

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY – SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

**PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA (SIS-619-008)
SPRING 2017**

TIME: THURSDAY 05:30PM-08:00PM
VENUE: SIS 120

Instructor: Dr. Kwaku Nuamah
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Office Hours:
Monday: 2:00PM- 5:00PM
Friday: 2:00PM- 5:00PM

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course explores the challenges of building sustainable peace in Africa. It invites students to explore some of the common causes of conflict in Africa, assess the efficacies of major conflict resolution processes, and to imagine a future without conflict in Africa. It takes a comprehensive view of the challenge of peacebuilding on the continent. Our aim is to gain a deeper understanding of how Africa's relatively new and fragile states approach the task of building long term, sustainable, and meaningful peace. To that end, we shall explore major issues such as the adequacy of the continent's peace architecture; obstacles to women's full participation in peacebuilding; the peace building roles of civil society and other non-state actors including private business; interconnectedness of development programming, foreign assistance and peace; and the peacebuilding roles of the arts and peace education. We shall also review some of the innovative and promising experiments in African peacebuilding as well as explore how lessons from indigenous and local peacebuilding practices might inform our contemporary and future practices.

By the end of the course students will gain a better understanding of why certain types of conflicts persist and become intractable in the African context. They will also acquire a better understanding of the political economy of domestic and international efforts in aid of resolution, and why some of those efforts fail to achieve their intended goals. By focusing on Africa's peacebuilding "success" stories, we hope to help students understand how diverse groups of people can develop unique and sometimes not-so unique institutions and processes to address existential questions posed by every day threats to social harmony, personal growth, and national progress.

The course is organized in 4 parts. Part 1 introduces students to the challenges of peacebuilding in Africa (Week 1) and continues with a review of some of the key trends in African conflict and peacebuilding norm-making (Week 2).

Part 2 (Weeks 3, 4, and 5) reviews the strengths of the continent's peacebuilding infrastructure vis-à-vis its contemporary security challenges. Specific peacebuilding resources considered include: regional, sub-regional, and national governmental peace architecture (Week 3); non-governmental and private sector peacebuilding resources (Week 4); and the conflict and peacebuilding roles of foreign partners (Week 5).

In Part 3 (Weeks 6-12), we explore some of themes and issues in the discourse on African peacebuilding. Topics covered include the role that gender sensitivity plays in successful peacebuilding (Week 6); roles of effective mediation and adjudication of conflicts (Week 7); the dynamics of armed interventions (Week 8); the impact of transitional justice, DDR, and Security Sector Reform programs (Week 10); the peacebuilding roles of foreign aid and development programming (Week 11); and the roles of the arts and peace education (Week 12).

Part 4 concludes the course by considering the future of African peacebuilding. It begins with a look at some of the interesting experiments in African peacebuilding (Week 13), and continues with a consideration of lessons that can be gleaned from traditional peacebuilding processes for contemporary practice (Week 14). In Week 15, we conclude the class by considering the future of Africa's quest for sustainable peace and development.

There will be no class in Week 9 (Spring Break).

LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Show a deeper understanding of the causes of conflict in Africa
- Show familiarity with major approaches to the study of peacebuilding in Africa
- Show deeper understanding of the challenges of peacebuilding in Africa
- Show deeper appreciation for the processes of peacebuilding in Africa
- Demonstrate a deeper knowledge of the peacebuilding roles of governmental and non-governmental actors in Africa
- Demonstrate a deeper knowledge of the contributions to African peacebuilding by external actors such as the United States, China, France, the UK, and the EU
- Show a deeper knowledge of some of the indigenous African peacebuilding practices and how they can help us better understand how to approach contemporary challenges
- Demonstrate a deeper understanding of the peacebuilding roles of foreign aid and development programming
- Demonstrate a deeper understanding of the peacebuilding roles of the Arts and peace education.
- Demonstrate a deeper knowledge of how transitional justice processes impact peacebuilding success
- Demonstrate a deeper understanding of how DDR and SSR processes impact peacebuilding success
- Show a deeper understanding of the essential role that women play in African peacebuilding

REQUIRED TEXTS:

There is no required textbook for this course. All assigned reading will be made available on Blackboard.

GRADING POLICY:

Grades will be assessed according to the following criteria:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Attendance and Participation | (20%) |
| 4. Peacebuilding Policy Memo | (10%) |
| 5. Literature Review Papers (2) | (30%) |
| 6. Final Paper | (40%) |
| Total | (100%) |

Grade distribution for the course will be based on the following scale:

100-95: A
90-94: A-
85-89: B+
80-84: B
75-79: B-
70-74: C+
65-69: C

Attendance and Participation (20%)

Participation is an essential part of this class. Students are expected to come to class fully prepared to discuss assigned readings and to contribute meaningfully to all class activities and exercises. Active participation will constitute 15% of the final grade. Students will earn points for active and constructive participation in class discussion and exercises. I shall call on students at random to answer questions in class. Points will be deducted if you are unprepared or absent without prior notice. The other 5% of the mark will be allotted for attendance. Please note that 1% will be deducted from your final grade for each class session missed without a reasonable excuse. Missing more than 5 class sessions during the term will result in further mark penalties.

- **Peacebuilding Policy Memo (10%)**

In lieu of a mid-term exam, students will write a 5-page policy memo addressing a specific peacebuilding need or challenge in Africa. The Memo will be due in Week 4 and shall be worth up to 10% of your final grade. Guidelines for the memo will be distributed in class.

- **Two Literature Review Papers (20%)**

Students will write two short papers (no more than 5 pages each), reviewing any 2 journal articles or book chapters assigned in the weeks immediately preceding the due date.

The review papers will be due in class as follows:

- First literature review paper (Weeks 1-7): due in Week 8
- Second literature review paper (Weeks 8-14) due in week 14

Each review will be worth up to 15% for a total of 30% of your final grade.

- ***Final Paper (40%)***

In lieu of a final exam, students will write a 15-20 page paper exploring one or several of the issues and problems covered in the course. Outlines for final papers will be submitted to the instructor for comments by Week 13. The final paper will be worth up to 40% of the final grade. It shall be due by email on May 4, 2017

❖ DETAILS OF ALL ASSIGNMENTS WILL BE DISCUSSED IN CLASS

GENERAL POLICIES AND NOTES

All written assignment must be typed, show proper use of the English language, and turned in on time. No late papers will be accepted. Assignments must be handed in personally on the due date in class unless otherwise stated. Note that I grade both content as well as presentation style so you should endeavor to follow the rules of proper usages of the language. You must also cite (properly) all borrowed ideas and phrases. Failure to cite “borrowed” ideas and phrases is plagiarism.

STATEMENT ON ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

All students must adhere to American University’s Academic Integrity Code, which you can find at: <http://www.american.edu/academics/integrity/code.cfm>. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the Academic Integrity Code, and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the Code. All of your work (whether oral or written) in this class is governed by the provisions of the Code. Academic violations, particularly plagiarism, have been increasing in recent years, partly due to web sites and other sources that offer information or papers that students can submit as their own work.

Defined by the Code, plagiarism is using the work, ideas, or words of someone else without attribution. Other violations include inappropriate collaboration (working on a project with another person but not acknowledging her or his contribution), dishonesty in examinations, whether in class or take-home, dishonesty in papers (not submitting original work), work done for one course and submitted to another, deliberate falsification of data, interference with other students' work, and copyright violations.

The adjudication process and possible penalties are listed in American University's Academic Integrity Code booklet, which is also available on the American University web site. The Instructor has the responsibility to monitor course assignments for violations of academic integrity, and the right to submit any suspicious assignments for electronic analysis to detect such violations.

Being a member of this academic community entitles each of us to a wide degree of freedom in the pursuit of scholarly interests; with that freedom, however, comes a responsibility to uphold the ethical standards of scholarly conduct.

STATEMENT ON DISABILITY SUPPORT SERVICES

If you experience difficulty in this course for any reason, please don’t hesitate to consult with me. In addition to the resources of the department, a wide range of services is available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements.

Academic Support Center (x3360, MGC 243) offers study skills workshops, individual instruction, tutor referrals, and services for students with learning disabilities. Writing support is available in the ASC Writing Lab or in the Writing Center, Battelle 228.

Counseling Center (x3500, MGC 214) offers counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.

Disability Support Services (x3315, MGC 206) offers technical and practical support and assistance with accommodations for students with physical, medical, or psychological disabilities.

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please notify me in a timely manner with a letter from the Academic Support Center or Disability Support Services so that we can make arrangements to address your needs.

STATEMENT ON EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

In the event of an emergency, American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods.

Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies.

In the event of a declared pandemic or other emergency, students should refer to the AU Web site <http://www.american.edu/emergency/> and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for university-wide information, contact faculty and dean's office for course and school/college-specific information.

CLASS OUTLINE AND READING LIST

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

WEEK 1 (JANUARY 19): INTRODUCTION TO PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA

- Barnett, Michael et al. "Peacebuilding: What is in a Name?" *Global Governance*. Vol. 13, No. 1 (January–March 2007)
- Warnecke, Andrea and Volker Franke. "Sustainable Conflict Transformation: An Analytical Model For Assessing: The Contribution Of Development Activities To Peacebuilding." *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 2010)

WEEK 2 (JANUARY 26): REVIEW OF KEY TRENDS IN AFRICAN CONFLICT PRACTICES AND PEACEBUILDING NORMS

- Williams, Paul. "The Terrain of Struggle." *In War and Conflict in Africa*. " Cambridge, UK. Polity Press, 2016.
- Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba. "Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective." *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2013, pp. 144–157.
- Birikorang, Emma. Coup d'Etat in Africa-A Thing of the Past? *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Policy Brief 3/ 2013*
- Emmanuel, Nikolas. "Help Yourself: Recent Trends in African Peacekeeping in Africa." *ASPJ Africa & Francophonie* - 4th Quarter 2014

PART 2: REVIEW OF AFRICAN PEACEBUILDING INFRASTRUCTURE

WEEK 3 (FEBRUARY 2): TRACK 1 INFRASTRUCTURE - REGIONAL, SUB-REGIONAL, AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PEACE ARCHITECTURE

- African Union Commission. *African Peace and Security Architecture. APSA Roadmap 2016-2020*, Report of the African Union Commission, Peace and Security Department, Addis Ababa, December 2015 (Read Executive Summary)

- Amedzrator, Lydia and Mustapha Abdallah. “Escaping the Repertoire of Election Crisis: Prospects and Challenges of the Evolving Infrastructure for Peace in Côte d’Ivoire.” *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Policy Brief* 2/August 2015
- Hansungule, Michelo. "African courts and the African Commission on Human and People’s Rights." *Bösl, A., Diescho, J* (2009): 233-271
- Odendaal, Andries. “An Architecture For Building Peace At The Local Level: A Comparative Study Of Local Peace Committees.” UNDP Discussion Paper, December 2010. Read the following: Case Study 3 (Kenya) and Case Study 6 (Ghana)

WEEK 4 (FEBRUARY 9): TRACK 2 INFRASTRUCTURE - CIVIL SOCIETY, RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION AND PRIVATE BUSINESSES.

- Assefa, Hizkias. “Reconciliation: Challenges, Responses, and the Role of Civil Society.” In van Tongeren, Paul et al (eds.), *People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society*. Boulder CO.: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2005.
- Wuye, James and Muhammed Ashafa. “The Pastor and the Imam: The Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum in Nigeria.” In van Tongeren, Paul et al (eds.), *People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society*. Boulder CO.: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2005.
- Fourie, Andre. “Brokering Peace and Building the Nation: The National Business Initiative in South Africa.” In van Tongeren, Paul et al (eds.), *People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society*. Boulder CO.: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2005.
- Annan, Nancy. “Providing Peace, Security and Justice in Ghana: The Role of Non-State Actors.” *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Policy Brief* 7/ 2013

❖ PEACEBUILDING MEMO DUE

WEEK 5 (FEBRUARY 16): ROLE OF EXTERNAL PARTIES & PARTNERS

- Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou. “The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa,” *American Economic Review* 2016, 106(7): 1802–1848

- Rothchild, Donald. "The US Role in Managing African Conflict: Lessons from the Past." In David Smock and Chester Crocker (eds), *African Conflict Resolution: The U.S. Role in Peacemaking*. Washington DC: USIP Press. 1995
- Bon, Daniel and Karen Mingst. "French Intervention in Africa: Dependency or Decolonization." *Africa Today*, vol. 27, no. 2, 1980, pp. 5–20.
- Korinko, Georgina Nashipai and Chelang'a, James Kiprop. "China's Evolving Policy of Intervention in African Conflicts." *International Affairs and Global Strategy Vol.19, 2014*

PART 3: THEMES AND ISSUES IN AFRICAN PEACEBUILDING

WEEK 6 (FEBRUARY 23): GENDER AND PEACEBUILDING IN AFRICA

- Anderlini, Sanam. *Women Building Peace: What they Do, Why it Matters*. Boulder CO: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2007. (Read only the introductory Chapter).
- Ekiyor, Thelma and Leymah Gbowee. "Women's Peace Activism in Wes Africa: the WIPNET Experience." In van Tongeren, Paul et al (eds.), *People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society*. Boulder CO.: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2005.
- Amedzrator, Lydia. "Breaking The Inertia: Women's Role In Mediation And Peace Processes In West Africa." *Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre Occasional Paper No. 38* October 2014
- Burguières, Mary. 1990. "Feminist Approaches to Peace: Another Step for Peace Studies," *Millennium* 19:1: 1-18

WEEK 7 (MARCH 2): MAKING THE PEACE: MEDIATION, ADJUDICATION

- Williams, Paul. "Peace Making." *In War and Conflict in Africa.* Cambridge, UK. Polity Press, 2016
- Nathan, Laurie. "Mediation in African conflicts: The gap between mandate and capacity." *Africa Mediators' Retreat paper*. 2007 (published online by the Centre For Humanitarian Dialogue
- Maklanron, Jeron. "South Africa's Disappointment with the International Criminal Court: The Unfair Treatment of African People Caused an End to Cooperation." *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.9, No.7, September 2016

- Mangu, André Mbata. "The International Criminal Court, Justice, Peace and the Fight against Impunity in Africa: An Overview." *Africa Development / Afrique Et Développement*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2015, pp. 7–32.

WEEK 8 (MARCH 9): MAKING THE PEACE: ARMED INTERVENTIONS

- Luttwak, Edward. "Give war a chance." *Foreign Affairs* July/August, 1999.
- Williams, Paul. "Peace Operations." *In War and Conflict in Africa.* Cambridge, UK. Polity Press, 2016.
- Hampton, Daniel. "Creating Sustainable Peacekeeping Capability in Africa," *Africa Security Brief* No. 27, April 30, 2014.
- Ottaway, Marina. "Keep out of Africa" in *Financial Times* Thursday February 28, 1999 (and response: by Steve Dost: "Fatalist Hands off policy will not help Africa." In *Financial Times* Tuesday March 9, 1999
- Sahnoun, Muhammad and Joe Stork. "It's Difficult to Point to a Situation Where Armed Intervention Represented a Solution" *Middle East Report*, No. 187/188, Intervention and North-South Politics in the 90's. (Mar. - Jun., 1994)

❖ LITERATURE REVIEW PAPER 1 DUE

WEEK 9 (MARCH 16): SPRING BREAK. NO CLASS

WEEK 10 (MARCH 23): AFTER THE PEACE: TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE, DDR PROCESSES, AND SECURITY SECTOR REFORM

- Zena, Prosper. "The Lessons and Limits of DDR in Africa." *African Security Briefs* No. 24 / January 2013
- Verkoren, Willemijn et al. "From DDR To Security Promotion: Connecting National Programs To Community Initiatives." *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, 2010, pp. 1–32.
- Klosterboer, Brian and Lori Hartmann-Mahmud. "Difficult to Repair": Applying African Models for Transitional Justice to Peace and Restoration Prospects in the

Democratic Republic of the Congo. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 2013), pp. 56-80

- Hassan, Idayat, and Benson Olugbuo. "The Justice versus Reconciliation Dichotomy in the Struggle Against Gross Human Rights Violations: The Nigerian Experience." *Africa Development / Afrique Et Développement*, vol. 40, no. 2, 2015, pp. 123–142

WEEK 11 (MARCH 30): SUSTAINING THE PEACE: PEACEBUILDING ROLES OF FOREIGN AID AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMING

- Anderson, Mary. *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace or War*. Boulder, CO: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 1999. (Read chapters 4, 5, & 6)
- Williams, Paul. "Aid". *In War and Conflict in Africa*. Cambridge, UK. Polity Press, 2016.
- McCandles, Erin et al. "Peace Dividends And Beyond: Contributions Of Administrative And Social Services To Peacebuilding." *Report for United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office*. New York, NY. 2012 (Read only Executive Summary and Conceptual Framework)
- Rogers, Mark, et al. "Integrating Peacebuilding into Humanitarian and Development Programming: Practical guidance on designing effective, holistic peacebuilding projects" *Catholic Relief Services Report*, Baltimore, MD. 2010

WEEK 12 (APRIL 6): SUSTAINING THE PEACE: THE ROLES OF THE ARTS, AND PEACE EDUCATION

- Kanyako, Vandy. "Arts and War Healing: Peacelinks Performing Arts in Sierra Leone." *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2015
- Burns, Mecca Antonia et al. "Forum Theatre for Conflict Transformation in East Africa: The Domain of the Possible." *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2015
- Samura, Fatmata. "Peace Education for Reconstruction and Peacebuilding in Postwar African Societies." *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Special Issue on Peace Education, Memory, and Reconciliation in Africa (Fall 2013).
- Biziouras, Nikolaos, and Nicholas Birger. "Peacebuilding Through Education in Postconflict Northern Uganda: The Importance of Placing War-Affected Youth in

Community-Oriented Schools.” *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2013.

PART 4: LOOKING FORWARD: FUTURE OF AFRICAN PEACEBUILDING

WEEK 13 (APRIL 13): NEW MODELS AND EXPERIMENTS IN AFRICAN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

- Basedau, Matthias and Anika Moroff. “Parties in chains: Do ethnic party bans in Africa promote peace?” *Party Politics* 2011 17: 205
- Maru, Mehari. “Federalism and conflicts in Ethiopia.” *Africa Insight*, Vol 39, No 4 (2010)
- Weinstein, Jeremy. “Autonomous Recovery and International Intervention in Comparative Perspective.” *Center for Global Development Working Paper 57* (April 2005).
- Lemarchand, René. *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, chapters 7 (“The Politics of Memory”).

❖ FINAL PAPER OUTLINE DUE

WEEK 14 (APRIL 20): SANKOFA: BRINGING INDIGENOUS PEACEBUILDING PROCESSES BACK IN

- Zartman, William (Ed). Conclusions: Changes in the New World Order and the Place for the Old.” In *Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict “Medicine.”* Boulder, CO.: Lynn Rienner Publishers, 2000.
- Edossa, Desalegn Chemedet et al. “Indigenous systems of conflict resolution in Oromia, Ethiopia.” *Proceedings of International workshop on ‘African Water Laws: Plural Legislative Frameworks for Rural Water Management in Africa’*, 26-28 January 2005, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- Murithi, Timothy. “Practical Peacemaking Wisdom from Africa: Reflections on Ubuntu.” *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol. 1, no.4, June 2006

- Bolaji, Kehinde A. “*Adapting Traditional Peacemaking Principles to Contemporary Conflicts: The ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework.*” *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2011, pp. 183–204.

❖ LITERATURE REVIEW PAPER 2 DUE

WEEK 15 (APRIL 27): CONCLUSION: FRAMING THE QUEST FOR SUSTAINABLE PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

- Du Plessis, Anton, and Anja Kaspersen. “Seven trends shaping the future of peace and security in Africa.” (*World Economic Forum online article*), June 21, 2016
- Tieku, Thomas Kwasi. “A Pan-African View of a New Agenda for Peace.” *International Journal*, vol. 67, no. 2, 2012, pp. 373–389
- Coleman, Katharina. “Innovations in 'African solutions to African problems': the evolving practice of regional peacekeeping in sub-Saharan Africa.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (December 2011).
- Conteh-Morgan, Earl. “Peacebuilding and Human Security: a Constructivist Perspective.” *International Journal of Peace Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2005, pp. 69–86

❖ FINAL PAPER DUE: MAY 4, 2017