

## International Relations/Political Science

Academic year 2021-2022

### UN Peace Operations in a Changing World Order

**RI-SP115 - Autumn - 6 ECTS**

Mondays, 10:15 to 12:00

### Course Description

This course analyzes UN peace missions in a changing world order. It provides an overview of the nature, development, and types of UN peace missions and introduces core concepts and the main theoretical debates surrounding their mandates, deployments, and outcomes. In a first step, we will analyze the historical evolution of UN peace missions situating them in a changing world political context and getting acquainted with different types of UN peace missions. We will then examine different aspects related to the mandates of UN peace missions, including the concepts of the minimum use of force, consent, and impartiality; UN peace missions' interaction with host populations; sexual violence, gender aspects, and women participation; issues related to the environment; as well as the role of non-western states in UN peace missions. Finally, we will discuss different options for measuring the effectiveness of UN peace missions and conclude with a discussion on possible future trajectories. The course will be based on concrete case studies of UN peace missions and provide students with a solid understanding of their role in the UN's efforts to maintain international peace and security.

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#### > PROFESSOR

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## Syllabus

### Course Requirements and Evaluation

#### 1. Readings & questions (20% of final grade)

Students are expected to read the indicated literature and come to class prepared and ready to discuss the readings in an informed and critical manner. Since the readings build on each other, it is recommended to read the texts in the order suggested for each session.

Until Sunday 5pm before each session, students will upload on Moodle one main question they had when doing the class readings (except for session 1 and 13). The question should not be longer than three sentences. Sending the questions is compulsory.

## **2. Active participation (20% of final grade)**

The course is an opportunity to critically engage with the literature and discuss ideas, thoughts, and concepts. Students are expected to participate actively during the sessions. Participation will be monitored.

## **3. Presentation of cases (30% of final grade)**

Students will prepare a presentation of two UN peace missions serving as case studies to illustrate the topic of the respective session. The presentation should consist of:

- Short summary of the missions (approx. 5 min)
- Discussion of how the missions illustrate the topic of the session (approx. 12 min)
- Concluding remarks (approx. 2 min)

The presentation should not be longer than 20 minutes. The case studies for each session are indicated in the detailed program below. At the end of the presentation, a short bibliography containing the main articles used to prepare the presentation should be provided. If PowerPoint or PDF presentations are used, the files must be uploaded on Moodle until Monday 9am the day of the presentation.

## **4. Final paper (30% of final grade)**

Students will write a final paper of 8-10 pages, including the bibliography. The paper consists of an essay on the topic of one session, including case studies. It is expected that students critically engage with different scientific publications on the topic and build a clear and compelling argument. The paper should respect common academic writing and citation standards. NB: The topics for the final paper and the case study session must differ.

## Session Overview

### PART I: INTRODUCTION

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#### Session 1 (September 27): Introduction to UN peace missions

This session serves as introductory session to the theory and practice of UN peace missions. We discuss what we can learn from IR theories to analyze UN peace missions and study their development and characteristics.

- Oksamytna, K., & Karlsrud, J. (2020). United Nations peace operations and International Relations theory: An introduction. In K. Oksamytna & J. Karlsrud (Eds.), *United Nations peace operations and International Relations theory* (1-30). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- De Coning, C. (2019). UN Peace Operations and Changes in the Global Order: Evolution, Adaptation, and Resilience. In C. De Coning & M. Peter (Eds.), *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order* (297-316). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

### PART II: EVOLUTION AND TYPES OF UN PEACE MISSIONS

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#### Session 2 (October 4): UN peace missions during the Cold War

In this session, we analyze UN peace missions during the Cold War by looking at their emergence, legal foundations, and guiding principles.

- Williams, P. D. & Bellamy, A. J. (2021). Understanding Peacekeeping (3rd edition). Chapter 3: *Peace Operations during the Cold War*. New York: Wiley.
- Weiss, T. & Kessler, M. A. (1990). Resurrecting Peacekeeping: The Superpowers and Conflict Management. *Third World Quarterly*, 12(3/4), 124-146.

Case studies: UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), First and Second UN Emergency Force (UNEF I and II).

#### Session 3 (October 11): UN peace missions in the post-Cold War liberal world order

In this session, we learn about the development of UN peace missions after the end of the Cold War. We analyze their liberal normative foundations and their scope and action.

- Richmond, O. (2004). UN Peace Operations and the Dilemmas of the Peacebuilding Consensus. *International Peacekeeping*, 11(1), 83-101.
- Sabaratnam, M. (2011). The Liberal Peace? An Intellectual History of International Conflict Management, 1990-2010. In S. Campbell, D. Chandler, & M. Sabaratnam (Eds.), *A Liberal Peace? The Problems and Practices of Peacebuilding* (13-30). London: Zed Books.

Case studies: UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), UN Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET).

#### Session 4 (October 18): UN peace missions in a multipolar world order

In this session, we discuss UN peace missions in a multipolar world order and analyze how recent changes in world politics have influenced the shape and scope of action of UN peace missions.

- Paris, R. (2014). The Geopolitics of Peace Operations: A Research Agenda, *International Peacekeeping*, 21(4), 501-508.
- Abdenur, A. E. (2019). UN Peacekeeping in a Multipolar World Order: Norms, Role Expectations, and Leadership. In C. de Coning & M. Peter (Eds.), *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order* (45-64). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Case studies: UN Supervision Mission in Syria (UNSMIS) and UN Office of the Special Envoy for Syria (UN OSE-S).

### **Session 5 (October 25): UN special political missions and special envoys / advisors**

In this session, we look at UN special political missions and special envoys and advisors. We analyze their characteristics and role in the broader spectrum of UN efforts to promote peace.

- Day, A. (2019). Politics in the Driving Seat: Good Offices, UN Peace Operations, and Modern Conflict. In C. De Coning & M. Peter (Eds.), *United Nations Peace Operations in a Changing Global Order* (67-89). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gowan, R. (2010). Strategic Summary. In R. Gowan (Ed.), *Review of Political Missions* (2-6). New York: Center on International Cooperation.
- Johnstone, Ian (2010). Emerging doctrine for Political Missions. In R. Gowan (Ed.), *Review of Political Missions* (15-26). New York: Center on International Cooperation.
- Whitfield, Teresa (2010). Political Missions, Mediation and Good offices, In R. Gowan (Ed.), *Review of Political Missions* (27-33). New York: Center on International Cooperation.

Case studies: UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA) and Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Yemen (OSES-GY).

## **PART III: MANDATES OF UN PEACE MISSIONS**

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### **Session 6 (November 1): Use of force and protection of civilians in UN peace missions**

In this session, we discuss the balance UN peace missions strike between intervention and sovereignty. We particularly analyze the UN's legitimization of the use of force and its attempts to protect civilians.

- Bode, I. (2020). Use of Force in Peace Operations. In O. Richmond & G. Visoka (Eds.), *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies* (1-8). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Curran D. (2017). Muddling on through? Cosmopolitan peacekeeping and the protection of civilians. *International Peacekeeping*, 24(1), 63-85.

Case studies: UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) and UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Central African Republic (MINUSCA).

### **Session 7 (November 8): UN peace missions and host populations**

In this session, we examine how UN peace missions interact with host populations by critically examining the local turn in peacebuilding practice and research. We ask about the power relations

between external peacebuilders and internal actors and how continued engagement may contribute (or not) to reifying existing power asymmetries.

- Mac Ginty, R., & Richmond, O. (2013). The Local Turn in Peace Building: a critical agenda for peace. *Third World Quarterly*, 34(5), 763-783.
- Von Billerbeck, S. B. K. (2016). Understandings of Local Ownership. In S.B.K. Von Billerbeck, *Whose Peace? Local Ownership and UN Peacebuilding* (Chapter 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Case studies: UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) and UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL).

### **Session 8 (November 15): An insider's view into UN peace missions**

Guest speaker: Katrin Wittig, Political Affairs Officer, UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA).

- Charbonneau, B. (2017). Intervention in Mali: building peace between peacekeeping and counterterrorism. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 35(4), 415-431.
- Sabrow, S. (2017). Local perceptions of the legitimacy of peace operations by the UN, regional organizations and individual states – a case study of the Mali conflict, *International Peacekeeping*, 24(1), 159-186.

### **Session 9 (November 22): Sexual violence, gender, and women participation in UN peace missions**

In this session, we discuss gender issues as well as sexual violence in UN peace missions and different efforts to prevent it, with a particular focus on female peacekeepers.

- Simić, O. (2010). Does the Presence of Women Really Matter? Towards Combating Male Sexual Violence in Peacekeeping Operations, *International Peacekeeping*, 17(2), 188-199.
- Lee, S. & Bartels, S. (2020) 'They Put a Few Coins in Your Hand to Drop a Baby in You': A Study of Peacekeeper-fathered Children in Haiti, *International Peacekeeping*, 27(2), 177-209.

Case studies: UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) and UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI).

### **Session 10 (November 29): Environmental peacebuilding**

Guest speaker: Lucile Maertens (Senior Lecturer, University of Lausanne)

- Maertens L. (2019). From Blue to Green? Environmentalization and Securitization in UN Peacekeeping Practices, *International Peacekeeping*, 26(3), 302-326.
- Bakaki, Z. & Böhmelt T. (2021). Can UN Peacekeeping Promote Environmental Quality? *International Studies Quarterly*, Online First, 1-10.

### **Session 11 (December 6): The role of non-western states in shaping UN peace missions**

In this session, we discuss the role of non-western states in shaping UN peace missions. We particularly engage with the role of China and other emerging powers to analyze their approach to UN peacekeeping.

- Richardson, C. (2011). A Responsible Power? China and the UN Peacekeeping Regime. *International Peacekeeping*, 18(3), 286-297.
- Duarte Villa, R. & Jenne, N. (2020). By all necessary means? Emerging powers and the use of force in peacekeeping. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 41(3), 407-431.

Case studies: The role of China in the AU-UN Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) and of Brazil in UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH).

## **PART V: EVALUATING UN PEACE MISSIONS**

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### **Session 12 (December 13): UN peace missions' outcomes**

In this session, we analyze the outcomes of UN peace missions and critically engage with the different ways of measuring them. We conclude with a discussion about the effectiveness of UN peace missions and potential future trajectories.

- Van der Lijn, J. (2009). If Only There Were a Blueprint! Factors for Success and Failure of UN Peace-Building Operations. *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 13(1-2), 45-71.
- Firchow, P., & Mac Ginty, R. (2017). Measuring Peace: Comparability, Commensurability, and Complementarity Using Bottom-Up Indicators. *International Studies Review*, 19(1), 6-27.
- Caplan, R. (2020). Assessing the (Post-Exit) Legacies of Peacekeeping Operations: The Foundations of a Research Agenda. *International Peacekeeping*, 27(1), 70-76.

### **Session 13 (December 20): Conclusions & wrap-up**

In this session, we conclude with a final discussion on the main findings and potential future trajectories of UN peace missions and answer remaining questions.