

International Workshop on the Legacy of Armed Conflicts

Southern African and comparative perspectives

Pretoria, 28-29 July 2016

DAY 1 – THURSDAY 28 JULY 2016

9:30 - 10:30

Registration

Institutional Welcome and Introduction

VENUE: Merensky Auditorium, Merensky Library, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

Prof LORENZO FIORAMONTI, Director of the Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation, University of Pretoria

Dr SABINE KURTENBACH, Senior Research Fellow at German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)

Dr GIULIA PICCOLINO, Research Fellow at German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)

10:30 - 11:30

OPENING KEYNOTE SPEECH: “Armed Conflict into the 21st Century: Trends, Causes, Consequences”.

Prof TIMOTHY SISK, Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver

The 21st century continues to see major armed conflict and widespread political violence globally, particularly in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen but also in Africa in Burundi, the DRC, Somalia, and South Sudan. Professor Sisk’s speech will provide a context-setting, global perspective on the legacy of armed conflicts and present findings from two major cross-national research projects that focus on post-conflict recovery.

Vigorous debates continue on what causes armed conflict and localized armed violence, and how various ‘root’ factors such as economic decline, ideology, religion and belief, or identity fuels insecurities. The presentation will review current approaches to conflict vulnerability assessment in fragile states, given the scholarly debates on root causes and global practitioner perspectives that focus on ‘fragility.’

In conclusion, the presentation will provide an overview of findings from the

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research projects on the consequences or legacies of conflict, and the implications for peacebuilding focusing on two important factors: fostering social cohesion and countering inequalities that fall along identity lines. The presentation draws out implications for international organizations such as United Nations country teams who are often at the leading edge of peacebuilding practice in countries affected by conflict.

12:00 - 13:30

Lunch

VENUE: Old College House Venue, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

13:30 - 15:30

Parallel Panel Session A

PANEL 1 – Peace processes in comparative perspective: negotiations, reforms and the challenges ahead

VENUE: Old College House Boardroom, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

Chair: Prof SANDY AFRICA, University of Pretoria

Discussant: Dr TONI HAASTRUP, University of Kent

‘Mediating international conflict - Challenges and opportunities’, **Dr JOSE PASCAL DA ROCHA**, Pedro Pires Institute for Leadership, Cape Vert.

This paper provides a study of mediation experiences from different periodic and country contexts (Guatemala, Tajikistan, DRC, Sudan). It investigates elements that are key to mediation effectiveness. It provides insights into the complexities of political mediation through four decidedly intricate cases. Furthermore, it provides an analytic and narrative account of mediation as an instrument of peacemaking to stop armed conflicts and induce conflict transformation. From the insights into the four cases, we can deduce that mediation is a skillful adaptation to clear ambiguity and flexible arrangements. While appreciating the research done by Western driven quantitative assessments of mediation effectiveness, with a tendency to omit the meaning of social relations and trust and to underestimate the fluidity of the political space, this study offers a departing point from the canon by focusing on purely qualitative research questions: How does a mediator successfully and independently maintain his/her independence? And: What are the main variables in political mediation methodology?

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‘What Peacekeeping Leaves Behind: Evaluating Multi-dimensional Peace Operations in Africa’, **Prof MALTE BROSIG** and **Dr NORMAN SEMPIJJA**, University of the Witwatersrand.

Today peacekeeping is reaching new record highs with deployment levels far beyond the 100,000 threshold. Thereby mandates become ever more complex reaching from ceasefire monitoring to peace enforcement and peace and institution building. Mono-purpose operations have given space to multi-dimensional engagement reaching deep into conflict affected societies aiming to facilitate social, economic and political transformative processes in order to establish sustainable peace. Despite the comprehensive orientation of missions quantitative studies on the effectiveness of peacekeeping mostly focus on conflict related casualty counts, leaving a significant assessment gap. Therefore we aim at exploring what of these multi-dimensional tasks peacekeeping is actually achieving. We will concentrate on Africa and operations which have been deployed since 2000 using the Ibrahim Index of African Governance as main tool for measurement. The article finds that the ambitious goals of multi-dimensional peacekeeping have only been partially fulfilled while there are measurable effects on national security and political participation in other areas such as human development or governance the effects are minimal.

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‘The Price of Exclusion: Women’s Participation in Peace Processes and the Durability of Peace’, **Dr JANA KRAUSE**, King’s College/University of Amsterdam.

Are peace agreements more likely to last if women have a seat at the negotiation table? It is widely argued that women’s participation in peace processes improves the quality of agreements reached and contributes to the sustainability of peacebuilding. This paper provides the first comprehensive statistical study that demonstrates the significant positive impact of female participation on the durability of peace. Based on these quantitative findings, I discuss the dynamics

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among women civil society groups during peace negotiations and the gendered obstacles to women's track I participation in a qualitative paired comparison, using the cases of Uganda (2002); the DRC (2003); Indonesia/Aceh (2006); and South Sudan (2015). I conclude with a discussion of lessons learned and implications for policy and further research.

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'Security sector reform in post-conflict countries - Towards a credible commitment theory of SSR', **Dr NADINE ANSORG**, GIGA/University of Kent.

Are local ownership and democratization of security sector reform (SSR) a driving force in the establishment of peace? And is a country with an SSR process that lacks local ownership and democratization more likely to revert to violence? Previous research has identified two main features as most vital for any successful security sector reform: local ownership and democratization of security sector reform. While these seem to be reasonable features of SSR, the conclusions of previous studies are only limited and a claim of generalisation does not seem to be valid: most of the findings on the relation between local ownership and democracy of SSR on the one hand and the establishment of post-conflict peace on the other are based on single case studies and hardly provide any hard evidence on general aspects of the causal relations. This paper addresses the gaps in previous research in three different ways. First, I show that the findings of previous research are only limited as they are only based on single case studies. Second, in a comparative causal process of 32 post-conflict countries from 1989 to 2013, I assess different patterns of the relationship between local ownership and democratization of SSR and the establishment of peace. This enables me to, third, formulate more generalizable assumptions on the relation between different features of security sector reform and post-conflict peace that lead to the development of a credible commitment theory of SSR, which may serve as theoretical background for future studies on the topic.

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PANEL 2 - From armed groups to governments: governance and legitimacy in post conflict context

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VENUE: Old College House Lounge, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

Chair: Dr HUGO VAN DER MERWE, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa.

Discussant: Dr JUSTIN PEARCE, University of Cambridge.

'From Conflict to Peace: Namibia and South Africa after the War for Namibian independence', **Prof CHRIS SAUNDERS**, University of Cape Town.

Since Namibia's independence in 1990 there has been only one serious threat to the country's stability, the Caprivi secession attempt in 1999. Soon after the transfer of power in South Africa in 1994 the civil war in KwaZulu wound down, threats by right-wing groups have proved hollow, and South Africa has enjoyed 'stability'. This paper will compare how the two countries moved from conflict to 'peace' and what that has meant. How important were the differences in their liberal democratic constitutions and the ways they dealt with 'reconciliation'? While integration of the various armed forces in the two countries followed not dissimilar lines, there was no equivalent in Namibia of the mechanisms to bring about peace put in place in South Africa in the early 1990s. Namibia joined Angola and Zimbabwe in sending its military to the DRC in 1998; South Africa sent its military on many peace missions in other African countries. Both countries face the challenges of continuing poverty, unemployment, and inequality; neither has tackled the land question effectively. Numerous protests, some violent, have taken place, especially in South Africa, against governments that continue to draw upon the legacy of the armed struggles fought by the two liberation movements. After considering such comparisons, and trying to understand the similar and different trajectories of the two countries in relation to peace-building over the past two decades, this paper will conclude by suggesting what can be done to bring about more sustainable peace.

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“This Could Not Happen if Samora was Alive”: Frelimo, Hegemony and its Discontents in Mozambique’, **Dr JASON SUMICH**, GIGA

Despite a devastating civil war and the adoption of a multiparty system,

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the ruling Frelimo party of Mozambique, like many other former liberation movements in southern Africa, dominates the political landscape. Frelimo's position is bolstered by the party's control of state institutions and its economic influence. Frelimo's hegemony is equally based on an assemblage of symbolic meanings that shape understandings of concepts like 'the nation', 'citizenship', what it means to be 'modern' for key constituencies. Based on ethnographic fieldwork undertaken with members of the middle class in Maputo, the capital, I explore the ways in which Frelimo's ideological hegemony both binds privileged subjects, like the middle class, to the party and is the cause of growing alienation. I argue that the internationalization of the hegemonic symbolic meanings does not necessarily breed consent. It also displays the party's inability to fulfil its goals in its own terms in stark relief. Through a discussion of Mozambique, I discuss how brittle the foundations of dominant party states can be, despite their seeming overwhelming power.

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*'A victor's peace? Côte d'Ivoire under the Alassane Ouattara presidency',
Dr GIULIA PICCOLINO, GIGA.*

Quantitative scholarship on war termination has often contended that the establishment of peace after a decisive military outcome is relatively uncomplicated. In contrast, strategic scholarship has insisted that winning the war does not automatically mean 'winning the peace'. In this paper, I argue that the process leading from victory to peace is far from being simple and automatic. Victors, especially former insurgents, have to maintain cohesion within the winning coalition, to co-opt or repress residual resistance from the vanquished and to develop the capacity to rule a country. I apply this framework in order to understand the political order emerging from the ashes of Côte d'Ivoire's politico-military crisis (2002-2011). The Ivorian former insurgency relied heavily on the alliance with political 'insiders' – actors who have held key state positions in the past. Thus, setting up a new administration has been relatively easy, but the new political landscape has risked to deepen divisions between the political and military components of the winning coalition. A reconfiguration of power relationships has taken place, with president Alassane Ouattara and his RDR party gradually coming to hegemonize the political sphere. Former Gbagbo supporters, on the

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other hand, have been neutralized through a policy of 'divide and impera', involving both coercion and co-optation. The Ouattara administration has been able to develop its own vision of post conflict reconstruction, drawing from both Ivorian political tradition and the president's distinctive personality. However, this political project faces future obstacles, particularly the incapacity to institutionalize political succession.

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'The Peacebuilder's Dilemma and Trust in Institutions: Evidence from Côte d'Ivoire and Rwanda', **Prof SCOTT STRAUS**, University of Wisconsin at Madison

The literature on peacebuilding has privileged the study of social trust. Yet after civil wars, trust in institutions is a pervasive problem. Wars erode institutional trust, given the commission of wartime violence by authorities, the wartime prevalence of criminal processes, and the dynamics of rule after war. The paper develops the concept of the "peacebuilder's dilemma" to capture this last problem. Ruling after war almost always requires authorities to govern populations that were previously aligned with enemies. Persuading formerly opposition areas to accept the legitimacy of the government, I contend, is key to restoring confidence in institutions and ultimately to building a durable peace. Yet solving the problem is exceedingly difficult because governments after war are pulled in competing directions. On the one hand, rulers must satisfy the coalitions that are responsible for putting them in power, coalitions that could in turn remove them from power. On the other hand, rulers must persuade former opposition areas that the new government in fact serves them as well. In the context of scarce resources and fragile security environments, peacebuilders tend to reward their own constituencies, thereby undermining trust in institutions for the elites and populations most likely to rebel. In the paper, I will a) unpack the concept of trust in institutions as it applies to post-civil war environments; b) define the peacebuilder's dilemma, drawing on recent literature; c) map the ways in which this dilemma is typically handled; and d) illustrate the arguments through evidence from Côte d'Ivoire and Rwanda.

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'The Wartime Origins of Civil-Military Relations In Rebel-Ruled States: Evidence from Zimbabwe and Côte d'Ivoire', **PHILIP MARTIN**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Why do some regimes that come to power through armed insurgency succeed in subordinating their military forces to effective civilian political control, while others do not? Moreover, how do the legacies of insurgent organization-building during armed struggle affect these post-war civilian-military relationships? While recent scholarship on insurgent groups has sought to explain how and why these organizations develop military effectiveness and/or engage in institution-building (i.e. "rebel governance") during civil war, the post-conflict institutional legacies of these organization-building processes remain poorly understood. Drawing on the comparative experiences of the Zimbabwe African National Union / National Liberation Army (ZANU/ZANLA) in Zimbabwe and the Forces Nouvelles (FN) in Côte d'Ivoire, this paper argues that the specific combination of capabilities that insurgent groups develop during armed conflict – in particular the capabilities of military control and governance effectiveness – shape the kinds of civil-military relationships that emerge when these organizations obtain state power. When insurgent organizations develop robust military control – characterized by unified command structures and cohesion among military leaders – they are well placed to subsequently establish civilian dominance over their military forces. However, when insurgent organizations develop robust governance structures – i.e. institutions that regularize interactions with civilians and enmesh insurgent commanders in local social and economic networks – their political leaders are likely to face greater difficulty establishing civilian dominance over regionally entrenched military elites in the post-war period. These arguments are illustrated using a paired comparison of ZANU/ZANLA in Zimbabwe and the FN in Côte d'Ivoire, along with comparisons across additional cases in Uganda and Ethiopia. The analysis underscores the importance of studying processes of organization-building and institutional transformation during civil wars in order to understand subsequent patterns of state-building and political development in conflict-affected societies.

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15:30 - 16:00

Coffee Break

16:00 - 18:00

Parallel Panel Session B

PANEL 3 - Peace processes in comparative perspective: case studies from Southern and Eastern Africa

Venue: Old College House Boardroom, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

Chair: Dr JASON SUMICH, GIGA

Discussant: Dr JOSE PASCAL DA ROCHA

'Making Peace in the Political Marketplace: Exploring the Relevance of Southern African Peace-making Models in South Sudan', **Dr. RACHEL BRECK** (presenting), London School of Economics and Political Science and **Prof ALEX DE WAAL**, Tufts University.

For twenty years, southern African frameworks for peace-making have been influential across Africa. They have generated innovative models and instruments such as security sector reform and truth and reconciliation processes that have been selectively applied in very different contexts. The enduring influence of these frameworks, and their relevance to contemporary conflicts demand analysis.

South Sudanese peace negotiations from 2002 to 2015 illustrate the influence of these frameworks, illustrate the ways in which they have been interpreted, and allow us to specify their impact. This paper suggests that dominant peace-making models anticipate the primacy of institutions over patrimonial politics, the durability of commitments to peace and political change, and the benevolent role of neighbouring states, while neglecting the important role of civil society in those conditions when it can be an independent and progressive actor. These models also give scant attention to the importance of embedded societal norms and values.

South Sudan is a regionalized and turbulent 'political marketplace' system, with plural and militarized public authorities, a co-opted civil society and moral-populist political mobilization, in a fiercely contested region. These different conditions explain why peace processes have repeatedly disappointed. The paper proposes a reinterpretation of southern African experiences, focusing on the societal norms and

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values shared between society and contending political elites, as the fundamental factor making peace possible. It applies this lesson to South Sudan's political marketplace, examining the societal norms and values that could provide the foundation for peace-making.

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'Bad legacies: The long-term implications of disruptive foreign interventions in Somalia', **Dr DEBORA MALITO**, University of Cape Town.

How did foreign military intervention impact on the Somali post-conflict reconstruction? Whilst the failure of the International Community in Somalia has been widely recognised, little attention has been paid to define the impact of foreign intervention on stabilization prospects. Much of the literature concerning the Somali civil war has overemphasised the domestic roots of the conflict, as well the tensions emerging from the postcolonial state and traditional societies. The segmentary nature of the Somali society has long been used, and abused, to explain the persistence of conflict. After the escalation of the Global War on Terrorism, the failed state narrative has epistemologically biased the study of the Somali crisis. Yet, the legacy and impact of international intervention on the domestic political order remains unscrutinised. Against this backdrop, this paper aims to define under which circumstances foreign intervention in Somalia led to unsustainable and destabilizing outcomes. I propose a longitudinal analysis of three stages of intervention: the peace enforcement operations led by UN and USA (1991-1993), the Ethiopian-Eritrean proxy war (1998-2000) and the global War on Terror (2001-2008). Theoretically, I integrate three levels of analysis –focused on strategies, typologies and conditions of intervention– to unpack under which conditions the intervention promotes, or not, stabilisation prospects. I claim that foreign interventions had two profound long-term implications: a stalemate in the negotiation process and the internationalisation of the internal conflict. Firstly, regional and global interveners have altered the process of negotiation by pursuing subversion strategies oriented to eliminate (rather than negotiate with) one of the contending parties. Secondly, the corrosive rule of foreign forces and their external security agenda, have facilitated the amplification and internationalisation of the internal conflict. As

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cumulative effect, the interventions did not promote stabilisation prospects: they did not facilitate conflict termination or negotiated settlements, nor they built the precondition for attaining a sustainable political order.

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‘Beyond Peacemaking: Caprivi’s Incomplete Peace Process’, **JOB SHIPULULO AMUPANDA**, University of Namibia

On the 2nd August 1999 rebel forces fighting for the succession of Caprivi Strip from Namibia under a group called Caprivi Liberation Army launched attacks on government institutions, including the army base, in Katima Mulilo in a region then called Caprivi. Following this unanticipated attack, the government of Namibia responded by declaring a State of Emergency in the region and launching a full-scale crack down that brought the attempted succession to an abrupt end. The fighting between the CLA rebels and government led to the killing of 14 people. The government also arrested more than 100 participants and supporters in the conflict who were charged with various crimes forming part of what is referred to as ‘Caprivi Treason Trial’. Underlining this conflict is historical and political events that go a long way from the days of freedom and independence. Contrary to the literature on conflict resolution, including the United Nation conceptualizations, the peace process - herein defined as the process beginning with peacemaking, through peace keeping until peace building (post-conflict reconstruction) – in the Caprivi conflict was incomplete. It started and ended with peacemaking. The consequences of this serious omission are felt in almost all form of social, political, and economic life in Caprivi region. This paper is aimed at providing a descriptive account of the incomplete peace processes in Caprivi and its consequences.

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‘Elusive Peace and the Paradigm of War: Zimbabwe and the SADC-mandated Peace Processes’, **Dr SIPHAMANDLA ZONDI**, University of South Africa

The legacy of armed conflict in Zimbabwe is deep and complex because it stretches centuries from violent colonial conquest through armed

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struggle against colonial rule to post-colonial violent repression of political dissent and opposition. The liberation struggle was ended through a peace process in London, UK that produced a neocolonial postcolonial state whose features included the use of violence to deal with political competition. While the ZANU-PF government used violence against all its major nemeses including ZAPU and ZUM, it was against the MDC- led political challenge in the 2000s that lasted almost a decade ending on a SADC-mediated Global Political Agreement, which saw the country transition from crude violence to fragile peace and semblance of normality. This paper will argue that the Zimbabwe state like all post-colonial African state born within the belly of a global paradigm of war has witnessed a politics of violence that have been responded to through peace process the last of which was by South Africa on behalf of SADC. It will suggest that this 2008 breakthrough was however not so much a breakthrough than a temporary antidote against the politics violence because it did not deal with the fundamental causes of this violence. The first part of the paper places incidents of violence Zimbabwe's political history in the paradigm of war. The second part focuses on the violence against the MDC since 2000 against the backdrop of a one-party hegemony project. The third part discusses the SADC mandated peace facilitation, pointing out its strengths and weaknesses. It concludes with an explanation of the failure to overcome this tradition of violence in Zimbabwean politics.

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PANEL 4 – Citizens and communities after conflict: rebuilding trust and social cohesion

Venue: Old College House Lounge, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

Chair: **Dr NADINE ANSORG**, GIGA/University of Kent

Discussant: **Dr ADAM S. HARRIS**, University of Gothenburg

Against all Odds - Youth in Postwar Societies, **Dr SABINE KURTENBACH**, GIGA

Risks for youth participation in different forms of violence accumulate in most postwar societies. Most postwar societies are demographically young; children and youth have a personal experience with different

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forms of violence; state and society have low capacities (or a lack of political will) to address the specific needs of youth. At the same time the opportunities for a successful transition from childhood to adult society – forming a family, gaining economic independence and political participation – are difficult to achieve. Nevertheless most young people do not take up arms but rather cope with the difficult circumstances. Based on a comparative qualitative analysis of 21 postwar societies and three in depth case studies (El Salvador, Nicaragua and South Africa) the paper shows how young people use strategies of exit, voice and loyalty to manage their transition into adulthood.

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‘Social cohesion in post-independent Zimbabwe: “let by gones be by gones”’, **RUTH MURAMBADORO**, University of Pretoria.

In April 2016, the parliament of Zimbabwe held public hearings in bid to give all citizens the platform to contribute to the framing of the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission Bill, a legal document that is believed to provide the means for the general public to seek redress for past injustices. The recurring sentiments of the public where that there is need for transitional justice and reconciliation processes to address the root causes of conflict and violence in the country, which continues to manifest under the auspices of the government. The public view is captivated in various scholarly work on the failure of transitional justice and reconciliation in Zimbabwe which propagates it to the continued emphasis of the government on preserving ‘national interests’ over interests of the local communities. This paper explores the effectiveness of the transitional justice and reconciliation initiatives that have been implemented by the government against the endogenous processes that the local population are familiar with. Drawing from ongoing fieldwork research that began in 2014 covering various parts of Zimbabwe, the paper describes what community members identify as their central needs within the context of the government-led transitional justice and reconciliation processes that have been implemented to date.

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‘The Legacy of Armed Conflict on Kenya’s Borders: Violent and Nonviolent Innovations in Conflict-affected Communities’, **Dr FLETCHER D. COX**, William

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Conflicts that occur between groups living in largely ungoverned border areas across Africa often become deeply protracted when the state is weak and harsh environmental conditions place human security increasingly under threat. However, even under shared pressures, some conflicts escalate, whereas others do not. Why is this the case? To analyze this puzzle, the paper compares inter-ethnic group conflict dynamics along Kenya's border with Somalia, Ethiopia, and Uganda. Focusing analysis on the relationship between past armed conflict and long-term peacebuilding efforts, the paper draws upon qualitative data derived from semi-structured interviews, focus group dialogues, and participant observation of local peace processes during field research conducted in three conflict-affected counties across Northern Kenya in 2014 – Turkana, Marsabit, and Mandera. Comparative analysis of three inter-ethnic group conflicts reveals that violence is less likely to escalate in communities that develop innovative platforms for threat-monitoring, informal pact making, and enforcement of traditional codes of restitution. However, local peacebuilding efforts face greater restraints in mobilizing and maintaining support for nonviolent strategies in areas where political and military actors used indiscriminant force in response to prior outbreaks of armed conflict. State-society interactions during active conflicts have important effects on long-term, grass-roots peacebuilding efforts.

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'Rethinking reconciliation in "post-conflict" societies', **Dr RACHEL L. HATCHER**, University of the Free State.

Reconciliation, as a term used in transitional and peacebuilding processes, has outlived its usefulness. This is especially true in societies where the "post-conflict" period remains violent. In these societies, reconciliation is an empty word, a word that is thrown about but that has no substance since there is little evidence that reconciliation has taken place. Through a critical reading of relevant sections of Truth and Reconciliation Commission mandates and reports, as well as National Reconciliation (i.e. Amnesty) Laws, this paper explores reconciliation and how it is defined, used, and/or (mis)understood in Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and South Africa. This paper focuses on two main

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problems related to reconciliation. The first relates to the issue of forgetting. In South Africa, as in Guatemala, the TRC's use of reconciliation contradicted the commission's conclusion that, since the first Europeans arrived, the country had witnessed race-related conflict. To speak of reconciliation forgets this longer history of conflict and raises questions about the word's suitability. The second focus relates to who is supposed to be reconciled. In El Salvador, reconciliation was for enemy combatants. In Honduras, it was related to the political elite. In South Africa, different groups were meant to be reconciled, most importantly the perpetrators and the victims or their relatives. The fluidity/misuse of reconciliation makes the word less useful as a transitional concept. This paper offers a critique of reconciliation and how the word is used, and thinks through some alternatives to the term.

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19:00 **Workshop dinner:** Blue Crane Restaurant, Melk St, Pretoria

DAY 2 – FRIDAY 29 JULY 2016

09:00 – 11:00 **Parallel Panel Session C**

PANEL 5 – Veterans, rebels, militias: reintegration and (re)mobilization in post conflict societies

Venue: Old College House Boardroom, University of Pretoria, Hatfield Campus

Chair: Dr **GIULIA PICCOLINO**, Research Fellow at German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)

Discussant: Prof. **ANNETTE SEEGER**S, Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town

‘Mobilization, Demobilization, and Remobilization: The Legacies of Armed Resistance for Post-Conflict Societies’, Dr. **CORINNA JENTZSCH**, Leiden University

What are the legacies of armed resistance and how do they shape social and political relations in post-conflict societies? This paper studies the consequences of peasant resistance against insurgent violence during the civil war in Mozambique (1976-1992). The final years of the war saw the emergence of a grassroots peasant militia, the Naparama, in the central and northern provinces that supported the party in power, Frelimo, in its fight against the rebel group Renamo. The group attracted several thousand members within a short time period and successfully fought back Renamo in Zambézia and Nampula provinces. Although the Naparama were not included in the formal demobilization process, the group disbanded at the end of the war in 1992. However, a recurring request for recognition of their wartime efforts has led former militia members to re-mobilize and peacefully protest—shortly after the war in 1994 and then again in 2011-2012. What explains these phases of re-mobilization, and how significant are they for long-term peacebuilding in

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Mozambique? The limits of Mozambique's demobilization process are often overlooked in the success-story narrative of Mozambique's peace process, but they have contributed to recent instability in the country. Although the Naparama are not involved in this recent violence, tracing the history of mobilization, demobilization, and remobilization of the Naparama provides important insights into the conditions under which the remobilization of armed groups after war remains peaceful. The paper is based on original interview and archival material collected during a year of fieldwork in Mozambique.

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'A review of the role played by war veterans of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe's post-independence development discourse',
NIGEL LANDA, Great Zimbabwe University

This paper seeks to review the role played by war veterans in Zimbabwe's nation building project in the post-armed struggle. The study combines secondary data and primary research techniques to unpack the contribution of war veterans in Zimbabwe's development agenda in the area of peace and economic development. The large body of Zimbabwe's war veterans come from two military wings of ZAPU-PF, (ZIPRA) and ZANU (ZANLA). Broadly, these two movements followed Marxian ideology in dislodging the white Rhodesian rule. In the 1980s, war veterans played crucial roles in the Matebeleland killings. The national unity agreement which was signed between Mr Joshua Nkomo and Mr Robert Mugabe quailed the killings and formed the ZANU PF unity government in 1987. Economically, the war veterans played a critical role in the land invasions around the turn of the new millennium which in the eyes of the western governments undermined the rights of the white farmers. And in the eyes of the Mugabe led government empowered the black masses. Recently, as the political talk of succession heats up, war veterans are also seen as being in a very critical position to map Zimbabwe's way forward. Being the vanguard of the revolution, it is critical to analyse how the war veterans will shape Zimbabwe's development discourse after Mugabe leaves office. This study will probe key actors and available literature to answer these questions.

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‘From “defence of homeland” to “defence of ancestors’ lands”:
War and youth’s emergence in land governance in Côte d’Ivoire’,
Dr **GNANGADJOMON KONE** (presenting) and **OUATTARA BA MOROU**,
Université Alassane Ouattara and Centre Suisse de Recherches
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This paper seeks to explain how civil war has reshaped and continues to reshape the land governance system in the Western areas of Côte d’Ivoire. The article focuses on the unprecedented role of youth militias in land governance during and in the aftermath of the civil war – a phenomenon that appears to be a novelty with respect to customary land regulation. In what instances has the context of civil war played in favour of the young generation’s involvement in land management? How does this process affect customary land regulation system and land security in the aftermath of the conflict in western Côte d’Ivoire? Our analysis of data gathered through focus group and interviews with former rural militia soldiers points to two key findings. First, the historical call for the “defence of the homeland” – launched by President Laurent Gbagbo and his regime to counter the rebellion of the Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d’Ivoire (MPCI) in mid-September 2002 – offered an opportunity to young generations to develop an agrarian patriotism of “defence of ancestors’ lands”. Second, on the umbrella of the slogan of “defence of ancestors’ lands”, indigenous youth from Ivorian cocoa production zones later negotiated a status of land managers. The study then confirms the assumption that war provides means of political mobility to some social categories traditionally excluded and marginalized.

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‘Grievance, politics and the return to conflict in Mozambique’,
2012-2016, **Dr JUSTIN PEARCE**, University of Cambridge

Following 20 years of peace in Mozambique, the years since 2012

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have been marked by a low-intensity but persistent conflict between government forces and fighters loyal to Renamo, the government's adversary in the 1976-1992 war. This paper is based on interviews conducted in 2015 and 2016 in Sofala province and in refugee camps in Malawi to which refugees fled from Tete and Zambêzia provinces. I consider the recent violence in the light of regionally distinct histories of the independence struggle and civil war, the peculiarities of the 1992 Rome peace accord, and the political economy of post-war Mozambique. Renamo returned to arms in order to put pressure on the government following a steady decline in its electoral support. Atypically for an insurgency, it did not recruit new soldiers but remobilised ageing combatants from the civil war. The main focus of the paper is Renamo's relationship with society in the rural areas where it established bases between 2012 and 2015. Although civilians were not direct participants in violence, Renamo crafted a message that resonated with popular disillusionment with corruption and poverty, and in some cases with histories of alienation from the state that date back to the anti-colonial struggle. Such an approach by Renamo ensured popular attitudes towards the new insurgency have ranged from acceptance to active support.

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'Post-War Narratives and Legacies of Black Namibian and Angolan Members of Koevoet and 32 Battalion in South Africa', **LENNART BOLLIGER**, University of Oxford

Histories of southern Africa's liberation struggles have been primarily written in the frame of the nation and have thus largely neglected the significant role played by transnational and inter-regional connections in shaping those struggles. In this paper, I explore the complex and seemingly paradoxical dynamics of 'national liberation' through the case of black Namibians and Angolans, who were recruited into the South African police counter-insurgency unit, Koevoet, and now reside in Namibia and South Africa. I argue that the initially temporary 'alliances' between these soldiers and South Africa's security forces assumed a degree of permanence in the form of new and enduring military identities and loyalties. These often contradictory identities and

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loyalties have remained salient in influencing the history and politics not only of southern Africa as many ex-Koevoet members have served as 'private security and military contractors' in the region as well as in other parts of Africa and the world. By analysing the post-war life trajectories and historical narratives of these soldiers, I bring into the focus the transnational character of the liberation struggles and the painful legacies of the conflicts' 'internalisation' along familial, ethnic, racial, political and ideological lines.

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Panel 6 - Violence, crime and reconciliation after conflict

VENUE: Old College House Lounge, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

Chair: **Dr SABINE KURTENBACH**, German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)

Discussant: **Dr NADINE ANSORG**, GIGA/University of Kent

“So the Killings Continued” – Wartime Mobilisation and Post-war Violence in KwaZulu-Natal’, South Africa, **SEBASTIAN VAN BAALEN** (presenting) and Prof **KRISTINE HÖGLUND**, University of Uppsala.

Many post-war states experience continuous low-intensity violence for years after the formal end of the conflict. Conventional wisdom suggests that the type and magnitude of post-war violence is consistent with the levels of violence during the war. Yet, post-war violence does not affect all communities equally. We argue that communities where wartime mobilisation at the local level is based on the formation of alliances between armed groups and local elites, are more likely to experience post-war violence, than communities where mobilisation occurs based on shared support for the war's master cleavage. We explore this argument in a comparison of three communities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, which have experienced different levels of post-war violence. The analysis supports the main argument and contributes to the research on the microdynamics of civil war by outlining the implications of certain types of wartime mobilisation

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and how these may generate localised legacies.

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'Old Guns, New Crimes: Postwar Nigeria and Crime in the African Postcolony', **SAMUEL FURY CHILDS DALY**, Rutgers University, USA.

This paper connects the history of the Nigerian Civil War to the emergence of armed robbery as a criminological phenomenon in post-war Nigeria, a comparative case with important implications for similar problems of post-war demobilization as it relates to crime in Southern Africa (especially in Angola). Legal records from the secessionist Republic of Biafra reveal that the Nigerian Civil War created conditions in which the hitherto uncommon crime of armed robbery could flourish. The wide availability of firearms, ambiguity over the distinction between soldier and civilian, and a growing humanitarian crisis made Biafrans reliant on their weapons to obtain food and fuel, make claims to property, and settle disputes with one another. In these circumstances, the "legitimate" violence of warfare blurred into armed robbery and other forms of violence. The violence associated with warfare did not end with Biafra's defeat, and in the difficult years of the postwar it spread beyond the former borders of the secessionist state and became a national crisis. In addition to connecting the histories of warfare and crime, the history of armed violence in postwar Nigeria challenges scholars to consider the role of former soldiers in postcolonial Africa as they relate to larger ideas about public order, the sustainability of peace, and everyday violence. The project speaks directly to two of the themes of the workshop; changes in patterns of violence and the structures of trust following armed conflict, and the ways in which former armed actors reinvent themselves in postwar societies.

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'The Long-Term Effects of Violence on Trust: Evidence from South Africa 1974-2016', **Dr ADAM S. HARRIS**, University of Gothenburg

What are the long-term effects of violence on trust? Does race-

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based violence lead to a decrease in trust and does this trust deficit persist? To investigate these questions, I use Afrobarometer data on trust (using waves 1-5) and geo-located violence data to determine if people living in areas that experienced more violence between 1974-1994 have lower levels of trust today. I also investigate the effects of violence between 1974-1994 on violence between 1994-2016 and the effects of post-apartheid violence on trust in order to determine the effects of different types of violence in different political contexts on levels of trust. Importantly, using the Afrobarometer data allows me to investigate changes in trust over time to determine whether violent-prone areas can ever reach trust levels of areas that experienced less or no violence. The results show that violence does reduce trust, but that levels of trust can recover. However, the recovery process takes time. We do not see rises in trust for at ten years, on average, in violent-prone areas. Further, areas that experienced more violence between 1974-1994 also experienced more post-apartheid violence, which in turn prevents any growth in trust. This study illustrates the importance of violence on trust and presents a number of challenges to full reconciliation in South Africa even more than 20 years after apartheid.

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11:00 - 11:30

Coffee Break

11:30 – 12:30

SECOND KEYNOTE SPEECH, "The Rise and Fall of Peacebuilding in Africa".

Prof. GILBERT KHADIAGALA, Jan Smuts Professor of International Relations and Head of the Department of International Relations at the University of Witwatersrand.

Peacebuilding has been with us since the 1990s when regional and international actors coalesced around programs to reverse the first spates of Africa's civil wars. These efforts generated wide-ranging knowledge about norms and institutions around rebuilding failed states. This presentation suggests that the 25 years of experiences of peacebuilding in Africa have furnished useful lessons that remain

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critical to policy debates and engagements in post-conflict reconstruction. Nonetheless, the broad field of peacebuilding faces a profound crisis stemming from obstacles to rejuvenation of effective systems of governance, participation, and security in weak states. In addition, reversals in gains from previous peacebuilding bids have raised doubts about the solidity of assumptions and programs for building institutions in deeply divided societies. These setbacks have in turn highlighted concerns about the future of peacebuilding as an academic and policy enterprise.

VENUE: Old College House Lounge, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

12:30 - 14:00

Lunch

14:00- 15:30

ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: 'Challenges of Peacebuilding in Southern Africa'.

VENUE: Old College House Lounge, Hatfield Campus, University of Pretoria

Moderator: **Prof. MAXI SCHOEMAN**, Professor of Political Science and Deputy Dean in the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria.

Prof. SABELO J. NDLOVU GATSHENI, Head of the Archie Mafeje Research Institute at the University of South Africa (UNISA).

Prof. BRIAN RAFTOPOULOS, Senior Researcher at the University of the Western Cape and former Associate Professor at the University of Zimbabwe.

Prof. ANNETTE SEEGER, Professor of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town

Dr. HUGO VAN DER MERWE, Head of Research at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa.

15:30 - 16:00

Wrap-up/Wayforward

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