The users of force: militia membership and social transformation

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Although cruel, ugly and inhuman, violent conflict is also by its very nature an instrument for social and economic restructuring. It is a site for innovation, which reorders social, economic and political life, and as such best approached as a drama: a social drama over the distribution of ideas, identities, resources and social positions. Thus, in societies torn by conflict, armies, militias and insurgency movements can serve as providers of some sort of order and social organisation, and can represent means of social integration and upward social mobility, They destroy as well as form new social systems, and thereby also alter political configurations on local, national and regional levels. Drawing upon ongoing fieldwork among former and current combatants, this paper explore the degrees of attachment and disattachment between the 'users of force' and local communities and authority. The majority of those involved are neither Mkandawire's 'alienated urban youth' nor Abdullah's 'lumpens' hardwired to crime and violence. Rather, they are ordinary youth from ordinary, but marginalised rural backgrounds, and their degrees of attachment and disattachment to local communities and authority structures are multi-layered and complex. The only way to understand 'users of force' is to take their own experiences seriously, even if the narratives presented do not fit very well with existing categories of political behaviour and may also challenge our human rights ethics.

Gendering SSR in post-conflict environments

Kathleen Jennings

My paper will focus on issues related to the gender, conflict, post-conflict reconstruction, and SSR research agenda. I am particularly interested in examining some of the assumptions underlying attempts to "gender" SSR in post-conflict countries, in particular, and how these typically play off simultaneous moves to "gender" international organizations and multilateral operations (e.g. UN peacekeeping mission). The emphasis on including women in reconstructed police and military forces, as well as in UN operations – for despite the best efforts of gender advisors and researchers, "gender" still primarily translates as "women" – will be particularly challenged. It is typically held that adding women to national security or police forces, or to peacekeeping missions, will increase both the effectiveness and, for lack of a better term, humanity of these forces – an assumption for which there is, so far, little empirical evidence, and that is built upon a pacifying, paternalistic, and homogenizing view of women. I am also interested in raising (for further discussion) the paradox that, in post-war countries, women are expected to assume the roles of both saviors and victims, echoing the Madonna/whore duality that is familiar from research on prostitution and human trafficking. What does this savior/victim duality say about how the national and international elites driving reconstruction in a post-conflict country view women, and what implications does this have for the reconstruction project and women's place in it?

DDRed in Liberia

Morten Bøås and Ingunn Bjørkhaug (Fafo)

This paper questions mainstream approaches to the reintegration of youthful ex-combatants. In Liberia, the disarmament and demobilisation was implemented quite effectively, but several questions can be asked about the components of reintegration and rehabilitation in the DDR-process. Most ex-combatants are currently unemployed or underemployed as the programmes initiated first and foremost prepared them for jobs that did not exist. The programmes also worked from the assumption that wartime experiences, networks and command structures had to be broken down as they were seen as counterproductive to peace and reconciliation.

Drawing on previous research in Liberia the hypothesis is that reintegration can better be achieved through peaceful remobilisation that allows the ex-combatants to make use of the skills, experiences and networks gained through the war. This is illustrated by the recent experience of a nightwatch patrol in Voinjama in Lofa County that was based on rank and command structure from the war which responded to local community demands and filled a security vacuum. This is an alternative path to reintegration that needs further analysis, and the article argued that this should be

based on the premises of a genuine understanding of the background of Liberia's young ex-combatants and the nature and form of their involvement in violent conflict. Many people were involved in the war, but most only fought for certain periods. The motivations for joining varied, but the collected data from our various studies shows that security considerations were among the most important factors. Most combatants were ordinary people who joined for the sake of protection for themselves, their families and their communities.

DDR in Liberia, as elsewhere, is, however, built on the assumption that there is something particularly dangerous and marginalised about the group of people who constituted the rank-and-file of the factions involved in the war. This is, as we have seen, not necessarily the case. DDR is very much a reaction to the notion that these people are unattached to society, set apart in their own world, and therefore needs particular attention. The paper will therefore suggests that DDR approaches are in dire need of a rethinking that links them more directly to programmes aimed at social cohesion and societal security.

"Archimedes v Africa: Authority and the Anatomy of Peacebuilding"

Ole Jacob Sending, NUPI

Abstract:
What is it that establishes external actors in a position of authority to both define the ends to which post-conflict societies should aspire and the means to achieve them? This question is essential to on-going political debates about the contents, limits, and future of the liberal peacebuilding model. It is also one that has been marginal to extant research on peace building. This paper start from the premise that while external actors' authority to define the ends and means of peace building is made possible by UN Security Council mandates, how efforts to build peace after conflict is organized and implemented at the country level must be captured through how peace builders understand and approach their tasks. I treat peacebuilders as a professional group whose efforts to establish and institutionalize authority to build peace for others affects how peacebuilding is defined and implemented. The search for authority both on moral and technical grounds pushes peace builders to view democracy, the rule of law, and the market as rational-logical products of abstractions within a universalist discourse, not as emergent properties of the society in question. Peacebuilders thus privileges knowledge of universals over local context, international over local sources of legitimacy, and see themselves as standing above politics. For purposes of comparison, I show how humanitarian organizations approach and define their tasks differently precisely because their claim to authority looks different: where peacebuilders lay claim to authority by standing above politics, humanitarians do so by claiming to stand outside of it.

The Casamance Conflict: Strategies Implemented by the Senegalese State to Quell the Rebellion

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Abstract
The Casamance conflict which broke out in 1982 brings into conflict the Senegalese State and the Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC). The conflict stems from horizontal inequalities between the Senegalese political and economic centre in the North and the Casamance region in the South. Casamance is an enclosed region between three sovereign States: The Gambia, Guinea Bissau, and Guinea Conakry. Historically, these entities formed with Casamance part of what was known as the Gabu Empire and, socio-linguistically, they share the same values. In addition, they have the same ethnical groups living within transnational spaces and ignoring the borders established by the colonizers and jealously kept by different States.
 In fact, the disparities at the economic and political levels between the region and the north of the country fueled regionalist feeling that emerged in the early 1950s, to further lead a crystallization of local identities. The pride of being a native of the Casamance region or, in other words, "casamancity" reveals the opposition between the Senegalese centre and a periphery deeply marked by poverty and frustrations due to abuses by ruling administrators and politicians. With the confiscation and expropriation of lands from the indigenous populations, the Casamance regionalism turns into a strong nationalism embedded in a nexus aiming at the independence of the region. The event occurred in a political context when the central power had lost its main credible relays, Ibou Diallo and Emile Badiane, who died respectively in 1971 and 1972. It is also worth stressing that that these two leaders witnessed the outbreak of local regionalism as precursors of the hegemonic refusal of the Senegalese centre.
The armed conflict stemming from that situation and the radicalization of narratives developed by a local "lumpen" elite have produced heavy consequences in the region and affected local population's life. In addition to insecurity and killings, there are major losses of incomes among the local populations and many refugees hailing from the neighboring countries: The Gambia and Guinea Bissau. As a consequence, the nation-state building process itself remains compromised and the fracture between the northern Senegalese and the local population has increased. To address the issue, the Senegalese central power has implemented various strategies. These vary from repression to an "ethnicization" of the choice of ministers from the Casamance region into the Senegalese government. When the war situation reached its peak in the 1990s, with the intensification of attacks by the MFDC secessionist rebellion in the Casamance region, the government first implemented the logic of dividing and conquering the rebellion. On building up more school facilities in the region, the central power is also seeking to fuel a widespread dissatisfaction feeling against the separatist movement. These strategies are being developed parallel to negotiation cycles showing the true ambitions of the State to end today`s oldest armed conflict in West Africa. But because of a vast number of emissaries and the State's unclear agenda, the conflict is still going on.

Key words: Nationalism, regionalism, separatism, narrative construction, "ethnicization", polarization, Centre, periphery.

A Framework for Agricultural Development in Post-Conflict Situations: The Role of UN Civil-military Coordination in Humanitarian Assistance

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Abstract:

Civil wars and other disasters are a major cause of development failure in the developing world. People are exposed to all kinds of risks but the extent to which a particular risk affects an individual depends on the level of vulnerability associated with that individual, household, or community in a given country. In some countries of Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA), civil wars have been detrimental to the development process because of the level of civilian destruction in such conflicts. The disruptions caused by these conflicts have in the long run often resulted in more death and suffering from hunger, malnutrition, and diseases such as HIV/AIDS, than are caused by the actual fighting. Diseases spread rapidly in the absence of functioning public health systems.

The nature of the reconstruction needed, therefore, varies with the war damage to economic and social facilities and services. Unfortunately, the impact and the burden of disasters and post -disaster recovery is disproportionately borne by vulnerable groups such as women and children. Additionally, the performance of agriculture during these times is dismal and hence most people are food insecure. Agriculture is the economic engine for growth in most African countries and the livelihoods of the majority of disaster-affected people in post–emergence countries is dependent on agriculture. Therefore, early support to the agriculture sector in post–emergency situations can have a broad impact on recovery and subsequent growth and offers widespread benefits to returning refugees, IDPs, and women and children. Noting the importance of agriculture, we present a post-conflict developmental framework that considers the role of the military and/or peace keepers for post–emergency rebuilding. We argue that, the support from the military or peace keepers should be an integral part of a comprehensive relief moving towards long-term agricultural led economic growth and recovery. We conclude that to prevent a return to conflict requires food and nutrition security supported by a well coordinated peace keeping force or military protection that allows farming communities to engage in agriculture development. This will allow farming communities to resume or start with development activities without fear and allow farm workers to reintegrate into a peacetime agricultural led economic growth.

**"Churches and Peace-Building in Eastern DRC and Northern Uganda:
A Multi-Scalar, Comparative Reflection".**

By Einar Braathen and David Jordhus-Lier, NIBR

The paper is based on recent field work and compares the complex developments of war and recent peace in Eastern DR Congo and Northern Uganda. The first Congo War (1996-97) brought Mobutu Sese Seko's reign to an end, and Kabila became the first president of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The Second Congo War (1998-2003) did not lead to a regime change, rather it evolved into a full-scale continental war where Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia backed the new Kabila government with a substantial military effort. A UN mission to the DRC (MONUC) has been in the country since 1999. In Northern Uganda, particularly in the Acholi region, there has been a low-intensive war almost permanently since the National Resistance Movement/Army (NRM/A) headed by Yoweri Museveni came to power by military means in January 1986. In August 2006 the infamous Lord's Resistance Army/Movement (LRA/M) and the Ugandan government signed a historical but shaky truce. There has since been absence of armed clashes in Northern Uganda, with a steady process of peace building taking place. However, the hostilities resumed in December 2008 and have since escalated to a regional scale. The Ugandan armed forces chase LRA in DRC, South Sudan and the Central African Republic, and LRA strike back with new atrocities against civilians.

The paper focuses on how different church networks (e.g. Catholic /Pentecostal) have engaged differently in peace-building initiatives. The theoretical framework is provided by notions of social space – the duality of 'spaces of dependence'/'spaces of engagement' (Cox 1998). The activities of the church networks are observed at different political scales, from how they are anchored at the local level to how they relate to the province, national, regional and international levels.

'Who will comfort me?' Stigmatization of former girl soldiers in the DRC.

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Abstract
This empirical article is based on a study of stigmatization of former girl soldiers in the DR Congo, and presents a detailed description of how these girls are viewed and treated when returning home. The study reveals that the Congolese society views with suspicion those who are or have been part of an armed force or group. People believe that former girl soldiers will attract male soldiers to their villages, and they are perceived as violent, as thieves, as promiscuous and as carriers of transmittable diseases. Based in these attitudes and beliefs the former girl soldiers are thought to have a bad influence on the behaviour of their peers. The fears and prejudices towards former girl soldiers are translated into stigmatizing behaviour such as name-calling, rejection, social exclusion, and discriminating treatment. The stigmatization the former girl soldiers experience can be likened to a second traumatisation and it is a clear obstacle to a smooth reintegration process. In its discussion the article identifies important factors impacting on the degree of stigmatization, and distinguishes between two categories: 1) pre-return factors; the girls' recruitment, their treatment and status in the group, group belonging, how they demobilized, and whether they return home with children, and 2) post-return factors which may reinforce or reduce the stigmatization; protection of caring biological parents, poverty, the girls' behaviour, chances of getting married, and whether the girls have a remunerative job.

Despite former girl soldiers' explicit rights to non-discrimination and gender sensitive reintegration support, their rights continue to be violated through frequent and heartless stigmatization by their families and communities. As women are identified as those most actively involved in the everyday stigmatization of the girls, there is a great need to work aiming at transforming the role of girls and women from being stigmatizers to becoming contributors to the healing process of former girl soldiers. In line with the former girl soldiers the article concludes that the more empowered and independent these girls become, in particular financially independent, the less problems and stigmatization they will face.

Vulnerability in disaster-induced compressed globalization

Håvard Benum Lindanger

This paper is based on my MA thesis in social anthropology: "Rich Man Low, Poor Man High – A study of compressed globalization after the Indian Ocean Tsunami disaster in Vailankanni, India." (2010)

There is something of an axiom in literature on disasters and post-disaster rehabilitation/reconstruction that state that the poor are the most vulnerable and the least resilient when faced with large scale destruction caused by a sudden-onset disaster. Based on six months of fieldwork from January to July 2006 in Nagapattinam District, Tamil Nadu, I argue that this „axiom. is distorting and potentially harmful in those situations where the disastrous event „goes global.. The „global tsunami. caused the disaster process to implode back on the affected countries as actors converged laden with resources, projects and policies. Edvard Hviding (2003) introduces the concept of compressed globalization to understand situations where a locality over a short period of time becomes the focal point of global connections with a striking "density, in space and time" (ibid. 539) with "surprisingly few representatives on the ground" (ibid. 542). In many disaster situations this density gives rise to a „disaster boom-economy. and an (acceptable-) recipient scarcity (as opposed to resource scarcity).

In the worst hit district, Nagapattinam, two influential NGOs from the area set up a NGO coordination centre (NCC). By the 1st of January 2005, NCC was attached to over 400 NGOs that had converged on the area to assist in the relief and reconstruction efforts. NCC was, with assistance from the UNDP and state government, morphed into NCRC (NGO Coordination and Resource Centre). NCRC.s focus was ensuring community participation and even distribution, sought accomplished by establishing 11 village information centers where information could be gathered for the benefit of district authority, NGOs, and the villagers themselves. Approval of reconstruction projects also required approval by both district and panchayat administration. Community participation would thus appear to be better attended to in Nagapattinam district than in many post-disaster situations.

The question thus present itself: why, despite the efforts of NCRC and other initiatives, did my informants (small-scale businessmen) and report after report (see e.g. Ganguly 2005; Walls 2005) claim that the reconstruction efforts were one-sided, muddied and in some cases harmful? In the case of my informants: a pre-tsunami middleclass that received neither government support, nor reconstruction help from NGOs. Further attenuating this feeling of loss was the increased material prosperity of many sea-going fishermen communities. The reports on the other hand, mainly call our attention to the near-exclusion of marginalized Dalit („untouchables.) communities in both relief and reconstruction efforts. While the fundamental axiom of „poor equal vulnerable equal low resilience. can be argued to hold true for the Dalit communities, it.s an obvious fallacy in the case of the businessmen. I would argue that also the Dalit exclusion was a consequence of a removal of the ownership of the true disaster account (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 2002) from „the local. as it was appropriated by non-local actors. The appropriation caused an entification (Larsen 2009) of the victim to such an extent that nearly all reconstruction and rehabilitation

projects targeted one group among many – the meenawar fishermen communities. Thus, the simplistic assumption that pre-disaster power (often in the form of asset ownership) equals vulnerability and ability to recover (resilience) falls short. The distribution of „power. post-disaster is, in cases where the disaster „goes global., not simply an aspect of the „local. society but of a global process that occurs in a historical, symbolic, political and economic landscape.