

Graduate School of Public and International Affairs  
University of Pittsburgh

**PIA 2505: POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION**

Fall 2009

Tuesday 9:00-12:00

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Office Hours: Mon. 1-3, Wed. 10-12

*Note: Syllabus is subject to revision*

In recent years we have witnessed unprecedented efforts to promote stability and reconstruction in countries suffering from conflict. Yet, the approaches policymakers, practitioners, and even scholars bring to these environments are often based in dynamics or “best practice” from more stable environments. In the best case, such interventions may be ineffective; in the worst case they may actually exacerbate conflict. In these contexts aid agencies, diplomats, and donors are heavily involved in reconstruction efforts, but militaries are increasingly active in bringing stability and assistance to conflict-affected environments.

This course introduces core concepts of post-conflict reconstruction and state building and probes how approaches to achieve these ends vary across sectors and countries. While the name of the course is “post-conflict” reconstruction, efforts to build political, social, and political infrastructure often take place in polities where conflict has yet to come to an end. As such, these countries could be more appropriately referred to as “conflict-affected” or “fragile.”

Reconstruction is distinct from peace building, nation building, and even state building. In many cases countries subject to these policies are not undergoing reconstruction at all, but instead face construction of new institutions and organizations where they previously did not exist in formal settings.

The growing literature on this topic primarily focuses on the role of international actors and tends to assume an institutional *tabula rasa* in fragile environments. Focus on international actors is important, as they are control vast resources that shape agendas and results (or lack thereof), but such attention obfuscates other important sources of service delivery and order. When governments or aid agencies have not been present, individuals and communities can become quite adept at providing for themselves. In this course, we will think carefully about how individuals have learned to cope during periods of conflict. Access to accurate on-the-ground information about these matters as diplomats, aid workers, and even host governments are unable to access areas where insecurity prevails. Trajectories in conflict-affected environments place serious constraints on all of these actors who face security threats and dangers reaching the populations they seek to serve.

## Course Objectives

This course has several objectives. The first is to introduce and define the concept of post-conflict reconstruction as well as several related terms such as peace building and state building. We will begin to think about benchmarks and what constitutes “success” in these environments. We will also think about how assistance in such environments differs from more “traditional” development assistance.

In the second (and more theoretically oriented) portion of the course, we will examine how states formed over centuries and then begin to think about how international actors and host governments are encouraging nascent states to move “straight to Weber” in the course of several short years. We will look at the role of both the United States and the UN in post-conflict reconstruction during the past century to see what lessons can be learned from such efforts. In this portion of the course you will gain a better understanding of the purpose and objectives of states, how they developed over time, and the difficulty of constructing them during the pressure of or immediately after conflict.

The final portion of the course will move away from theory and history and address questions of policy application. This section will begin by asking whether there should be a particular order or sequencing to post-conflict reconstruction efforts and will subsequently consider interventions in various sectors such as security, demobilization, elections, rule of law, public administration, as well as economic development. In this final section of the course, you will learn how to identify key issues in conflict-affected contexts and become acquainted with the methods major actors have used to address them.

During the course of the semester, you will not only become aware of major questions related to post-conflict reconstruction but also become familiar with the major actors involved in such processes. You will gain an understanding of how these environments differ from “traditional” approaches to development. Students will also consider ethical and other dilemmas faced by actors such as NGOs, aid agencies, and the military working in these difficult environments.

## COURSE PREREQUISITES

Although there are no formal prerequisites for this course, I assume a familiarity with micro and macroeconomics as well as statistics (preferably multivariate analysis). As these courses are part of the GSPIA core curriculum, most of you will be familiar with these topics, although you may have to review certain topic during the course of the semester.

## GRADING POLICY

GSPIA's grading policy is based on the premise that work at the graduate level is fundamentally different from that at undergraduate institutions. In general, expectations regarding student performance will be higher. Grades in the "A" range will be reserved for students who perform exceptionally well in all components of the course. Grades in the "B" range will be considered satisfactory graduate-level performance. Grades in the "C" range are an indication of below satisfactory performance at the graduate level, with marks of "C-" and below not counted toward a student's degree requirements. Students

receiving grades of "C+" or lower on early assignments are urged to meet with the instructor at the earliest opportunity to identify potential problems and develop strategies for improvement.

Students occasionally request an extension at the end of the semester if they cannot complete their assignments due to unforeseen work commitments, family problems, illness and so on. A "G" grade will be given *only under exceptional circumstances*, at the discretion of the instructor, and should be discussed with the instructor before the end of the term. Poor time management is not considered an "exceptional circumstance." According to GSPIA policy, a student must remove the G grade by completing the assigned work for the course as soon as possible in the semester following the course.

Finally, you should note that the assigned readings for the course provide only the skeletal framework for the topics we will discuss. Therefore, in your assignments, you are encouraged to use other research materials, resources, data, readings, etc.

#### **SPECIAL NEEDS**

The instructor and the University stand ready to assist students with special needs or disabilities that will affect their work in this class. If you have a disability for which you may be requesting an accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both your instructor and the Office of Disability Resources and Services, 216 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890, as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your needs and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

#### **CHEATING AND PLAGIARISM**

Plagiarism is use of written material from any source without proper citation. It is a serious violation of academic ethics. Note that I adhere strictly to the school policy on plagiarism. Any paper found to have plagiarized material will automatically receive a failing grade, and serious cases of plagiarism can result in a failing grade for the class, so take the time to familiarize yourself with the rules of citation and with GSPIA's policy (found in the GSPIA handbook of academic policies and procedures). If you have any questions on how to cite sources correctly, please ask me directly. Unless clearly specified, you are expected to complete all assignments individually.

## READING AND REQUIRED TEXTS

Students are expected to do readings before coming to class. There is an average of 150 pages of reading per week in this course. The required books for this class are listed below and are available in the University Book Center on Fifth Avenue. They are also available new and used at various internet retailers at far discounted prices.

### Required Readings:

- Rotberg, Robert I. 2004. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Paris, Roland, and Timothy D. Sisk. 2009. *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the contradictions of postwar peace operations*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge.
- Bates, Robert H. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Coyne, Christopher. 2007. *After War: The Political Economy of Exporting Democracy*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Economics and Finance.
- Collier, Paul. 2009. *Wars, Guns and Votes*. New York: HarperCollins.

We will also read most of Dobbins, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* published by the RAND Corporation. I did not order this book through the bookstore as it is available free for download from the RAND website. You are free to order a hard copy of this book yourself. In addition to readings from the texts, there will be additional articles and case studies assigned for many class sessions. It is essential that you read these supplemental materials because they will be an important foundation for our classroom discussions. These materials will be available on the University of Pittsburgh Blackboard server.

## COURSE ASSIGNMENTS

All writing assignments should be in 11 point Times New Roman font with 1 inch margins. We will discuss proper citation methods in class.

### **Short Paper Assignments: 30%**

These short writing assignments provide you an opportunity to make arguments about both theoretical and policy ideas in a targeted manner. Short papers should not exceed three pages and should demonstrate knowledge of the arguments made in the readings. Papers should not repeat these arguments, but build on and synthesize them. You will submit your papers electronically via Blackboard prior to the class. We will discuss the nature of these short paper assignments in class. There are three short papers

### **Class Presentation: 10%**

In selected weeks (annotated by an asterisk [\*]), students will present topics in groups of two or three on selected topics related to the course topic for the week. Presentations can focus on a specific method related to the topic for that week (e.g. a type of transitional justice) or a country of application

(transitional justice in Rwanda). Note: the presentation must supplement materials for the course that week and must draw on examples separate from those in the required readings. The topic of the presentation must also be distinct from your final paper topic.

### **Final Paper and Presentation: 50%**

For your final paper, you will write a 15-20 policy paper on reconstruction issues in a particular sector in a country of your choosing. The case must be a contemporary case that has undergone or is undergoing significant conflict. You will receive separate instructions for this assignment.

### **Class Participation: 10%**

Class participation is not merely talking in class, but it is thoughtful and reflective discussion of topics we have covered in or involves issues that you wish to raise. Outstanding participation grades will be given to those who contribute constructively to discussion, demonstrating knowledge of the readings and acknowledgement of the contributions and ideas of your colleagues. The quality of your participation matters, not quantity.

## **COURSE OUTLINE AND REQUIRED READING**

### **Week 1 (September 1): Introduction**

- John J. Hamre and Gordon R. Sullivan, "Toward Postconflict Reconstruction," *Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 4 (October 1, 2002): 85-96.
- Easterly, William. 2006. *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and so Little Good*. New York: Penguin Press. Chapter 1.
- Wonacott, Peter. August 17, 2009. "Afghan Road Project Shows Bumps in Drive for Stability." *Wall Street Journal*.

### **Week 2 (September 8): Defining Terms**

- Coyne, *After War*, Chapters 1-3
- Rotberg, Robert I. 2004. "The Failure and Collapse of Nation-States: Breakdown, Prevention, and Repair." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 1-49.
- Dobbins, James. 2007. *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation. Chapter 1
- Paris, Roland, and Timothy D. Sisk. 2009. "Introduction: Understanding the Contradictions of Postwar Statebuilding." In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace operations*, p. 1-20.
- Trefon, Theodore. 2004. "Introduction: Reinventing Order." In *Reinventing Order in the Congo*, ed. Theodore Trefon. New York: Zed Books, p. 1-19.

**Week 3 (September 15): State Formation**

- Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Chapters 13 (The natural condition of mankind as concerning their happiness and misery) and Chapter 14 (The first and second natural laws, and contracts)
- Bates, *Prosperity and Violence*, Chapter 3 and 4
- Boone, Catherine. 1998. "State building in the African countryside: Structure and politics at the grassroots." *Journal of Development Studies* 34(4): 1-31.
- Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, eds. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 169-186.
- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *The American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.

**Short Paper Assignment:**

The literature on state formation discusses the formation of states over long periods of time and over long historical trajectories. In your opinion, is this literature relevant to contemporary state building efforts or other issues of post-conflict reconstruction? If so why? If not, why not?

**Week 4 (September 22): Causes of State "Failure" (What is a failed state?)**

- Collier, *Wars, Guns and Votes*, Chapters Introduction, Chapters 1-3
- Bates, *When Things Fell Apart*, Chapter 2-5
- Kasfir, Nelson. "Domestic Anarchy, Security Dilemmas, and Violent Predation: Causes of Failure." In Rotberg. pp. 53-76.

**Short Paper Assignment:**

The literature on state failure and collapse provides insights into why states fail. In your opinion, what are the most significant policy implications for post-conflict reconstruction that you can draw from this literature?

**Week 5 (September 29): Life in "Failed" or Persistently Weak States\***

- Collier, Paul. *Wars, Guns and Votes*. Chapter 4-7
- Leeson, Peter T. 2007. "Better off Stateless: Somalia before and after Government Collapse." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 35(4): 689-710.
- Bilakila, Anastese Nzeza. 2004. "The Kinshasa Bargain." In *Reinventing Order in the Congo*, ed. Theodore Trefon. New York: Zed Books, p. 20-32.
- Mwacan, Angeline Maractho Mudzo, and Theodore Trefon. 2004. "The Tap is on Strike: Water Distribution and Supply Strategies." In *Reinventing Order in the Congo*, ed. Theodore Trefon. New York: Zed Books, p. 47-64.
- Chayes, Sarah. 2007. *The Punishment of Virtue: Inside Afghanistan after the Taliban*. New York: Penguin. Chapter 21.

### **Week 6 (October 6): Contemporary State Building**

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Chapter 1
- Coyne, *After War*, Chapter 4
- Collier, *Wars, Guns, and Votes*, Chapter 8
- Paris and Sisk, Chapter 3: Paris, Roland. 2009. "Understanding the "Coordination Problem" in Postwar Statebuilding." In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace operations*, eds. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. New York: Routledge, p. 53-78.
- Nagl, John A. et al. 2007. *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 5 (Executing Counterinsurgency Operations)
- Piiparinen, Touko. 2007. "A Clash of Mindsets? An Insider's Account of Provincial Reconstruction Teams." *International Peacekeeping* 14(1): 143-157.

### **Week 7 (October 13): No Class**

### **Week 8 (October 20): Historical Examples\***

- Coyne, *After War*, Chapter 5
- Dobbins, James et al. 2005. *The UN's Role in Nation-Building: from the Congo to Iraq*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation. Introduction and Chapter 1 (Congo)
- Dobbins, James et al. 2003. *America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation. Chapters 2 (Germany) and 3 (Japan)
- Picard, Louis, and Terry Buss. 2009. *A Fragile Balance: Re-examining the History of Foreign Aid, Security and Diplomacy*. Kumarian Press. Chapters 5-7

### **Short Paper Assignment**

If you were in charge of post-conflict reconstruction efforts in a contemporary context, which techniques from these historical examples would you employ to help you achieve success? Why? Which would you recommend against?

**Week 9 (October 27): Order and Sequencing**

- Harry Blair and Katarina Ammitzboell, 2007. "First Steps in Post-conflict Statebuilding: a UNDP-USAID Study"
- United States Department of State, S/CRS, "Post-conflict Reconstruction: Essential Tasks Matrix"
- Rotberg, Chapter 6: Carment, David. 2004. "Preventing State Failure." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 135-149.
- Rotberg, Chapter 7: Meierhenrich, Jens. 2004. "Forming States after Failure." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 153-169.
- Coyne, *After War*, Chapters 6 and 7

**Short Paper Assignment:**

In what order should post-conflict interventions be sequenced in post-conflict environment? Should there be such an ordering or should all interventions be attempted at once? Why should they be ordered in such a manner?

**Week 10 (November 3): Constitutions and Elections\***

- Dobbins, James. 2007. *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation. Chapters 6 (Governance) and 8 (Democratization)
- Rotberg, Chapter 13: Lyons, Terrence. 2004. "Transforming the Institutions of War: Postconflict Elections and the Reconstruction of Failed States." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 269-301.
- Paris and Sisk, Chapter 9: Sisk, Timothy D. 2009. "Pathways of the Political: Electoral Processes after Civil War." In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace operations*, eds. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. New York: Routledge, p. 196-224.
- Paris and Sisk, Chapter 8: Samuels, Roland. 2009. "Postwar Constitution Building: Opportunities and Challenges." In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace operations*, eds. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. New York: Routledge, p. 173-195.
- Coyne, *After War*, Chapter 8

**Short Paper Assignment:**

In your opinion, do elections in post-conflict environments enhance political, economic, and social stability? As a policymaker, would you advocate elections at an earlier or later stage during elections? What kind of elections would you mandate (national, local)? Justify your logic.

**Week 11 (November 10): Security and DDR\***

- Dobbins, James. 2007. *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation. Chapters 2 (Military) and 3 (Police)
- Paris and Sisk, Chapter 4: Edelstein, David M. 2009. "Foreign Militaries, Sustainable Institutions, and Postwar Statebuilding." In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace operations*, eds. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. New York: Routledge, p. 81-103.
- Paris and Sisk, Chapter 5: Avant, Deborah. 2009. "Making Peacemakers out of Spoilers: International Organizations, Private Military Training, and Statebuilding After War." In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace operations*, eds. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. New York: Routledge, p. 104-126.
- Rotberg, Chapter 8: Colletta, Nat J., Markus Kostner, and Ingo Wiederhofer. 2004. "Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration: Lessons and Liabilities in Reconstruction." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 170-181.
- Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 103(02): 231-247.

**Week 12 (November 17): Public Administration and Local Governance\***

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2004. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*. Chapters 2-4.
- Rondinelli, Dennis A. 2006. *Reforming Public Administration in Postconflict Societies: Implications for International Assistance*. Washington, DC: The Mitchell Group.
- Bieber, Florian. 2005. "Local institutional engineering: A tale of two cities, Mostar and Brčko." *International Peacekeeping* 12(3): 420-433.
- Sawyer, Edward. 2008. "Remove or Reform? a Case for (Restructuring) Chiefdom Governance in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone." *African Affairs* 107(428): 387-403. – As well as online response by Paul Richards

**Week 13 (November 24): “Transitional Justice” and the Rule of Law\***

- Dobbins, James. 2007. *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation. Chapter 4 (Rule of Law)
- Rotberg, Chapter 10: Widner, Jennifer A. 2004. “Building Effective Trust in the Aftermath of Severe Conflict.” In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 222-236.
- Rotberg, Chapter 9: Rose-Ackerman, Susan. 2004. “Establishing the Rule of Law.” In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 182-221.
- Rotberg, Chapter 11: Posner, Daniel N. 2004. “Civil Society and the Reconstruction of Failed States.” In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 237-255.
- Brouneus, Karen. 2008. “Truth-Telling as Talking Cure? Insecurity and Retraumatization in the Rwandan Gacaca Courts.” *Security Dialogue* 39(1): 55-76.

**Week 14 (December 1): Economic Development and Growth\***

- Dobbins, James. 2007. *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building*. RAND Corporation. Chapters 7 (Economic Stabilization) and 9 (Development)
- Collier, *Wars, Guns and Votes*, Chapters 9-10.
- Rotberg, Chapter 12: Snodgrass, Donald R. 2004. “Restoring Economic Functioning in Failed States.” In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 256-268.
- Cramer, Christopher. 2009. “Trajectories of Accumulation through War and Peace.” In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace operations*, eds. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. New York: Routledge, p. 129-148.
- Paris and Sisk, Chapter 7: Roberts, David. 2009. “The Superficiality of Statebuilding in Cambodia: Patronage and Clientelism as Enduring Forms of Politics.” In *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding: Confronting the Contradictions of Postwar Peace operations*, eds. Roland Paris and Timothy D. Sisk. New York: Routledge, p. 149-169.

**Week 14 (December 8): Presentations****Week 15 (December 15): Presentations**