ALC MODULE OUTLINE

Reframing Narratives of Peacebuilding and State-building in Africa

The aim of this module is to introduce students to a nuanced understanding of narratives of peace and state-building in Africa. The mainstream narratives on peacebuilding and state-building see the two undertakings as disjointed processes; only to be linked in a post-conflict context during which state building becomes part and parcel of peacebuilding. Against this background this module provides a fresh way of approaching the debate on peacebuilding and state-building in Africa, and the connection thereof, by situating it in pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict contexts. To this end, it identifies certain driving factors that shape the peace and state building trajectories of African countries. The module also expounds on these factors or the lack thereof, that are at the core of these states' descent into violence and hence post-conflict dynamics need to be assessed based on changes along these core issues. The module will demonstrate how peacebuilding is firmly anchored in and inextricably linked to state-building. The module will develop a line of argument that sees peacebuilding as the forging of consensus among elites, and through time, among the entire society. In addition, it will determine how power should be acquired and with what limit it should be exercised. In the face of the perceived crisis of liberal peace, and the lack of alternatives perceived in some quarters, the module revisits the peacebuilding and state-building terrains in Africa and explores alternative ways of approaching the issue peace and security in the continent.

More specifically, at the end of the course students will be able to:

- Identifying key currents in the peacebuilding and state-building dynamics of Africa;
- Single out core issues that shape trajectories of state-building in Africa;
- Analyze state and peace building dynamics in countries of Africa;
- Appreciate the divergent narratives underpinning state and peace building in Africa;

- Evaluate and make judgement on the 'state' of state-building and peacebuilding in Africa in general and their countries of interest in particular
- Recognise the complex and interacting nature of the drivers of wars in Africa;
- Understand the distinctive features of post-conflict peacebuilding and state-building in Africa and its determinants;
- Analyse strengths and shortcomings of post-conflict peacebuilding and state-building in Africa.

Mode of Assessment

The course will be assessed based on two 3000 word long essays to be submitted at the end of the study. Students will be required to write their essays on questions that will be given in advance to the level of academic rigour required of a postgraduate study. Readings consulted for the study need to be acknowledged and any possibilities of plagiarism need to be rechecked; the failure of which will result in penalisation as per the standards of the University. Formative assessment aimed at developing students understanding of the subject, and increasing their ability of analysing state and peace building dynamics in Africa will be undertaken during the process of delivering the course.

<p style="text-align:center">Weekly Lecture Outlines</p>

Week One: Peacebuilding, state-building conversations in Africa: revisiting the conceptual landscape

This lecture discusses a reframed understanding of peacebuilding and state-building in Africa. Peacebuilding and state-building have been linked in the context of post-conflict countries within which state-building is considered as one of the means to build and sustain peace. This week`s lecture therefore revisits the conceptual landscape of peacebuilding and state-building in Africa and seeks to reframe these concepts using the notion of conversation as a missing link in the conventional understanding of peace and state building. It will examine the analytical utility and the added benefit of understanding peacebuilding as the forging of consensus between elites, elites and societies and within society over the critical issues of how power should be acquired and with what limit it

should be exercised. The lecture will also bring the notion of conversation as a missing link in the contemporary discourse on peace and state building arguing that peace building is primarily charting conversation among elites, between elites and society over the issues noted above in a non-violent directions and hence state building is supposed to overlay on these inner conversations that set the normative terrain for the operation of institutions. Overall, the session engages the appropriateness of revisiting the existing conceptual terrains on peacebuilding and state-building and the relation between the two, which to a large extent is concerned with post-conflict situations, and provide a re-grounding of these concepts in Africa.

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Week Two:Theorising causes of Conflict in Africa

Analysing the driving causes of conflicts in Africa and their connection with the state will be discussed in this class with the aim of assessing patterns of peacebuilding and state-building interventions to be discussed in the coming weeks. The lecture will discuss questions such as what African conflicts are about? When is rebellion most likely and who are the most likely groups to engage rebellion and with what motive? What is the nature of rebel organizations and how wars in Africa terminate? In this week lecture three themes will be given prominent attention: the politics of exclusion along identity lines, the centrality of economic growth, and periods of transition as harbinger of war and violence. The lecture will highlight the extent African conflicts could be analyzed in terms of the exclusionary nature of the state and problematize the notion of exclusion. It interrogates the usual assumption that conflict in Africa are the result of exclusion along ethnic lines by examining whether all politics is about exclusion and hence indicates that the distinctiveness of African politics may not be as much its exclusionary nature as it is the lack of consensus about the lines of exclusion and inclusion. The lecture questions the assumption that depicts politicisation of ethnicity as inherently problematic and the driver of major African ailments by anchoring this phenomena to the deeper level issue of lack of agreement over the term under which African society live together. The lecture will also interrogate the extent economic growth or the lack of it averts or aggravates conflicts in Africa and explores the causal mechanisms this might operate through. Finally, as most conflicts arise at moments of transition, the lecture presents distinctive factors prevalent during transition that render societies vulnerable to war and conflict than peace and state consolidation. Overall, the underlying theme is that cause of conflict in Africa need to be approached in terms of process during which several factor interact with contingent human actions to result in wars of different nature than being wedded into the inevitability of violence discourse.

References

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Week Three: Stages of conflict and post-conflict peace building in Africa

Are the label pre-conflict, conflict, and post-conflict useful to approach dynamics of peace building and state building in Africa? This week`s lecture questions this the answer of

which re-shapes our conceptualisation of state-building and peacebuilding and the linkage between the two. It will discuss whether, in a sense, the conflict phase is an extension of deeply problematic aspects of relationships that were prevalent long before the outbreak of war. It also interrogates and seeks to provide alternative ways of looking at the peace and state building enterprise in terms of the pre-conflict-post conflict terrain. In doing so, it looks at the promises and pitfalls of approaching peace and state building in Africa in terms of fundamental issues that have been at the core of inter-elite, elite-society, and inter-society conversation and the extent they have been dealt with in the course of the evolution of state and society. The central theme is thus to what extent is the pre-conflict situation in Africa qualitatively different from the conflict and post-conflict situations and what implications this has on our approach of peace and state building in terms of pre-and post-conflict peacebuilding. It thus will ask the extent activities put under the rubric of post-conflict peace building are different from those that have been performed before the outbreak of outright war and hence wonder whether the idea of peace building is re-packaging of previous policies pursued under different categories of practices.

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Week Four: Liberal peacebuilding and its alternative in Africa

There is a pervasive feeling that liberal peacebuilding is the only viable approach to peacebuilding across the world in general and in Africa in particular. In this age of liberal peace dominance, it is therefore important to interrogate the assumptions on which it is based and the extent they are shared by citizens of countries afflicted by conflict, and

examine whether approaching the issue differently brings in a more peaceful order than what the liberal approach achieved. This lecture particularly examines the liberal response to the question of who should acquire power and with what limit it should be exercised, and the underlying assumptions up on which answers to this are based. The lecture will indicate that in the liberal framework, elections are assumed to be the means to acquire power, and its exercise should be guided by the liberal stance for respect for basic freedoms of all. The challenge, as will be discussed, however, is that these precepts are not shared by rulers and citizens living in many part of Africa of which the notion of post-electoral violence and term-limit extension are an attestation. Equally, the class will also discuss whether the notion of individual freedom that constitutes the central element of liberalism has any traction in many part of Africa that is characterized by collectivist culture. This discussion sets the terrain for alternative understanding that is based on different assumptions thereby generating different answer for the central themes of the course, that is how power should be acquired and with what limit it should be exercised.

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Week Five: Features of post-conflict peacebuilding in Africa

This week`s lecture untangle the features of peacebuilding in Africa with a focus on the inclusion-exclusion continuum, the actors involved, and the causes of war. Without overlooking the extremely crude nature of elite-mass dichotomy, the lecture will look at whether exclusionary currents are located at the elite or mass level. It will also examine the location of the cause of the war and the extent peacebuilding interventions address these issues. The class will also analyse the actors that play the primary role in building peace and (re)constituting state and society in Africa, which inevitably is connected with the way African war terminates. Some conflicts in Africa terminated through the outright military victory of either the rebels or the government and some others ended through the negotiated settlement of the conflicting parties. This lecture therefore analyses the extent these features shape the dynamics of the peacebuilding trajectory of states. Wars that are ended through outright military victory tend to result in a peace building process that is based on victor justice, the exclusion of rival political elites, and the neglect of elite level causes of conflict, and the emphasis on the economic elements of the conflict than its political aspect. Those that are ended through negotiation are more likely to address elite level factors of conflict, fail to significantly deal with the issues of post-conflict justice, and focus on the political dimension of the conflict than its economic aspects. All these will be the underpinning elements of this week`s lecture. Based on the above features the lecture will examine if certain patterns of peace building trajectories are apparent across Africa.

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Week Six: Successes and failures in post-conflict peacebuilding in Africa

This lecture problematizes the notion of success and failures in peacebuilding in Africa by scrutinising the prevailing understanding of success in peacebuilding. This, the lecture will underscore, is connected with our perception of what peacebuilding entails and how it is meant to achieve its stated aim of building peace. The class also interrogates the criteria that have been deployed to assess the achievements and shortcomings of peacebuilding interventions, the most important of which are the extent foundations for sustainable peace are laid down, the extent peace is restored, the extent the root causes of the conflict are addressed , and we can add, the extent the conversation advances inter-elite, elite-society, and inter-society consensus on how power is to be acquired and with what limit it should be exercised. The strengths and shortcomings of these various criteria of assessment will be elaborated. Moreover, the lecture expounds the factors that explain the successes and failures of peace building interventions by focusing on the way the very

nature of the war, the scope and depth of institutional restructuring, the level of external involvement, the nature of the settlement, and other related factors and actors. The overriding aim of the discussion will be identifying issues and processes that distinctively shape the post-conflict peace building trajectories of Africa, and assess the prospects of ensuring enduring peace and resilient states.

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Week Seven: Determinants of trajectories of statehood in Africa

What trajectories African states followed since the post-independence period and what explains these trajectories of statehood? These will be the central question of this week`s lecture and the focus will be on the extent to which post-colonial African states are affected by the manner of their formation. The effect of the manner in which African states are formed on their subsequent trajectories is much dubious than it is frequently claimed. There fairly tale, which it should be noted is right, contend that African states are artificial creation in the sense that their international boundaries are imposed upon them dividing communities of similar identities on different side of the border. The session therefore explores the various effects of the manner of formation of African states as compared with other internal and external factors shaping the nature and trajectories of statehood. The focus of the lecture will be identifying and theorising about the themes underpinning and shaping trajectories of statehood. These includes factors such as the nature and level of class stratification, institutional inheritance from colonialism regional and international factors and the resource bases of the state. As the nature and functioning of the state is to a large extent dependent on the conversation leading to or failing to lead to consensus over how power should be acquired and with what limit it should be exercised, the session focus on determinants of this very process.

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Week Eight :Pre-conflict statehood and state-building trajectories in Africa

Post-conflict African states are in many respects the continuation of the nature and features of pre-conflict states and hence analysing the trajectories of statehood before the outbreak of the war and comparing it with the post-conflict states forged out of the war will help to shed more lights in explaining governance processes in Africa. This lecture therefore focuses on what the central features of the state in pre-conflict Africa are with focus on analytical tools suited to that end. It will specifically bring back notions of weak versus that of a strong state, the issues of legitimacy and how pre-conflict African states aim to garner it, and the extent it is autonomous vis-à-vis other social forces. The lecture will approach this in terms of the formulation and implementation of policies. It seeks to illustrate the kind policies African states formulated in the post-independence period and the connection that has with the war that broke out in many of these states. The underlying theme of this lecture is that the African states were deeply problematic in their relations with society in pre-conflict period in that they were not constituted based on a consensus over how power should be acquired and how it should be exercised and hence institutional fractures and policy failures emanating from this lack of consensus resulted in conflict in many of post-independence African states.

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Week Nine :Post conflict state-building and trajectories of statehood in Africa

This section examines the nature of post-conflict African states and their trajectories of statehood by exploring the extent their basic pre-war features have been transformed by the war. It will deploy the same analytical tools used to approach the pre-conflict states, which as noted earlier, includes the states strength or autonomy vis-à-vis society, its level of legitimacy, its capacity to formulate and implement policies necessary for social progress. It will assess the extent African states make progress from the pre-war level along these dimensions of statehood. Post-conflict states display divergent features in the manner of their governance and the outcome of their governance practices. The lecture will indicate that while most African states in principle have constitutions that accepts basic rights of citizens, in practice they have paid lip services to these basic rights; neither does the population seems to be ready to value this rights for their own sake. As the lecture will discuss some post-conflict countries tend to have strong state institutions that are capable of mobilising resources and provide services but at the same time they remain weak in their ability to garner legitimacy. In some post-conflict countries there is a close connection and at time the fusion of party whereas in others this is not the case. The lecture therefore

discusses these and other features in post-conflict African states and proffer some explanation for this differences among post-conflict countries and in doing so it advances our understanding of the extent post-conflict states and society break clean from the dynamics that were inherent in the post-conflict period.

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Week Ten:Conclusion

This class will make some concluding remarks about the 'state' of state of the art in peace and state-building in Africa thereby summarising the previous classes and setting direction for future areas of exploration. The class will also discuss issues and questions that might be raised by students, and deal with challenges they might have faced in studying the course.