been used to describe a wide array of development, governance and norm-setting activities undertaken by government, civil society and international organisations, especially in the aftermath of a prolonged period of armed conflict in order to promote sustainable peace. However, peacebuilding has not been exclusively applied to post-conflict environments, but its approaches and techniques have also been pursued in violence prone areas in countries that are not recovering from war.

This course will consider the concepts and theories of peacebuilding, as well as how it has been applied (mainly in post-conflict settings). The specific focal areas of the course will be: the UN's approach peacebuilding; post-conflict economy; armed violence; arms control and disarmament; the demobilisation and reintegration of combatants into civilian life; security sector reform; refugees and the diaspora; youth violence; policing; civil society and peacebuilding; as well as information communication technology and peacebuilding.

## **Seminar 1: After war: Getting to grips with peacebuilding**

This seminar will provide an overview of the main paradigms, theories and debates in relation to peacebuilding. It will focus on the manner in which the concept can be defined, as well as applied and sustained in practice. In addition, there will be discussions on whether peacebuilding processes can be accurately and appropriately measured.

### Readings

Gawerc, Michelle I. (2006) 'Peace-building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspectives.' *Peace & Change*, 31(4), 435-478.

Barnett, M., H. Kim, M. O'Donnell and L. Sitea (2007) 'Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?' *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 13(1), 35-58.

Paris, R. (2010) 'Saving Liberal Peacebuilding'. *Review of International Studies*, 36, 337-365.

Galtung J. (1969) 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167-191

Institute for Economics and Peace (2014) *Global Peace Index 2014. Measuring Peace and Assessing Country Risk*, Sydney and New York, Institute for Economics and Peace.

## **Seminar 2: The UN and peacebuilding**

The UN is the most influential actor in shaping the nature, scope and direction of international peacebuilding interventions in fragile environments. The UN has also established the Peacebuilding Commission, an intergovernmental advisory body that drives and coordinates strategies and donor funding on peacebuilding efforts under UN auspices. The implications of this top-down approach are that the subjects of the peacebuilding interventions often have limited influence on the process. During this seminar the UN approach to peacebuilding will be discussed and critiqued.

### Readings

Bertram, E. (1995) 'Reinventing Governments: The Promise and Perils of United Nations Peace Building'. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 39(3), 387-418.

Ramsbotham, O. (2000) 'Reflections on UN Post-settlement Peacebuilding'. *International Peacekeeping*, 7(1), 169-189.

Richmond, O. P. (2004) 'UN Peace Operations and the Dilemmas of the Peacebuilding Consensus'. *International Peacekeeping*, 11(1), 83-101.

Jenkins, R. (2008) *The UN Peace-building Commission and the Dissemination of International Norms*, London, Crisis States Research Centre, Development Studies Institute.

Sambanis, N. (2008) 'Short- and Long-term Effects of United Nations Peace Operations.' *The World Bank Economic Review* 22(1), 9-32.

#### Assignment topic

What are the strengths and weaknesses of the UN's approach to peacebuilding? Use at least one contemporary country case study to substantiate your arguments and analysis.

### **Seminar 3: Post-conflict economies and peacebuilding**

Economic development and growth are crucial to any sustainable peacebuilding effort. However, many of the destructive dynamics of war economies often persist in post-conflict environments, as there have been insufficient countervailing forces to reconfigure and transform the power dynamics within the economy. Nonetheless, overt violence in the conduct of economic transactions is less evident, with militarised elites often swapping combat fatigues for business attire. Excessive regulation and cumbersome trade barriers are also the order of the day, with private sector entrepreneurship and large-scale employment creation being stymied. Public expenditure is poorly structured and executed; commercial law is erratic, and property rights are opaque. This seminar will reflect on these dynamics and constraints of post-conflict economies.

#### Readings

Collier, P. (2006) *Post-Conflict Economic Recovery: A Paper for the International Peace Academy*. Oxford: Department of Economics, Oxford University

Pugh, M. (2005) 'The Political Economy of Peacebuilding: A Critical Theory Perspective'. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 10(2), 23-42.

UNDP, Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery. (2008) *Post-conflict Economic Recovery Enabling Local Ingenuity*. New York: UNDP.

Wennmann, A. (2005) 'Resourcing the Recurrence of Intrastate Conflict: Parallel Economies and their Implications for Peacebuilding', *Security Dialogue* 36(4), 479-494

Goodhand, J. (2008) 'Corrupting or Consolidating the Peace? The Drugs Economy and Post-conflict Peacebuilding in Afghanistan.' *International Peacekeeping* 15(3), 405-423.

#### Assignment topic

Why is it so difficult to stimulate sustainable economic growth in post-conflict societies, and are the mainstream policy recommendations appropriate?

#### **Seminar 4: Armed violence**

Armed violence is the most lethal form of violence, with there being an estimated 500,000 victims each year. Many post-conflict environments are characterised by high levels of armed violence, with most governments in these contexts struggling to contain it. Research on armed violence has briskly expanded in recent years spurred on by various arms control diplomatic efforts and renewed interest in the topic by international organisations, such as the World Health Organisation and intergovernmental agencies. Many of the publications on the topic have sought to provide evidence-based recommendations of 'best practice' and 'what works'. This seminar will reflect on the nature of existing knowledge on armed violence and how to reduce and prevent it.

#### Readings

Bellis, M.A., Jones, L., Hughs, K. and Hughs, S. (2010). *Preventing and Reducing Armed Violence: What Works?* New York and Oslo: United Nations Development Programme and Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Krause, K., Muggah, R. and Gilgen, E. (2011). *Global Burden of Armed Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

OECD. (2011). *Investing in Security: A Global Assessment of Armed Violence Reduction Initiatives, Conflict and Fragility*. Paris: OECD.

Lamb, G (2015). 'National and International Policies to Prevent and Reduce Armed Violence' in Peter D. Donnelly and Catherine L. Ward (eds), *Oxford Textbook of Violence Prevention: Epidemiology, Evidence, and Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

#### Assignment topic

Critically evaluate the following statement: "Efforts to reduce and prevent armed violence should be prioritised over other forms of violence".

#### **Seminar 5: Arms control, disarmament and the international arms industry**

Arms control and disarmament are two of the most prevalent approaches to reducing and preventing armed violence. Arms control entails the restriction of the manufacture, stockpiling, distribution and usage arms. Disarmament involves the reduction, limitation, and banning of weapons. This seminar will assess the strengths and weaknesses of these approaches. It will also look at the international arms trade. It will consider how this industry contributes to, or undermines, international peace and security, as well as how it can be better regulated.

## Readings

Craft, C. and J. P. Smaldone (2002) 'The Arms Trade and the Incidence of Political Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1967-97'. *Journal of Peace Research*, 39(6), 693-710.

Blanton, S. L. (2005) 'Foreign Policy in Transition? Human Rights, Democracy, and US Arms Exports'. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(4), 647-668.

Wood, B. and J. Peleman (2000) *The Arms Fixers. Controlling the Brokers and Shipping Agents*, Oslo, NISAT.

Lamb, G and D. L. Dye (2009) 'African Solutions to an International Problem: Arms Control and Disarmament in Africa', *Journal of International Affairs*, Spring/Summer, Vol. 62, No. 2, 2009, pp. 69-83.

Roeber, J. (2005) *Parallel Markets: Corruption in the International Arms Trade*. London, Campaign Against Arms Trade.

## Assignment topic

The international arms trade contributes to both global security and insecurity. Explain.

## **Seminar 6: Reintegrating ex-combatants into civilian life**

The sustainability of peace settlements following intra-state armed conflicts arguably hinges on the extent to which combatants are able to assimilate into a non-war society. Over the past 40 years, programmes geared towards the demobilisation and reintegration (D&R) of these individuals into civilian life have had mixed results. Some have been innovative and remarkably successful. Others have been glaringly ineffective. In some cases, the failure of the D&R has resulted in armed conflict being reignited. This seminar will seek to critically reflect on the process and impact of D&R processes with a strong focus on Africa.

## Readings

Humphreys, M. and J. M. Weinstein (2007) 'Demobilization and Reintegration'. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51, 531-567.

Knight, M. (2004) 'Guns, Camps and Cash: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reinsertion of Former Combatants in Transitions From War to Peace.' *Journal of Peace Research* 41(4), 499-516.

Theidon, K. (2009) 'Reconstructing Masculinities: The Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration of Former Combatants in Colombia.' *Human Rights Quarterly* 31(1), 1-34.

Munive, J. (2013) 'Context Matters: The Conventional DDR Template is Challenged in South Sudan'. *International Peacekeeping*, 20, 585-599.

Lamb, G. N. Alusala, G. Mthembu-Salter and J-M Gasana. (2012) *Rumours of Peace, Whispers of War Assessment of the Reintegration of Ex-Combatants into Civilian Life in North Kivu, South Kivu and Ituri, Democratic Republic of Congo*. Washington DC: World Bank.

#### Assignment topic

DDR: a useful contribution to peacebuilding or a waste of valuable resources?

### **Seminar 7: Refugees and diasporas**

Post-conflict governments often have to contend with large populations of refugees, either inside or outside of their territories. Such populations can pose a potential security risk, especially if the majority of refugees hold strong opposing views to government, and/or perceive themselves as being persecuted. However, repatriated refugees can contribute valuable human capital to reconstruction efforts. Likewise, diasporas can be a destabilising factor, but they can also inject scarce foreign investment into the post-conflict economy. This seminar will review the dual role that refugees and diasporas play in relation to conflict and peace.

#### Assignment topic

Provide a critical assessment of the role of refugee communities and diasporas in promoting and undermining peace.

#### Readings

Salehyan, I. and K. S. Gleditsch (2006). 'Refugees and the Spread of Civil War.' *International Organization* 60(02), 335-366.

Kuperman, A. J. (2004) 'Provoking Genocide: A Revised History of the Rwandan Patriotic Front.' *Journal of Genocide Research* 6(1), 61-84.

Brinkerhoff, J. M. (2011) 'Diasporas and Conflict Societies: Conflict Entrepreneurs, Competing Interests or Contributors to Stability and Development?.' *Conflict, Security & Development* 11(02), 115-143.

Horst, C. et al. (2010) 'Participation of Diasporas in Peacebuilding and Development.' *A Handbook for Practitioners and Policymakers*. Oslo: PRIO.

Orjuela, C. (2008) 'Distant Warriors, Distant Peace Workers? Multiple Diaspora Roles in Sri Lanka's Violent Conflict'. *Global Networks*, 8(4), 436-452.

## **Seminar 8: Security sector reform**

In the aftermath of war the security sector, most importantly the armed forces, police and paramilitary groups, often require downsizing, restructuring and reorientation. This is to ensure that they do not undermine development efforts geared towards the consolidation of peace. This seminar will consider the complexities and challenges of such a process. Reference will be made to specific case studies.

### Readings

Wulf, H. (2004) *Security Sector Reform in Developing and Transitional Countries*, Berlin, Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management.

Jackson, P. (2011) 'Security Sector Reform and State Building.' *Third World Quarterly* 32(10), 1803-1822.

Mühlmann, T. (2008) 'Police Restructuring in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Problems of Internationally-led Security Sector Reform.' *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 2(1), 1-22.

Nathan, L. (2007) *No Ownership, No Commitment: A Guide to Local Ownership of Security Sector Reform*, Birmingham, University of Birmingham.

Bøås, M, and K. Stig. (2010) 'Security Sector Reform in Liberia: An Uneven Partnership Without Local Ownership.' *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 4(3), 285-303.

### Assignment topic

What are the main challenges to security sector reform in post-conflict societies, and how can they be most appropriately addressed?

## **Seminar 9: Thickening the blue line: policing and violence prevention**

There is a growing body of policing research that suggests that innovative and proactive policing interventions can significantly contribute to violence reduction and long-term peacebuilding. These approaches include: problem-oriented policing and community policing. This seminar will critically evaluate these policing models in the context of post-conflict environments.

### Readings

Rauch, J and Van der Spuy, E. (2006). *Police Reform in Post-Conflict Africa: A Review*. Pretoria: IDASA (chapters 1-3).

Bayley, D. H. (2008) 'Post-conflict Police Reform: Is Northern Ireland a Model?.' *Policing* 2(2), 233-240.

Weisburd, D., C. W. Telep, J. C. Hinkle and J. E. Eck (2010) 'Is Problem-oriented Policing Effective in Reducing Crime and Disorder?'. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 9(1), 139-172.

MacDonald, J. M. (2002) 'The Effectiveness of Community Policing in Reducing Urban Violence'. *Crime & Delinquency*, 48(4), 592-618.

Dinnen, S. and G. Peake. (2013) 'More Than Just Policing: Police Reform in Post-conflict Bougainville.' *International Peacekeeping* 20(5), 570-584.

#### Assignment topic

Can policing models developed in stable democratic societies be effectively pursued in post-conflict societies? Substantiate your answer.

#### **Seminar 10: Responding to youth violence**

According to the World Health Organisation, 41% of the victims of global homicide each year are youth aged between 10 and 29 years, most of which are male. For each young person killed, between 20 and 40 sustain serious injuries due to violence. The main perpetrators of such violence are also male youth, which is particularly pronounced in post-conflict environments. This seminar will explore the phenomenon of male youth violence, and approaches and strategies to reduce and prevent it.

#### Readings

Rodgers, D. (2009) 'Slum Wars of the 21st Century: Gangs, *Mano Dura* and the New Urban Geography of Conflict in Central America." *Development and Change* 40(5), 949-976.

Farrington, D. P. (1998) 'Predictors, Causes, and Correlates of Male Youth Violence.' *Crime and justice* (1998): 421-475.

Farrell, A. D. (2006), and D. J. Flannery. 'Youth Violence Prevention: Are We There Yet?' *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 11(2), 138-150.

Decker, S. H., C. Melde, and D. C. Pyrooz. (2013) 'What Do We Know About Gangs and Gang Members and Where Do We Go From Here?' *Justice Quarterly* 30.3: 369-402.

Harland, K. (2011) 'Violent Youth Culture in Northern Ireland: Young Men, Violence, and the Challenges of Peacebuilding.' *Youth & Society* 43(2), 414-432.

#### Assignment topic

What are the most important aspects of youth violence prevention programmes, and why?

## **Seminar 11: Civil society and peacebuilding: International meets local**

A vast array of civil society organisations, networks and social movements currently exist that seek to promote peace (but can also undermine it), both within their own countries and internationally. Such entities are particularly active in post-conflict environments where they work closely with UN agencies and donor governments. This seminar will explore the nature and role of civil society in promoting peacebuilding, in particular the complex and arguably paternalistic relationships between well-resourced foreign NGOs, national governments and local civil society groups.

### Readings

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

Paffenholz, T. and C. Spurk (2006) 'Civil Society, Civic Engagement, and Peacebuilding.' *Social Development Paper* 36.

Mac Ginty, R. and O. P. Richmond (2013) 'The Local Turn in Peace Building: A Critical Agenda for Peace.' *Third World Quarterly* 34(5), 763-783.

Goetschel, L. and T. Hagmann (2009) 'Civilian Peacebuilding: Peace by Bureaucratic Means?' *Conflict, Security & Development*, 9(1), 55-73.

#OPISIS: Anonymous targets ISIS online propaganda, rt.com,  
<http://rt.com/news/230575-anonymous-attack-isis-propaganda/>

### Assignment topic

Provide an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of civil society's involvement in peacebuilding. Use case studies to substantiate your arguments.

## **Seminar 12: #Peace: Information Communication Technology**

Innovation in, and the use of, information communication technology (ICT) have progressed rapidly in recent years, principally in the areas of mobile telephony and online interaction (and the combination of the two technologies). This expanded use of ICT was reportedly an important element in the mobilization of people for the pro-democracy movements and protests in North Africa and the Middle East during the 2011 'Arab Spring'. ICT is now increasingly being used in development, protest and peace-building initiatives. This seminar will take critical analysis of the manner in which ICT is being used to promote peacebuilding, as well as its future potential uses.

### Readings

World Bank (*infoDev*) (2013) *The Role of Information and Communications Technology in Post-Conflict Reconstruction*, Washington D.C., World Bank, [https://www.infodiv.org/infodiv-files/ict\\_post-conflict\\_final\\_07102013.pdf](https://www.infodiv.org/infodiv-files/ict_post-conflict_final_07102013.pdf)

Stauffer, D., B. Weekes, U. Gasser, C. Maclay and M. Best (2011) *Peacebuilding in the information age: Sifting hype from reality*, ICT4Peace Foundation; United States. Harvard University. Berkman Centre for Internet and Society; Georgia Institute of Technology (GeorgiaTech)

Mancini, F. (ed). (2013) *New Technology and the Prevention of Violence and Conflict*, New York: International Peace Institute

Coyle, D and P. Meier (2009) *New Technologies in Emergencies and Conflicts: The Role of Information and Social Networks*, Washington, D.C. and London, UK: UN Foundation-Vodafone Foundation Partnership

Castells, M. (2013) 'Occupy Wall Street. Harvesting the Salt of the Earth', *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, Cambridge: Polity, 156-217.

#### Assignment topic

Critically evaluate the following statement: "ICT played a significant peacebuilding role in recent events in Africa and Middle East".

### **Means of Examination/Evaluation**

For examination/evaluation purposes, students are required to undertake the following:

- A minimum of five assignments (2500 words maximum for each assignment) (45% of final mark)
- One class presentation (15% of final mark)
- One course paper (6000-8000 words) (40% of final mark)

#### Assignments

There are a total of 11 assignment topics. Even though you will be evaluated on five assignments, you are entitled to hand in more than five assignments. The course paper can focus on any topic relating to the field of peacebuilding, however, course paper topics are subject to the approval of the course convenor.

#### Class presentation

Students will be required to make one class presentation on one of the seminar themes in this course (to be discussed with the course convenor).