UNIVERSITÉ DE GENÈVE

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Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Afrikastudien
Société suisse d'études africaines

Civil Wars and State Formation

Africa in Comparative Perspective

International conference convened by the University of Geneva and the Swiss Society of African Studies

Geneva | *15-17 November 2018*

Conference organisers: Didier Péclard (Université de Genève), Martina Santschi (swisspeace), Jon Schubert (Brunel University), Stéphanie Perazzone (Université de Genève)

This conference seeks to debate the social construction of order and legitimacy during and after violent conflict. It focuses on political orders put in place by armed groups, their strategies to legitimise their very existence as movements as well as their claim to power, and on the extent to which they strive and manage to institutionalise their military power and transform it into political domination.

Recent literature has provided important insights into the organisational structures of armed groups, the emergence of alternative forms of social order in war-affected zones, as well as into the relationships between territorial control and the use of violence. Taken together these studies build a new, 're-politicised' narrative of state-society relations during violent conflict. However, scant attention has been paid to how relations and institutions of governance that were developed in areas controlled by armed groups fit into long-term dynamics of state formation through armed conflict. Moreover, much of the literature on the peace-building/state-building nexus still relies on a normative and prescriptive concept of states as structures rather than as processes, and on the idea that states are the product of conscious policies aimed at constructing the institutional infrastructure of governance rather than historical formations. We argue that states cannot be engineered, but are the results of long-lasting historical processes including phases of violence. Accordingly, civil wars need to be seen as part and parcel of historical processes of state formation and not as the

expression of states' inability to maintain their monopoly over the use of violence, or as the result of their 'collapse' and 'failure'. A processual, bottom-up approach to capturing formations of statehood provides for a better understanding of legitimate institutions and their formation.

Based on this critical perspective on the politics of government in war zones, the conference will follow three interconnected main lines of inquiry:

1. M*anufacturing consent*. What kind of narratives do armed groups construct to legitimise their military actions and shore up popular consent? How do rebel movements and other armed groups build their social base and garner support for their cause and what narratives do they produce to legitimise their military actions in order to counter the negative effects of the 'shadow of violence' (Schlichte) cast by warfare?
2. *Institutionalising rule.* To which degree do armed movements in different socio-political environments engage in the development of a system of civilian rule and a bureaucratic apparatus? How does military control by armed groups translate (or not) into civilian political institutions in times of war and what, if anything, distinguishes wartime governance from other forms of governance? Here, we posit that the ability of armed movements to institutionalise their power is strongly influenced by the kind of state-society relationship that characterised social life prior to conflict in the areas under their control, and we therefore look at how the government of people in times of war relates to other sources of power (traditional or religious authorities, remnants of the state administration, local, national and international NGOs, etc.).
3. *The wartime fabric of post-war state domination*. Engaging with what we see as a blind spot in the literature on governance in times of war, and especially in the emerging sub-field of 'rebel governance', we suggest to focus here on the continuities and discontinuities between war and post-war orders. How does 'rebel rule' transform into state domination and how does the culture of governance developed under 'rebel rule' shape post-war governance by former rebels? This panel will discuss how the symbolic and material aspects of rebel rule 'survive' the end of hostilities, especially in formerly rebel-held territories, and how this impacts long-term state formation processes.

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PROGRAMME

Thu, 15.11

Venue : Room B111, Uni Bastions | Rue De-Candolle 5

6.30pm **Opening Keynote Speech**

'Ordres sociaux et formation de l'Etat dans les situations de guerre civile'
Gilles Dorronsoro | Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne

Fri, 16.11

Venue : Room B02.2526, UNI-CMU |Faculté de Médecine, Rue Michel Servet 1.

9.30 – 9.45 Registration, coffee

9.45 – 10am Welcome by the organisers | *Didier Péclard, Jon Schubert, Martina Santschi*

10am – 10.15 **Introduction:** Civil Wars and State Formation | *Didier Péclard* (Université de Genève)

10.15 – 12.30 **Panel 1: Manufacturing Consent**
incl. coffee break 11.15 – 11.45

Chair: Martina Santschi (swisspeace)
Discussant: Stéphanie Perazzone (Université de Genève)

Corinna Jentzsch (Leiden University)

State-militia relations and informal institutions of security governance during civil war

Guilain Mathé (Université de Lausanne)

La fabrique du consentement en temps de guerre : normes, rhétorique et dramaturgie politiques sous la rébellion du CNDP au Kivu, RDC

Jon Schubert (Brunel University) & **Gilson Lázaro** (Centro de Estudos Africanos, Catholic University of Angola, Luanda)

UNITA 'far from home': from clandestine cells to military regions on the Northern Front and the central coast in Angola's civil war

12.30 –2pm Lunch break

2pm – 5pm **Panel 2: Legitimising Rule**

incl. coffee break 3.30 – 4pm

Chair: Jon Schubert (Brunel University)
Discussant: Adam Baczko (Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne)

Kasper Hoffmann (Copenhagen University)

Rebel Rule: A governmentality Perspective

Nicki Kindersley (Cambridge University)

Warlord careerism on the South Sudan-Darfur borderland: a family history

Rebecca Tapscott (the Graduate Institute, Geneva)

Political Disorder and State Formation During and After Civil War: The Case of Uganda's National Resistance Army

Leben Moro (University of Juba) & **Martina Santschi** (swisspeace)

State Formation through Conflict in South Sudan: Continuities and Discontinuities since 1955

5.30 – 6.30pm **Keynote Speech**

'Governing the state in the inter-war: violence, law and disorder'

Marielle Debos |Université Paris-Ouest

7:30pm Conference dinner (upon invitation only)

Sat, 17.11

Venue : Room B111, Uni Bastions | Rue De-Candolle 5

9.30 – 12.30 **Panel 3: Continuities and Discontinuities**

incl. coffee break 11.00 – 11.15

Chair: Didier Péclard (swisspeace)
Discussant: Jonathan Austin (the Graduate Institute, Geneva)

Camille Popineau (IEP Paris)

Union mobilisation and war legacies in financial departments in Ivory Coast: reunifying war stakeholders after the re-unification of the State

Koen Vlassenroot (Ghent University)

The in-between of being a civilian and combatant – circular return in eastern DR Congo

Ousmane Zina (Université Alassane Ouattara)

Transition sécuritaire et production « bric-à-brac » de l'ordre post-guerre en Côte d'Ivoire.

Eric Morier-Genoud (Queen's University Belfast)

Rebuilding a Legitimate State after War. The case of Mozambique,1992-2000

12.30 – 2pm Closing lunch