

**INTD 398-001 – Special Topics in Conflict and Development
Conflict and Development in Africa**

Fall 2022

Tuesdays and Thursdays; 2:35-3:55pm

Classroom: McConnell Engineering Building 11

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I. Course Description

This course examines issues of armed conflict and development in contemporary Africa. What are the causes of conflict and underdevelopment? What is the relationship between conflict and development? Which methods of conflict resolution are most effective? Which recovery strategies produce the best results? These theoretical questions are debated and then applied to case studies drawn from across the continent.

In the first module, we will debate the causes of violent conflict and underdevelopment in Africa, including: colonialism and neocolonialism; ethnic and religious or ‘identity-based’ violence; economic and environmental causes; terrorism; and proxy wars.

The second module investigates the causal relationship between conflict and development. We discuss the developmental costs and benefits of warfare; the (de)stabilizing effects of political and economic liberalization; and the positive/negative effects of foreign aid, loans, and debt on (in)stability and development in Africa.

A third module debates the liberal and realist models of conflict resolution. While liberal policy approaches include mediation, peace- and state-building, democracy promotion, institutional reforms, and humanitarian interventions, realists focus on power consolidation, stability, and strengthening institutions through ‘autonomous recovery’.

The fourth module analyzes various post-conflict reconstruction strategies, such as peace deal implementation, national reconciliation, donor-funded rehabilitation projects, and traditional, national, hybrid, and international transitional justice mechanisms.

Finally, we will debate these theoretical questions using case studies chosen from across the continent. These are: (1) Ethiopia and Eritrea; (2) Somalia and Somaliland; (3) Sudan and South Sudan; (4) Rwanda and Burundi; (5) the Democratic Republic of the Congo; (6) Nigeria and Cameroon; (7) Liberia and Sierra Leone; and (8) the Sahel region.

II. Course Assessment

The final grade in this course will be based on the following components:

Assessment Components	Percentage
Newspaper analysis <i>Due on September 26</i>	15%
Take-home midterm <i>November 6-7</i>	25%
Term Paper <i>Due on November 25</i>	30%
Take-home final <i>Dates TBD</i>	30%

1) Newspaper analysis: 15%

Follow the news via online media, newspapers, and/or television for at least one week on a country in Africa that is—or has recently been—embroiled in armed conflict, and compose a 3-4 page double spaced content analysis. How does the media portray the causes of conflict? Where is the emphasis? What is missed? What do they get right and wrong? How could the media better explain the causes of conflict? Answer these questions by citing course lectures and readings, as well as media reports on your case.

The due date for your newspaper analysis is **September 26th**, at midnight. Late assignments will be penalized 5% per day. All assignments must be handed in via MyCourses, in Times New Roman font, double-spaced, 12-font size, 2.5cm margins.

2) Midterm Exam: 25%

The midterm is a take-home exam. Questions will be released at noon on November 6th and you have until midnight on **November 7th** to submit your answers via MyCourses. Late submissions will not be accepted without documentation, such as a doctor's note.

The exam will cover all readings and lectures in modules 1-4. You will be given three essay prompts and will choose two to answer. The midterm is designed to evaluate students' knowledge and understanding of key course themes and concepts. The essays should provide a thesis statement (i.e. "main argument"), and follow the basic structures of essay writing (introduction, body paragraphs, topic sentences, conclusion). Each answer should be no longer than four double spaced pages, excluding your bibliography.

3) Short Essay 30%:

You are required to write an essay which develops an analytical discussion using the readings for that topic, lectures, videos and discussions, and by consulting outside sources.

For this essay, students will choose one of the eight case studies discussed in class and defend an argument that addresses one of the following topics:

1. Use your case to debate the causes of conflict
2. Explore the relationship between conflict and development
3. Compare and contrast liberal/realist models of conflict resolution
4. Debate the possibilities for post-conflict reconstruction

Note that you can either analyze events in one country or compare the two countries discussed together in class, e.g. Rwanda and Burundi. Ensure that your paper articulates a clearly defined thesis statement and defends it with evidence and examples. The specific research question and thesis you develop is your choice. However, a narrower, more 'straight-forward' (i.e. not overly complicated) argument is generally the best approach.

The essay is due on **November 25th** by midnight. It should be 8-10 pages, excluding your bibliography. Follow the guidelines on writing a research paper that will be provided on *MyCourses*, such as formatting, structure, and content. Citations should be in Chicago Style (chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide/citation-guide-1.html).

Late assignments will be marked down 5% per day. Students will not be granted an extension unless they have a legitimate reason recognized by McGill as excusable, such as illness, and provide valid documentation, such as a doctor's note.

Grading Criteria:

- Thesis statement that is clearly articulated, argued and supported
- Clear structure of paper and logical organization of ideas (e.g. topic sentences)
- Correct citation and referencing, using Chicago Manual of Style
- Effective communication, such as clear and direct sentences
- Style, grammar, punctuation and spelling
- Depth of analysis and strength of arguments
- Understanding and application of relevant concepts, theories and literature
- Effective evidence and examples provided to support the student's argument
- Quality, convincingness and clear articulation of student's own argument

4) Final Take-home Exam: 30%

The final exam is in short essay format, and is cumulative, meaning it covers all course materials (readings and lectures) from the beginning to the end of the semester. The exam will be distributed during the final exam period and you will have 72 hours to complete it. You will be provided with three essay prompts and will answer two of them. Each answer should be no more than four double spaced pages, excluding your bibliography.

The final exam is to be submitted online via *MyCourses*. Students cannot make up either the midterm or final exam unless they have a legitimate reason recognized by McGill as excusable and must submit sufficient and valid documentation to explain the absence.

IV. Class Plan

Thursday, September 1: Intro lecture

Module 1: Causes of conflict in Africa

Tuesday, September 6: Colonialism and neocolonialism

Lee Wengraf, "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa: The Legacy of Walter Rodney," *African Review of Political Economy*, December 16, 2021.

Stelios Michalopoulos and Elias Papaioannou, "The Long-Run Effects of the Scramble for Africa," *VOX EU*, January 6, 2012.

Thursday, September 8: Ethnic and religious violence

Victor Azarya, "Ethnicity and Conflict Management in Post-Colonial Africa," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* vol. 9, no. 3 (2003), pp. 1-22.

Isak Svensson, "One God, Many Wars: Religious Dimensions of Armed Conflict in the Middle East and North Africa," *Civil Wars*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2013), pp. 411-428.

Tuesday, September 13: Economic and environmental causes

Jeffrey Herbst, "Economic Incentives, Natural Resources and Conflict in Africa," *Journal of African Economies* vol. 9, no. 3 (2000), pp. 270-288.

Aimée Noël Mbiyozo and Otilia Anna Maunganidze, "Climate Change and Violence in Africa: No Time to Lose," *Institute for Security Studies*, May 17, 2021.

Thursday, September 15: Terrorism and proxy wars

Tochukwu Omenma, John Chidubem Nwaogaidu and Felicia Osondu Okwueze, "Terrorism Trends in Africa: Implications for the African Continental Free Trade Area," *Africa Insight* vol. 50, no. 1 (2020), pp. 164-177.

Nick Turse, "America's Proxy Wars in Africa," *The Nation*, March 13, 2014.

Module 2: Conflict and Development

Tuesday, September 20: Developmental costs/benefits of warfare

Paul Collier et al., "Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy," *World Bank* (2003), pp. 13-32.

Dominik Balthasar, "The Wars in the North and the Creation of Somaliland," *World Peace Foundation*, October 28, 2013.

Thursday, September 22: Democracy, conflict, and development

Christoph Zurcher, "Building Democracy While Building Peace," *Journal of Democracy* vol. 22, no. 1 (2011), pp. 81-94.

Michael Bratton and Eric Chang, "State-Building and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Forwards, Backwards or Together?" *Comparative Political Science* vol. 39, no. 9 (2006), pp. 1059-1081.

Tuesday, September 27: Economic liberalization and (in)stability

Margit Bussmann, Gerald Schneider, and Nina Wieshomeier, "Foreign Economic Liberalization and Peace: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa," *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 11, no. 4 (2005), pp. 551-573.

Oanda Ogachi, "Economic Reform, Political Liberalization and Economic Ethnic Conflict in Kenya," *Africa Development* vol. 24, no. 1 (1999), pp. 83-105.

Thursday, September 29: Foreign aid, conditionality, and conflict

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "AID, Policy and Peace: Reducing the Risks of Civil Conflict," *Defence and Peace Economics* vol. 13, no. 6 (2002), pp. 435-447.

J. 'Bayo Adekanye, "Structural Adjustment, Democratization and Rising Ethnic Tensions in Africa," *Development and Change* vol. 26 (1995), pp. 355-372.

Module 3: Conflict resolution

Tuesday, October 4: Illiberal peacebuilding

Ian Spears, "The False Promise of Peacebuilding," *International Journal* (2012), pp. 295-311.

Ricardo Soares De Oliveira, "Illiberal Peacebuilding in Angola," *Journal of Modern African Studies* vol. 49, no. 2 (2011), pp. 287-310.

Thursday, October 6: Realist conflict resolution

Marina Ottaway, "Rebuilding State Institutions in Collapsed States," *Development and Change* vol. 33, no. 5 (2002), pp. 1001-1022.

Dominik Balthasar, "Peace-building as State-building? Rethinking Liberal Interventionism of Emerging States," *Conflict, Security and Development* vol. 17, no. 6 (2017), pp. 473-483.

Tuesday, October 18: Power-sharing

Denis Tull and Andreas Mehler, "Peace and Power Sharing in Africa: A Not So Obvious Relationship," *African Affairs* vol. 108/432 (2009), pp. 453-473.

Ian Spears, "Africa's Informal Power-Sharing and the Prospects for Peace," *Civil Wars* vol. 15, no. 1 (2013), pp. 37-50.

Thursday, October 20: Federalism

Alan Kuperman, "Constitutional Design and Conflict Management in Africa," *De Gruyter* vol. 19, no. 3 (2013), 393-401.

Liam Anderson, "Ethnofederalism and the Management of Ethnic Conflict: Assessing the Alternatives," *The Journal of Federalism* vol. 46, no. 1 (2015), pp. 1-21.

Module 4: Post-conflict reconstruction

Tuesday, October 25: International and national justice mechanisms

Christopher Zambakari, "Two Paradigms of Justice: Criminal vs. Survivor Justice in Africa," *Contemporary Justice Review* vol. 22, no. 2 (2019), pp. 122-135.

Obiora Chinedu Okafor and Uchechukwu Ngwaba, "The International Criminal Court as a 'Transitional Justice' Mechanism in Africa: Some Critical Reflections," *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 9 (2015), pp. 90-108.

Thursday, October 27: Transitional justice and development

Yvette Selim and Tim Murithi, "Transitional Justice and Development: Partners for Sustainable Peace in Africa?" *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* vol. 6, no. 2 (2011), pp. 58-69.

ICTJ Research Unit, "Transitional Justice and Development," *International Center for Transitional Justice Briefing* (2009), pp. 1-8.

Tuesday, November 1: Reconstructing states and societies

Sandra Adong Oder, "Effective Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development for Peacebuilding in Africa," *ACCORD*, November 12, 2021.

Pierre Englebert and Denis Tull, "Postconflict Reconstruction in Africa: Flawed Ideas about Failed States," *International Security*, vol. 32, no. 4 (2008), pp. 106-139.

Thursday, November 3: Financing recovery

Christine Cubitt, "Responsible Reconstruction after War: Meeting Local Needs for Peacebuilding," *Review of International Studies* vol. 39 (2013), pp. 91-112.

M.K. Mlambo, A.B. Kamara and M. Nyende, "Financing Post-Conflict Recovery in Africa," *Journal of African Economies* vol. 18, no. 1 (2009), pp. 53-74.

Module 5: Case studies

Tuesday, November 8: Somalia and Somaliland

Teresa Krug, "The Trap of International Intervention: How Somaliland Succeeded Where Somalia Failed," *SAIS Review of International Affairs* vol. 36, no. 1 (2016), pp. 121-129.

Sarah Phillips, "When Less Was More: External Assistance and the Political Settlement in Somaliland," *International Affairs* vol. 92, no. 3 (2016), pp. 629-645.

Thursday, November 10: Ethiopia and Eritrea

Harry Verhoeven and Michael Woldemariam, "Who Lost Ethiopia? The Unmaking of an African Anchor State and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Contemporary Security Policy* (2022), pp. 1-23.

Patrick Wight and Yuriko Cowper-Smith, "Mass Atrocities in Ethiopia and Myanmar: The Case for 'Harm Mitigation' in R2P Implementation," *Global Responsibility to Protect* vol. 14, no. 3 (2022), pp. 339-380.

Tuesday, November 15: Sudan and South Sudan

Gene Carolan, "Statebuilding in the Peace Agreements of Sudan and South Sudan," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* vol. 15, no. 1 (2021), pp. 1-20.

Alex de Waal, "Mission Without End? Peacekeeping in the African Political Marketplace," *Security Dialogue* vol. 45, no. 6 (2015), pp. 422-439.

Thursday, November 17: Rwanda and Burundi

Regine Andersen, "How Multilateral Development Assistance Triggered the Conflict in Rwanda," *Third World Quarterly* vol. 21, no. 3 (2000), pp. 441-455.

Peter Uvin, "Structural Causes, Development Cooperation and Conflict Prevention in Burundi and Rwanda," *Conflict, Security and Development* vol. 10, no. 1 (2010), pp. 161-177.

Tuesday, November 22: The DRC and “Africa’s World War”

Marta Iniguez de Heredia, *Everyday Resistance, Peacebuilding and State-making: Insights from ‘Africa’s World War’* (Manchester University Press, 2017), pp. 75-104.

Stein Sundstol Eriksen, “The Liberal Peace is Neither: Peacebuilding, State building and the Reproduction of Conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo,” *International Peacekeeping* vol. 16, no. 5 (2009), pp. 652-664.

Thursday, November 24: Nigeria and Cameroon

Daniel Egiegba Agbiboa, “Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective,” *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review* vol. 3, no. 1 (2013), pp 144-154.

Viviane Foyou et al., “The Boko Haram Insurgency and its Impact on Border Security, Trade and Economic Collaboration Between Nigeria and Cameroon: An Exploratory Study,” *African Social Sciences Review* vol. 9, no. 1 (2018), pp 66-75.

Tuesday, November 29: Liberia and Sierra Leone

Ato Kwamena Onoma, “Transition Regimes and Security Sector Reforms in Sierra Leone and Liberia,” *Annals of the American Academy* (2014), pp. 136-151.

Idrissa Tamba Bindi and Ozgur Tufekci, “Liberal Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone: A Critical Exploration,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* vol. 53, no. 8 (2018), pp. 1158-1170.

Thursday, December 1: The Sahel region

Morten Boas and Francesco Strazzari, “Insurgency in the Sahel: A Hybrid Political Order in the Making,” *The International Spectator* vol. 55, no. 4 (2020), pp. 1-14.

Virginie Baudais, Amal Bourhrous and Dylan O’Driscoll, “Conflict Mediation and Peacebuilding in the Sahel,” *SIPRI Policy Paper no. 58* (2021), pp. 1-34.

V. RE-GRADING POLICY:

To request a re-grade, students must submit a written document, not exceeding a double-spaced page, and no later than 7 working days after your exam/assignments have been returned to the class. In this document, students must explain why they think they deserve a better grade. Please note that I reserve the right to keep your grade the same or lower it.

VI. LANGUAGE OF SUBMISSION

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté.

VII. ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures. See McGill's guide to academic honesty (www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/) for more information.

VII. SPECIAL ACCOMODATIONS:

Please ask the OSD to notify me immediately if you require any kind of special accommodations for the course. As per the OSD regulations, time-based accommodations only apply to exams that are less than 48 hours in duration. If you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the *Office for Students with Disabilities* (514-398-6009).

IX. PUBLIC HEALTH AND SAFETY MEASURES IN THE CLASSROOM

In order to ensure the health and safety of yourself and others, you are required to comply with McGill's updated health guidelines, please visit:
<https://www.mcgill.ca/coronavirus/health-guidelines#preventing>

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.