Application of an Analytical Framework for Armed Conflicts: A comparative analysis of the cases of Burundi and the Central African Republic

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AUTHOR

Ignasi Torrent Oliva is a PhD candidate for the Department of Public International Law and International Relations at Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona. Besides his teaching duties at the department, he also teaches at the Barcelona Institute for International Studies (IBEI). His fields of interest include peacebuilding processes, in particular in the UN framework, statebuilding or the liberal peace implications, *inter alia*.

Contact:
ignasi.torrent@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The present working paper aims to design and test the feasibility of an analytical frame for armed conflicts. The introduction presents a methodological discussion through which the author justifies the significance of the presented analytical structure. The first part unfolds in detail the dimensions, variables and categories of the analytical frame, which include the conflict precedents, the nature of the conflict itself and a third dimension that embraces the (ongoing) conflict resolution stage. The second part tests the feasibility of the analytical structure through the comparison of two specific cases that have experienced armed conflicts in the recent times: Burundi and the Central African Republic. Upon this comparative analysis, the author sheds light on shared conflict-related dynamics. Finally, the working paper highlights the usability of the presented analytical frame and poses methodological challenges for further discussion.

Key words: analytical frame, armed conflicts, comparative analysis, shared conflict dynamics, Burundi, the Central African Republic.

RESUM

El següent document de treball té l'objectiu de dissenyar i aplicar un marc analític per a conflictes armats. La introducció presenta una discussió metodològica on l'autor justifica la rellevància de l'esmentada estructura analítica. La primera part desplega en detall les dimensions, variables i categories del marc analític, incloent-hi els precedents del conflicte, la naturalesa del mateix conflicte i una tercera dimensió que avarca la, encara vigent, fase de resolució del conflicte. En la segona part es prova la viabilitat de l'estructura analítica comparant dos casos específics que han experimentat conflictes armats recentment: Burundi i la República Centreafricana. En base a aquest anàlisis comparatiu, l'autor remarca dinàmiques compartides per ambdós conflictes. Finalment, el document de treball subratlla el sentit de l'ús del present marc analític i planteja reptes metodològics per ampliar el debat.

Paraules clau: marc analític, conflictes armats, anàlisis comparatiu, dinàmiques compartides dels conflictes, Burundi, República Centreafricana.

RESUMEN

El siguiente documento de trabajo tiene el objetivo de diseñar y aplicar un marco analítico para conflictos armados. La introducción presenta una discusión metodológica donde el autor justifica la relevancia de dicha estructura analítica. La primera parte desarrolla en detalle las dimensiones, variables y categorías del marco analítico, incluyendo los precedentes del conflicto, la naturaleza del mismo conflicto y una tercera dimensión que abarca la, aún vigente, fase de resolución del conflicto. En la segunda parte se prueba la viabilidad de la estructura analítica comparando dos casos específicos que han experimentado conflictos armados recientemente: Burundi y la República Centroafricana. En base a este análisis comparativo, el autor remarca

dinámicas compartidas por ambos conflictos. Finalmente, el documento de trabajo subraya el sentido del uso del presente marco analítico y plantea retos metodológicos para ampliar el debate.

Palabras clave: marco analítico, conflictos armados, análisis comparativo, dinámicos compartidas de los conflictos, Burundi, República Centroafricana.

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INTRODUCTION: A METHODOLOGICAL FOREWORD

In the on-going development of a PhD dissertation, the author has designed an *ad hoc* analytical framework for major armed conflicts[1] in which to introduce and analyse case studies. The purpose of this methodological spin-off from the doctoral thesis is to describe this analytical framework, together with its testability. The ultimate goal of this working paper is therefore not the outcome of the comparative analysis, but to test the feasibility of the analytical framework for its subsequent applicability to the doctoral dissertation. The rationale for choosing the analytical framework presented here is to describe the cases analytically, as to descriptively, and, with this aim in mind, analyse the different dimensions, variables and categories in order to facilitate the identification of common conflict-related patterns and dynamics. According to George and Bennet (2005), the conversion of descriptive explanations into analytical explanations transforms the core of narrative and/or descriptive writing into concepts and variables of a general theoretical framework (George and Bennett, 2005). In short, the use of an analytical approach enhances the understanding of features that are common to both cases as well as the methodology itself, given that a descriptive approach does not facilitate an analytical process.

The field of conflict analysis has hitherto provided a wide variety of analytical tools for gaining a more comprehensive understanding of armed conflicts.[2] The indicators used in the analytical framework

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1. For the definition of "major armed conflict", the author uses the Uppsala Conflict Data Program's concept of war. The UCDP distinguishes between a minor armed conflict, which causes between 25 and 999 battle-related deaths in a given year, and war, which exceeds this threshold number of battle-related deaths in the same time frame.
2. Sandole *et al.* (2009) present a conflict analysis framework based on theoretical concepts and practical issues. On the one hand, they propose the analysis of conflicts by way of concepts such as agency, rationale, structure, systems and group dynamics. On the other hand, they suggest that the analysis of field aspects, for example, pre-negotiation, negotiation,

presented here are partly based on the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (hereinafter UCDP). The UCDP gathers information on armed conflicts, which is publicly available online and in the annual report, and has set up a database dealing with a large number of related issues. UCDP datasets focus on aspects such as the type of conflict, actors, external support, conflict termination, peace agreements, and quantitative data on particular indicators, such as battle-related deaths, amongst other things. The UCDP's best known conceptual contribution is probably the definition of an armed conflict, a social phenomenon which consists of "a contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths" (Wallensteen and Sollenberg, 2001). The conceptual and methodological standards of the UCDP are widely acknowledged throughout the academic community, particularly in the field of peace and conflict studies. The datasets, which are freely and globally available, constitute one of the most reliable sources for the development of analysis and research on conflict-related topics.[3]

As described in detail in the first part of the paper, the author uses the UCDP variables to analyse the nature of the conflicts, namely the type of dispute and the actors involved, with a second dimension covering the resolution stage, using variables such as the scope of the peace agreement and the extent of inclusivity. In addition to these two dimensions and their respective variables and categories, a prior ad hoc dimension on the background (precedents) to the conflicts is included in the analytical framework. The data for this first dimension are more narrative and less systematic than the UCDP information. Nonethe-

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mediation and problem-solving cooperation is also necessary. Likewise, Mayer (2012) identifies five issues for analysis in conflict zones: emotions, values, structure, history and communication. Mayer also emphasizes human needs as a fundamental contextual factor. From the perspective of the roots of a struggle, Levinger (2013) establishes five dimensions (strategic, political, socio-economic, psychological and cultural) for obtaining a better understanding of the causes that bring about conflict.

3. For more information, see the UCDP website: http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/

less, the author considers that the investigation of the causes of the conflict is fundamental for a better understanding of the factors that led to the violent struggle and to give meaning to the data provided in the second and third dimensions. In short, the present analytical structure is an adaptation of several indicators from the UCDP that are preceded by a comprehensive analysis of the precedents to the conflict.

In order to fully understand the origins of the conflict, a closer look at the precedents to the conflicts and deconstruction of the causes is necessary.[4] Many authors have studied causality in conflict analysis from a logical positivist perspective, which reduces causation to Humean linear and regular occurrences (Gurr, 1993; Sandole, 1999; Levy 1998). Beyond this positivist approach, Rothbart and Cherubin (2009) argue that no single conception of causation fits all modes of social scientific inquiry and that different conceptions of causation are suitable for different epistemic purposes and ontological categories. In other words, causation in the social sciences cannot be categorized in a one-size-fits-all variable, particularly as the complexity of causation (in the social sciences) enhances and makes more holistic the understanding of social phenomena. Furthermore, the in-depth study of causes in conflict analysis varies according to the purpose of the researcher. The causal factors dealt with in this analytical framework are political, economic and socio-cultural. Through an in-depth analysis of these societal dimensions, the author's ultimate goal is a comprehensive understanding of the nature of these on-going drawn-out

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4. Bunge (1959) argues that for a cause-effect relation between two phenomena to exist, it needs to be shown that the effect is not merely accompanied by, but is engendered by the cause. In social research, in order to empirically corroborate a causal relationship between two variables, three empirical elements are needed: co-variation between independent and dependent variables, direction of causality and the control of other variables (Corbetta, 2003). For reasons of methodological constraint, the concept of cause in this working paper is dealt with in a more narrative, as to a broad, comprehensive, way. As to the causes, the author describes the historical precedents to each case that, for evident reasons, may have had an impact on the development of the subsequent events. In addition, Gerring (2006) claims that case studies offer the possibility of investigating causal mechanisms and locating the intermediate factors between a structural cause and its supposed effect.

conflicts, together with the origins and dynamics of the current conflict, in order to find a more reliable and credible way of resolving the conflicts and consolidate a lasting stage of peace.

Although the goal of this paper is not a comparison of the two cases of conflict but the testability of the analytical framework, for methodological reasons, and in order for a case study comparison to be made, a well-defined and specific research question is needed for guide purposes. A suitable question for the present comparative analysis might be: "What are the specific features common to the precedents of the conflicts, the nature of the conflicts and the peace agreement for both Burundi and the Central African Republic?" In answering this question, the author seeks, on the one hand, to understand each case individually and, on the other, to shed light on collective conflict dynamics that provide explanatory factors for similar cases. George and Bennett (2005) argue that a case study approach, consisting of a detailed examination of an aspect of a historical episode to develop or test historical explanations, can be extrapolated to other events. In order to establish the general applicability of a new or modified explanation for a case, it has to be shown that it accurately explains other cases. These authors also highlight however that full representativeness will never be achieved through a case study comparison, meaning that findings will never be applicable to all populations. Judgment of the validity of an explanation requires an in-depth knowledge of the cases concerned.

With regard to the case-selection aspect, it is first of all worth noting that a case is an instance of a class of events that the investigator chooses to study in order to develop a theory (general knowledge) or test an existing theory concerning the cause of similarity or difference among instances of a particular class of events (George and Bennett, 2005). In the comparison here, the two cases are instances of recent armed conflict. The selected cases meet the *ad hoc* criterion for selection for the PhD dissertation from which this working paper stems. Given that the objective of the doctoral thesis is to study on-going de-

velopments in peacebuilding within the framework of the United Nations (UN) and the impact of the transformation of this concept on the ground, the selected cases are also countries that host a Department of Political Affairs (DPA)-led UN mission and are on the Peacebuilding Commission agenda, namely Burundi, the Central African Republic, Guinea-Conakry, Guinea-Bissau and Sierra Leone. As far as the author understands, the fact that the UN takes a dual approach to these countries indicates that it pays special attention to them and that they would therefore be suitable cases for the study of the concept of peacebuilding within the UN. Only three cases (Burundi, the Central African Republic and Sierra Leone) out of the five mentioned above were finally selected for the doctoral dissertation, with Guinea-Conakry and Guinea-Bissau being excluded for specific reasons. In the case of Guinea-Conakry, firstly, there has been no recent major episode of violence and, secondly, unlike the other cases which have missions specifically designed for them, Guinea-Conakry formed part of the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA), the first regional DPA-led peacebuilding mission. Guinea-Bissau was finally not selected either, one, because it is a much smaller country in terms of population and also in terms of size (although Burundi is actually smaller in area than Guinea-Bissau) and, two, because there is an exogenous variable that affects the country's instability and which is not shared by any of the others, i.e. its role as a transit country for drug shipments from Latin America to Europe. Sierra Leone was also finally excluded as well, given that the similarities between Burundi and the Central African Republic make a regional approach both feasible and applicable, both are situated in Central Africa and they also form part of regional organisations like the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). This means that only Burundi and the Central African Republic were finally selected for this working paper.

The choice to describe and compare two case studies is also based on methodological reasons. As mentioned above, the ultimate goal of this article is to test the validity of the analytical framework for armed conflicts when comparing different cases and therefore its reliability in

illustrating collective conflict dynamics. It is essential above all for both cases to be instances of the same phenomenon, i.e. armed conflicts. The particular comparative method used in this working paper can be described as a combined, simplified version of structured, focused comparison[5] and the process-tracing approach in which the within-case analysis[6] focuses not just on the analysis of variables across cases, but also on the causal path in a single case (George and Bennett, 2005). The data used for the analysis and subsequent comparison consist of a review of the literature and documentary sources, all of which are provided in the bibliography. As described below in more detail, the particular aim of the following comparison is the in-depth analysis of three specific dimensions: the precedents of the conflict, the nature of the conflict and the type of peace agreement reached by the parties.

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5. The method is structured in that the researcher writes general questions that reflect the research objective, and it is focused in that it deals only with certain aspects of the historical cases examined (George and Bennett, 2005).

6. Within-case studies aim at the more intensive observation of just a few cases through the analysis of within-case variation, gaining a better understanding of the whole by focusing on a key part. Within-case studies are reliable and useful for generating hypotheses, internal validity, acquiring a more in-depth understanding of causal mechanisms, broadening the scope of a proposal, studying heterogeneous populations of cases, strengthening a causal variable, studying rare phenomena and concentrating available data. Large-N cross-case studies, on the other hand, consist of the observation of many cases more superficially through the analysis of cross-case variation. A single study may however combine the two methods, for example, when an intensive case study and a more superficial analysis are conducted on a large sample (Gerring, 2006).

1. AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR MAJOR ARMED CONFLICTS

This first section describes in detail the dimensions, variables and categories of the analytical framework, which consists of three dimensions (see figure 1). The first dimension sheds light on the precedents or causes of conflict through the identification of three, i.e. political, economic and socio-cultural, variables. In the second dimension, the cases are analysed according to the type of conflict using two different variables: the nature of the dispute or incompatibility between the opposing parties and the singularity of the actors involved. In the third dimension, the two conflicts can be distinguished according to the kind of peace agreement either reached or in the process of being reached. This third dimension also distinguishes between two variables: the scope of the agreement, in terms of the societal aspects covered by the final outcome, and the level of inclusivity concerning the parties involved.

Dimension 1: Precedents to the conflict					
Political		**Economic**		**Socio-cultural**	
Dimension 2: Nature of the conflict					
Type of dispute			Actors involved		
Government	Territory	Government and territory	State-based conflict	Non-state conflict	One-sided conflict
			Extra-systemic		
			Inter-state		
			Intra-state		
			Intra-state internationalised		
Dimension 3: Type of peace agreement					
Scope			Inclusivity		
Comprehensive	Partial	Peace process agreement	Comprehensive		Dyadic

Figure 1. An analytical framework for armed conflicts. Source: The author.

The first dimension describes in detail the roots of the conflict, i.e. the historical precedents that provide an understanding of why an inter-group relationship eventually ended up in violent conflict, with three different types of precedent being analysed. Firstly, the political context is traced from pre-colonial times to recent times, with a description of the political facts and dynamics that provide possible explanations for the development of the conflict. Secondly, economically-rooted conflicts are also highlighted as an important factor in the emergence of torts within particular segments of the population. Thirdly, a review is made of certain social and cultural traits and practices inherited by the society over time that may provide an understanding, for example, of inter-group dynamics based on the ethnic cleavage. This first dimension on the precedents of the conflict plays a key role in the analytical framework presented here. As mentioned above, it is the author's opinion that causation is fundamental to understanding the later development of conflict in the selected case studies and is used ad hoc with the existing framework of conflict- and post-conflict-related indicators designed by the UCDP. The comparative analysis in the following section accordingly places special emphasis on the dimension of the root causes of conflicts.

The second dimension analyses the two cases on the basis of the type of conflict that has taken place, with classification of the conflict according to two different criteria (see figure 1). The first defines three different types of conflict depending on whether the nature of the dispute or incompatibility is due to a territorial dispute, a governmental dispute or both. According to the second criterion, the conflicts are divided into three types on the basis of the actors involved: state-based conflicts, non-state conflicts and one-sided violence. Within the state-based conflicts group, the UCDP distinguishes between four different sub-types: extra-systemic armed conflicts, which occur between a state and a non-state actor outside the state territory; inter-state conflicts, which occur between two or more states; intra-state or internal conflicts, which occur between one state and an internal opposition group always within the state territory; and internationalised in-

tra-state or internal conflicts, which occur when a struggle between one state and an internal opposition group is intervened by other states or international or regional organisations. The second type of actor-based conflict, or non-state conflict, consists of the use of force by two or more non-state groups resulting in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a year. The third type of actor-based conflict, or one-sided violence, occurs when one state attacks a group of unarmed civilians resulting in at least 25 battle-related deaths in a year.

The third dimension of the analytical framework refers to the type of peace agreement either reached or in progress, with two different criteria being established. The first identifies three types of peace agreements according to the scope of the agreement, namely, the aspects covered by the content: a full or comprehensive peace agreement, where one or more dyads agree/s to settle the whole incompatibility; a partial peace agreement, where one or more dyads agree/s to settle part of the incompatibility; or a peace process agreement, where one or more dyads agree/s to initiate a process that aims to settle the incompatibility. The second criterion regarding the type of peace agreement covers the level of inclusivity of the peace agreement, i.e. whether all or just some conflicting parties are included in the agreement. Two types of peace agreement stem from this criterion: a comprehensive or inclusive peace agreement, which includes all actors, and a dyadic peace agreement, where at least one of the warring parties in the conflict is excluded.

2. THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK IN USE: THE CASES OF BURUNDI AND THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

This section provides the comparative analysis of the cases of Burundi and the Central African Republic (hereinafter CAR), with the core conflict-related traits being contextualised within the abovementioned analytical framework for the purposes of comparison. The ultimate goal of this second section is to test the feasibility of the analytical framework by way of its practical application.

2.1 BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ISSUES

Colonial rule had a major impact on the post-independence history of both Burundi and CAR. The biased way in which different ethnic groups were treated under colonial rule established a previously inexistent form of hierarchy and led to incompatibilities that took root and ended up in violent conflict. Despite attempts to establish a democratic system, there were military coups in both countries which ended up under military regimes that hindered long-lasting political stability.

2.1.1 BURUNDI

The modern history of Burundi has been fundamentally marked by discriminatory treatment under European rule by the colonial authorities that favoured the Tutsi in all layers of society, which generated inter-ethnic tension with the Hutu people (Takeuchi, 2013), the largest ethnic group of Burundi that accounts for over 85% of the popula-

tion. This inter-ethnic conflict degenerated in a brutal civil war that broke out in the early nineties and lasted over a decade.

Located in the Great Lakes region, Burundi has around 10 million inhabitants, 85%-90% of which are Hutu, 10-14% Tutsi and 1% Twa. At the end of the 19th century, amidst the European power scramble to take control of territory in Africa, Burundi and its twin country, Rwanda, were colonized by Germany, which established German East Africa. A few years later, in the context of World War I, Belgian troops from the former Belgian Congo –later Zaire and today the Democratic Republic of Congo– took Burundi and Rwanda from the Germans and, in 1923, the Belgian rulers unified both countries into a single unit to facilitate colonial administration. Burundi and Rwanda remained under European rule until the beginning of the sixties, when both countries became fully independent.

As mentioned above, under colonial rule the Tutsi were accorded a privileged status whereas the Hutu suffered discrimination in many sectors of society including the administration and education. The reason behind this unequal treatment was due to a Eurocentric ideology known as the Hamitic hypothesis, which argued that the Tutsi were a superior race of European origin, whereas the Hutu were an inferior race of African origin (see Sanders, 1969; Chrétien, 2000). The dominant Tutsi were actually divided into two different categories, the lower caste Tutsi-Hima group dominating the political sphere[7] and the higher caste Tutsi-Banyaruguru, which literally means "those who come from the north". Although a northern origin has for long been attributed to just the Banyaruguru, this is not precisely the case, as neither the Hima nor

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7. The Ganwa, or princes of blood, were an ethnic sub-group within the Tutsi that had sole access to political power during pre-colonial times and their identity was therefore clearly distinct from the rest of the Tutsi population. The dynastic families belonged to the Ganwa, and the other elites, such as the Brezi and the Batare, were constantly in conflict, which eventually brought about their disappearance as an ethnic subgroup in pre-colonial times (Takeuchi, 2013).

the Banyaruguru had a unique geographical origin (Lemarchand and Martin, 1974).

Lemarchand and Martin (1974) carried out an analysis in which they pointed to the impact of colonial rule on the Tutsi-Hutu relationship. The Tutsi were commonly attributed by the Europeans as being "proverbially tall and wiry", whereas the Hutu were "a medium sized type of people, whose ungainly figures betoken hard toil". As Lemarchand and Martin point out, however, a much more accurate analysis is required to obtain a better understanding of the traditional social system in Burundi. "Such simplicities (…) can only convey a highly distorted view of Burundi's traditional social system. Not only do they conceal the existence of major differences within each group, but they also tend to exaggerate the depth of cultural discontinuities among them (…) Neglect of intra ethnic cleavages is liable to obscure the basis for cross ethnic links among each group at the same time that it reduces their respective physical and cultural characteristics to a parody of reality". They also argue that, prior to European rule, social differences were actually more accentuated than ethnic ones. The Tutsi-Hutu conflict should therefore not be viewed as an extreme case of the age-old problem of tradition in Africa (Williams, 1972).

During the years preceding independence, Burundi witnessed the emergence of various new political platforms for self-expression including political parties, trade unions, social platforms, etc. The institutionalisation of civil society enabled the population to participate in different organisations as a result of which Tutsi-Hutu tensions gradually began to grow. The two main parties at that time continued the clan-based intra-Ganwa rivalries of the pre-colonial era, one being the *Parti de l'Unité et du Progrès National* (UPRONA), which dominated the political scene up until the nineties, led by the Ganwa family Bezi, and the other the *Parti Démocrate Chrétien* (PDC) led by the other main Ganwa clan, the Batare. In 1961 the UPRONA won the legislative

elections but its leader, the Prince Rwagasore, the eldest son of King Mwami Mwambutsa, was assassinated by a PDC-supported gunman. A few months later, in 1962, Burundi declared independence from Belgium and became the Kingdom of Burundi, with Mwambutsa IV as its first post-colonial king.

Following independence, the political system under the Tutsi elite, the leadership of which lost dynamism following the assassination of Rwagasore, was gradually transformed from a constitutional monarchy into an absolute rulership, which saw a worsening of the situation of the Hutu. "As the bases of conflict shifted along Tutsi-Hutu ethnic lines... the Crown consolidated its hold on the political system" (Lemarchand and Martin, 1974). In 1965 the Hutu won the legislative elections although, in an attempt to appease the Tutsi minority, King Mwambutsa appointed a Ganwa, Leopold Biha, as Prime Minister. This was followed in October 1965 by the Hutu-led coup, the consequences of which were fatal for the Hutu population. Following the coup Mwambutsa fled to Europe and never returned. In order to consolidate their influence in the political system, the Tutsi promoted Prince Charles, Mwambutsa's youngest son, as the new head of state. A year later in 1966, the Tutsi-dominated army deposed Prince Charles from power and declared the Republic, with the Presidency of the Republic being assumed by Captain Michel Micombero, a young Tutsi officer.

In the early seventies the term "Banyabururi", or Bururi lobby, emerged in Burundi for a sub-group of Tutsi originally from the province of Bururi. Some members of this ethnic sub-group, such as Albert Shibura, Arthémon Simbanye and André Yanda, controlled several key positions in the government and the army and were crucial in crystallizing ethnic solidarities against Hutu elements. Another failed Hutu-led coup in 1969 was the pretext invoked by the Tutsi elite to 'deal' with the Hutu problem and justify the removal of the remaining Hutu from political and military positions. With the deterioration of the security situation, in October 1971 Micombero established the

Conseil Suprême de la Révolution (CSR) as an advisory body aimed at restoring stability.

In April 1972 Micombero decided to dismiss all members of the cabinet and impose military rule. Very soon after, this was followed by a Hutu rebellion that was contested by the Tutsi-dominated army with a ruthless repression that led to the killing of around 200,000 Hutu. The Tutsi justified the government's brutal response against the Hutu rebels by accusing the Hutu population of an unfounded conspiracy aimed at the physical liquidation of all Tutsi (Lemarchand and Martin, 1974). The 1972 Hutu genocide forced over a million Hutu to flee the country, mainly to Tanzania and Zaire, where the insurgency built its base camps. This group of exiled Burundians in Tanzania and Zaire, as described below, was a key aspect in the creation of pro-Hutu political and rebel organisations that had a primordial role during the subsequent civil war.

In 1976 the Tutsi Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza led a bloodless coup and drove Micombero from power. He proclaimed himself head of state in 1984. Bagaza's period was marked by heavy-handed repression not only against the Hutu population but also against Tutsi opponents to the regime, with the 1981 constitution actually shielding the state as a one-party state. In 1987, the leader of UPRONA, Major Pierre Buyoya, organized a successful coup against Bagaza, following which he suspended the constitution and instituted military rule under what was known as the Military Committee for National Salvation, which in principle was aimed at national reconciliation. To this end, one of the most significant measures he took was to appoint a cabinet with an equal number of Tutsi and Hutu ministers, including Hutu Prime Minister, Adrien Simbana.

By the end of the seventies and early eighties, and as a reaction to this deteriorating situation, part of the Burundian Hutu insurgency living in the Tanzanian refugee camps organized itself in the *Parti pour la libération du peuple hutu* (PALIPEHUTU), which was a key party to

the conflict against the government. In 1988 the PALIPEHUTU perpetrated a series of killings in the northern provinces of Burundi, thereby feeding fear among the Tutsi population of a Hutu conspiracy against the Tutsi. In an attempt to redirect and diminish inter-ethnic tensions, the head of state, Buyoya, promoted the approval of a new constitution in 1992 through which the State became a multi-party system. A year later, in June 1993, the leader of the Hutu-dominated *Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi* (FRODEBU), Melchior Ndadaye, defeated Buyoya in the elections and became the first Hutu head of state and formed a pro-Hutu government. Despite his attempts, Buyoya failed to diminish Tutsi-Hutu tensions and to democratize the country. Four months later, in October 1993, Ndayaye was assassinated by Tutsi sectors,[8] leading to the outbreak of civil war that lasted for more than ten years.

On the basis of a similar historical analysis that points to political causes for the emergence of the conflict in Burundi, Lund *et al.* (1998) refer to the institutions and the political process, with mention of the problems arising out of ethnic-based political parties, an unclear distribution of power which leads to authoritarian attitudes that undermine stability, and the lack of a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force, especially when one of the confronting parties is identified as being the army. They also mention the behaviour of specific protagonists, for example, divisive leaders who enter into a conflictive war of words based on demagogic rhetoric, unilateral provocation, coercion and force to fulfil their own interests.

In economic terms, feasible causes of the conflict are inextricably intertwined with the political precedents. In both cases, inter-group economic-based disputes and discrepancies were the result of political hierarchies inherited from the decolonisation process. As to the causes of the civil war in Burundi, Lund *et al.* (1998) establish a rela-

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8. Information from the website of the School for a Culture of Peace, available at: http://escolapau.uab.cat/conflictosypaz/ficha.php?idfichasubzona=205&paramidioma=1

tion of different layers of causation that provide reliable explanations for the emergence of the violent conflict. They shed light in particular on legacies and the socio-economic conditions, which include factors such as past discriminatory treatment, usually of colonial origin; the competition for scarce resources in a given territory; and the weakness of State institutions, which led to chaos and the emergence of bad practices such as the patrimonial use of resources.

In the socio-cultural sphere, in addition to discriminatory treatment under the European rule that led to inter-ethnic disputes in Burundi, the dynamics of the country, particularly up to independence in 1962, were dominated by social cleavages between clans, families and lineages. This brought about tensions mainly within the Tutsi population, the second largest ethnic group of the country that accounts for around 15% of the population. Lund et al. (1998) highlight, on the one hand, the effects of the long-lasting violent struggle and its influence in recent history, which may have engendered an ingrained culture of violence within society and a general feeling of mistrust and, on the other hand, low levels of education, as a result of which people can be more easily manipulated by the political elite.

2.1.2 THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

The situation in CAR, on the other hand, is probably more complex. The level of political instability due to repeated military-led power-induced struggles and a state of permanent warfare in the neighbouring countries of Central Africa like Sudan and Chad has prevented the country from achieving stability for a long time. "Protracted conflicts warp the societies, economies and regions in which they are situated, creating complex emergencies fuelled on the one hand by local struggles and, on the other, by global factors such as the arms trade and support for regimes or rebels by outside states" (Miall, 2001). Countries like CAR therefore get trapped in vicious cycles of violence, making the transition from conflict to peace much more complex.

CAR is a landlocked country in Central Africa with approximately 4.5 million inhabitants and more than 80 ethnic groups. In the pre-independence period, the country was known as Ubangi-Shari and was part of French Equatorial Africa. Although France paid little attention to this central African colony, the ethnic groups near the Ubangui River —particularly the Ngbaka and the Yakoma– benefitted disproportionately from French colonial rule (Berman and Lombard, 2008). The largest groups in CAR are the Gbaya, Banda, Mandja and Sara, which live in the savannah areas to the north of Bangui, the capital, and comprise over the 80% of the total population. The largest of the more than sixty remaining ethnic groups is the Mboum in the southeast. Despite this ethnic diversity, the recent history of the country shows that it is the desire for power, and not ethnicity, that has been the major source of conflict.

The French-supported pre-independence Prime Minister David Dacko was the first president of CAR after independence in 1960. Two years later, he suspended the constitution and established a one-party system. Amidst growing political instability and a fragile economic situation, Dacko was ousted from power by a military coup led by his cousin Jean-Bédel Bokassa in 1965. Bokassa's period in power was highly oppressive and marked by governmental corruption, the plundering of natural resources and chronic economic problems in general. Despite his arrogant behaviour and brutal attitude to political freedom and in particular his political opponents, he was supported by France and in 1977 declared himself emperor.[9] In 1979, the government used deadly force in response to student protests as a result of which France started pressing Bokassa to leave office. A French-supported military coup eventually brought Dacko back to power. Despite Dacko's attempts to establish a multi-party system in the early eighties, the country was then ruled by the military for more than a decade.

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9. Information from the website of the School for a Culture of Peace, available at: http://escolapau.uab.es/conflictosypaz/ficha.php?idfichasubzona=78&paramidioma=1

In 1981, André Kolingba drove Dacko from power and established a military government based on a one-party system. Due to extensive pressure in the country, he passed a constitution in 1986 and one year later semi-democratic legislative elections were held. Kolingba was forced by the international community to legalize all political parties in 1991 and, in August 1993, CAR celebrated the first fully democratic elections, which were won by Ange-Félix Patassé who had been the former prime minister under Bokassa. Patassé thus became the country's first non-military head of state in a long time. Since then, over the last twenty years, the level of violence in CAR has hardly declined at all, with the peace process involving the clan- and ethnic-based conflict being further complicated by a new religious-based struggle that has emerged in the country (see the following sub-section).

As for the economic causes of the situation in CAR, the level of economic stagnation since independence from France in 1960 has put the country at the bottom of most of world rankings in terms of human and socio-economic indicators.[10] At the beginning of the 20th century, as Berman and Lombard (2008) point out, the country fared badly from the Arab slave trade, which forced many to work on infrastructures elsewhere in French Equatorial Africa. This had two main consequences. On the one hand, Ubangi-Shari hardly benefitted at all from investment by the French in the African continent, which relegated the colony to a protracted status of socio-economic underdevelopment. On the other hand, the thousands of inhabitants of Ubangi-Shari who were forced to work on infra-structure projects elsewhere in French Equatorial Africa, which were of little economic benefit to CAR, also led to a decrease in the population. This demographic impact altered the population distribution in the country and had ramifications for on-going ethnic and religious tensions. As mentioned

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10. In the 2014 Human Development Report by the United Nations Development Program, the Central African Republic scored 0.365 (1 being the highest score) in the Human Development Index and ranked 185 out of the 187 listed countries. For the full report, see: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr14-summary-en.pdf

above, however, the main source of conflict during the second half of the 20th century was neither ethnicity nor religion.

The nineties were again a decade of marked political instability and even greater economic crisis. Patassé introduced a series of economic reforms that had devastating effects for CAR (McFarlane and Malan, 1998). In an attempt to balance the deteriorating economic situation, the IMF intervened in the country in 1994, although it rescinded its support a year later accusing Patassé's government of corruption and mismanagement.

2.2 TYPE OF CONFLICT

A major armed conflict is underway in both cases and they should therefore be analysed in the context of the post-Cold War era. As a consequence of the Second World War, certain structural transformations that took place in the international arena reshaped not only the nature of contemporary conflicts, but also international relations in the broad sense of the term. One of the key aspects of the post-Soviet world has been the emergence of non-state actors such as international terrorist groups, illegal drug trafficking networks, insurgent movements, etc. The rise of such non-state actors has gradually eroded the dominant role of the state in the international scenario. This changing context was framed in theoretical terms by Mary Kaldor (1999) in the "new wars" doctrine,[11] which fundamentally elucidates the asymmet-

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11. Kaldor's contribution generated a discursive debate amongst those supporting its opportuneness and those who contested it. This implied significant empirical changes for the subsequent analysis and interpretation of so-called "new wars". One of the criticisms points to the inaccuracy of attributing novelty to contemporary wars and argues that the "new wars" discourse was lacking empirical consistence (Brzoska, 2004). Another criticism highlights the overarching and vague conception of the term, which indistinctly embraces all forms of conflict and violence without distinguishing between a legally declared war and an act of unilateral violence. Some authors refer instead to the lack of comprehensiveness of Kaldor's analysis regarding the causes of "new wars" based uniquely on identity traits and argue the impossibility of uncoupling ideology from identity (Berdal, 2011). Another critical trend explores the underlying discourse behind the conceptualisation of "new wars", which

ric nature of contemporary conflicts. Compared to the classic interpretation of Clausewitzian inter-state conflicts, this new paradigm provides a new analytical framework for contemporary forms of conflict like intra-state wars, and in particular the conflicts in both Burundi and CAR.

2.2.1 BURUNDI

As regards the main conflicting parties during the Burundian civil war, the PALIPEHUTU, which had founded its military wing in 1985 as the PALIPEHUTU-*Forces Nationales du Libération* (PALIPEHUTU-FNL), was a Hutu rebel group that started operating from neighbouring Tanzania and Zaire in the late eighties. Some argue that the actual breakout of the civil war should be dated in 1991 when the PALIPEHUTU-FNL, led by Cossan Kabura, launched an attack against the government, leading to a large-scale violent confrontation (Cunningham, 2014). In 1990, the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FROLINA), a minor Hutu rebel group, split from the PALIPEHUTU. Nevertheless, the largest Hutu rebel group, the *Conseil National Pour la Défense de la Démocratie–Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie* (CNDD–FDD), was founded in 1994 with the CNDD as the political wing and the FDD the military wing. The CNDD-FDD concentrated its political elite in the southern province of Bururi and was led by Leonard Nyangoma, who had been close to Ndadaye. The CNDD-FDD is still one of the most popular political parties in Burundi even today. Both the PALIPEHUTU-FNL and CNDD-FDD constituted the main backbone of resistance against the Tutsi-led government and military during the course of the war.

In April 1994, the successor to the Hutu president Ndadaye, Cyprien Ntaryamira, was killed in the same plane crash as the Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana, which led to increased tension and insti-

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simplifies reality and conceals the structural causes of conflict (Duffield, 2001). For Kaldor's counter-arguments, see Kaldor, 2013 .

tutional instability in Burundi. Two years later, in 1996, Buyoya took over the presidency again through a military coup. Soon after, in 1997, the Burundian government and the Hutu parties in conflict started the first peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania, facilitated by the former Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere, who died in 1999 and was replaced in his role in the peace talks by Nelson Mandela. In late 1997, the political wings of both parties split from the military wings and renamed themselves just CNDD and PALIPEHUTU, respectively. Once the talks had started, Nyerere decided to ban the remaining CNDD-FDD, led by Pierre Nkurunziza, who later became president of the country, and the PALIPEHUTU-FNL, led then by Agathon Rwasa, from participating in the negotiations, accusing them of being illegitimate factions (Cunningham, 2014).

Aside from local actors, the case of Burundi should also be analysed from both an international and regional perspective in order to understand the role played by external actors during and after the conflict. Shortly before the signing of the Pretoria protocol, in 2003, the African Union (AU) deployed its first peacekeeping mission, the African Mission in Burundi (AMIB). The signing of the peace agreement between the transitional government and the CNDD-FDD preceded the transfer of peacekeeping responsibility from the AU to the UN, which established its first peacekeeping mission in Burundi, the United Nations Operation in Burundi (ONUB, after French initials). Without wishing to undermine the success of the AMIB during its mandate in the post-conflict stage, the UN, which deployed up to three different operations in Burundi, played a key role in the post-conflict peace-building process.

With the goal of promoting peace, security and stability on the African continent, amongst other things, the AU was designed to replace the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at the 2000 Lomé Summit. It was finally established in 2001 in Addis Ababa, where the Secretariat, the African Union Commission, is based. Amongst its different objectives, the AU seeks to achieve greater unity and solidarity between

African countries; defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its fifty-four Member States; accelerate political and socio-economic integration of the continent; encourage international cooperation; promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance; and promote peace and security.

The AU body specifically mandated to promote peace and security is the Peace and Security Council (PSC), which was created in July 2001 at the Summit of Lusaka. It was originally intended to replace the Central Organ of the Mechanism for Prevention, Management and Resolution (MPMR) of conflicts in Africa, established in 1993 by Heads of States during the Summit in Tunis. Broadly speaking, the specific tasks of the PSC include the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa and, more specifically, to carry out preventive action and the maintenance of peace, as well as the management of catastrophes and humanitarian actions. The AU has so far deployed armed forces in four different contexts: Burundi, Comoros (Anjouan), Sudan (Darfur) and Somalia.

The AMIB was the AU's first deployment of armed forces approved by the abovementioned MPMR in February 2003 and lasted 15 months. The mission's mandate was to supervise, monitor and verify implementation of the Arusha agreement, the ceasefire protocols and the DDR program. With about 3,300 personnel (Peen Rodt, 2012), and South Africa the leading country to contribute troops, the AMIB had different specific operational goals, which included: establish and maintain liaison between the parties; monitor and verify implementation of the ceasefire agreements; facilitate the activities of the Joint Ceasefire Commission (JCC) and technical committees for the establishment and restructuring of the national defence and police forces; secure identified assembly and disengagement areas; facilitate safe passage for the parties during planned movements to designated assembly areas; facilitate and provide technical assistance to the DDR process; facilitate the delivery of humanitarian assistance, including to refugees and internally displaced people; coordinate mission acti-

vities with UN presence in the country; and provide VIP protection for designated returning leaders.

With the benefit of hindsight, some consider the AMIB as one of the AU's biggest success stories (Boshoff *et al.*, 2010). By the time the AMIB was replaced by ONUB, the African mission had managed to fairly successfully provide a secure environment and proceed with the DDR program, which perhaps was not so successful due to lack of resources for the reintegration of ex-combatants (Peen Rodt, 2012). The ONUB was deployed to take over the AMIB in June 2004 in accordance with UNSC resolution 1545. Only the South African segment remained on the ground as the African Union Special Task Force. Amongst its different tasks, the ONUB's mandate included the following: to ensure respect for ceasefire agreements, through the monitoring of implementation and the investigation of violations; promote the re-establishment of confidence between the Burundian forces; carry out the disarmament and demobilisation portions of the national DDR programme; contribute to the creation of the necessary security conditions for the provision of humanitarian assistance and facilitate the voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced people; and contribute to the completion of the electoral process.

According to Adebajo (2011), the ONUB's main achievements by the end of the mission were the disarming and demobilisation of about 21,700 fighters; support for the electoral process; the protection of the returning refugees and humanitarian convoys; and the provision of training to Burundi's integrated national police. Following the FNL's ceasefire agreement, the ONUB was replaced by the United Nations Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB) in December 2006. In accordance with UNSC resolution 1719, the mandate of BINUB was split into four different areas. The first was the domain of peace consolidation and democratic governance, which included, amongst other tasks, strengthening the capacity of national institutions and civil society to address the root causes of the conflict, and the promotion of good governance based on the transparency and accountability of public insti-

tutions. The second area referred to the DDR process and the SSR, including support for the implementation of ceasefire agreements, and support for the development of a national plan for reform of the security sector. Thirdly, the broad task of promoting and protecting human rights and measures to end impunity, and specifically building national institutional capacity in this area, together with the establishment of a transitional justice mechanism to prevent impunity. The last area concerned donor and UN agency coordination, including tasks such as strengthening the partnership between the Government and donors, and developing effective strategies for UN agency coordination.

In 2007, Burundi was put on the agenda of the recently created UN PBC. Following the strategic framework for Burundi designed by the commission, in November 2007 the Joint Verification and Monitoring Mechanism (JVMM) was established to monitor implementation of the recent ceasefire agreement with the PALIPEHUTU-FNL and the DDR programme. The task of the JVMM came to a critical point in early 2008 when the security conditions worsened due to large-scale hostilities between the government and the FNL (Center on International Cooperation, 2009). In January 2009, the FNL dropped the "PALIPEHUTU" ethnic prefix from its name in order to be accepted in the official register as a political party for the coming 2010 elections. In April a national independent electoral commission was created to prepare the country for the 2010 elections, which saw Nkurunziza re-elected in power despite a wide-scale boycott by the opposition parties.

In December 2010, amidst the slow but gradual improvement of the security situation in Burundi, the BINUB was replaced by the United Nations Office in Burundi (BNUB). Pursuant to UNSC resolution 1959, the BNUB was established as the UN mission in charge of strengthening the independence, capacities and legal framework of key national institutions; promoting and facilitating dialogue between national actors and support participation in political life; sup-

porting efforts to fight impunity; promoting the protection of human rights; and ensuring that all strategies focus on peacebuilding and equitable growth. On the basis of the mandates of the different UN missions deployed in Burundi, one can distinguish a smooth evolution from pure peacekeeping-oriented tasks such as DDR or SSR to a broader peacebuilding-oriented mandate, the goals of which consist of laying the foundations for lasting peace in the country.

2.2.2 THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

In the case of the Central African Republic, since independence in 1960, except for Patassé in 1993, all of the heads of state came to power through a military coup, aside from the three military mutinies that took place in 1996. During his time in power, Kolingba gradually filled the top layers of the military with members of his own ethnic group, the Yakoma, hence Patassé's lack of confidence in the military. On the grounds that it was for presidential protection, in 1993 Patassé created his own presidential guard and a parallel police force with members of the *Mouvement de Libération du Peuple Centrafricain* (MLPC), which helps explain the military discontent and subsequent military-led coups against Patassé that took place in the country in 1996. Obsessed with his personal security, Patassé went even further and created three Bangui-based militias: the Karakos, based in Boy-Rabe, where mostly Gbaya live (Leaba, 2001); the Balawas, based in the Combattant quartier and comprised chiefly of members of the Kaba ethnic group; and the Sarawis, which are concentrated in the Sara quartier. Eventually, in 1999 and 2000, the President set up a private security company, the *Société Centrafricaine de Protection et de Surveillance* (SCPS), together with the *Batalion de Sécurité Frontalière* (BSF), also known as "Abdulaye Miskine" after his leader, respectively, in an attempt to reinforce his personal security even further.

The mobilisation of guards and soldiers by Patassé to enhance his personal security carried with it consequences. 1996 is widely

known in CAR history for three military-led mutinies against Patassé, who had always been supported by France. In April, unpaid soldiers from the southern region entered Bangui to fight the presidential guard, mainly composed by French-supported northerner troops. The government defused the rebellion by promising to pay unpaid wages. Shortly after, in May, another military mutiny led to Patassé conceding certain demands to the military, as a result of which a ceasefire agreement was reached. An initial peace accord was finally agreed on 2 June, which was followed by the formation of a government of national unity. The third military rebellion took place in November. A large group of soldiers based in the Camp Kassai barracks entered Bangui to fight and disarm Patasse's supporters, who received assistance from French troops. This third episode took the peace process a stage further and it was eventually reached in June 1997, in what is known as the Bangui Accord, the aim of which was the end of military rule and the establishment of political stability. By mid 1997 almost all rebel soldiers had returned to the Camp Kassai barracks.

Eventually in March 2003, François Bozizé, supported by Chadian soldiers (Boisbouvier, 2004), took Bangui and ousted Patassé from power through a successful military coup. The following year, in 2004, a new constitution was passed and in May 2005 presidential elections were held and Bozizé confirmed as head of state. Bozizé was initially determined to increase efforts for a real process of DDR, which up until that time had proved largely unsuccessful. Nevertheless, there was still instability and violent tension between the government and several armed groups mobilized by Patassé and his circle, including the north-central CAR-based *Front Démocratique du Peuple Centrafricaine* (FDPC), one of its main representatives being Abdulaye Miskine; the *Union des Forces Républicanes* (UFR), led by Florian Ndjadder; and the north-eastern CAR-based *Union des Forces Démocratiques pour le Rassemblement* (UFDR). The only rebel group not directly linked to Patassé's circles was the north and central CAR-based *Armée Populaire pour la Restauration de la Ré-*

publique et la Démocratie (APRD), led by Jean-Jacques Larmassoum, which constituted the main focus of opposition against Bozizé.[12]

The CAR has recently witnessed the emergence of a new source of conflict, namely, the religious cleavage (see Kane, 2014). The Séléka and later the ex-Séléka committed serious atrocities against the Christian population. As a response, a pro-Bozizé self-defence group called the Anti-balaka started fighting the northern Muslim militia and defending the Christian population[13]. The Anti-balaka, which was formed in 2009, had initially been a focus of resistance against highway bandits and cattle raiders (anti-balaka means "anti-machete", after the most common weapon used by these bandits). The rise of the Anti-balaka, allegedly to defend Christians, resulted in attacks on Muslims who were mistakenly seen as Séléka supporters, which made the security situation even worse, particularly in northern towns such as Bossangoa, Zere, Gbakora and Bandorok (Kane, 2014). In July 2014 a ceasefire agreement was reached between the ex-Séléka and the Anti-balaka in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo. The aims of the agreement were very tentative, however, with no real determination for DDR or a specific route for implementation. Tension and violence therefore continued between the two groups, which accused each other of breaking the ceasefire (International Institute for Security Studies, 2014).

One current major problem is the competition for livestock, in particular cattle (see International Crisis Group, 2014). As a consequence of the fierce struggle between the ex-Séléka and the Anti-balaka militias, a policy briefing of the International Crisis Group (ICG) (ICG, 2014) identified inter-communal clashes in rural areas of the west and centre of the country between pastoralists, many of them transhumant, and farming communities. Theft of the pastoralists' cattle,

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12. Information from the website of the School for a Culture of Peace, available at: http://escolapau.uab.es/conflictosypaz/ficha.php?idfichasubzona=78&paramidioma=1
13. Article by Humanitarian News and Analysis, available at: http://www.irinnews.org/report/99634/briefing-who-are-the-anti-balaka-of-car

which is the wealth of the poor in CAR, by ex-Séleka and Anti-balaka is frequent, and the pastoralists respond to this with brutal retaliations. As a result of this emerging struggle, many pastoralists have fled to Chad, Cameroon or other regions in CAR, which has led to the collapse of the farming sector in some areas, the radicalisation of some pastoralist groups that respond violently to theft and the blockage of transhumance movements between Chad and CAR by local groups, especially Chadians. In addition, delinquency among young, reckless ex-Séleka Fulani, a Muslim group from the north that is predominantly pastoralist, has led, on one hand, to stigmatisation of the whole Fulani community as being responsible for the violence and, on the other hand, to Anti-balaka militias viewing pastoralists as being allies of the ex-Séleka (ICG, 2013). This confusing situation has resulted in confrontations between the ex-Séleka non-Fulani, who see their image as having been tainted by this group, and the ex-Séleka Fulani, who have formed their own armed groups, such as the *Unité pour la Paix en Centrafrique* (UPC), led by Baba Laddé. While the transitional government and international community concentrate their efforts on the tensions in Bangui, this new conflict-within-the-conflict appears to be ignored at the same time that it is devastating the rural areas of the country.

As with the case of Burundi, consideration of the perspective at international and regional level is necessary in the conflict in CAR in order to totally understand the on-going development of the violent clashes. Since the mutinies crisis in 1996, thirteen international peace missions have been deployed in CAR (see figure 2) in the overall attempt to mitigate political instability and violence both in the country and in the region of Central Africa. Ranging from African organisations such as the African Union (AU), the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) to EU and UN missions, they have all involved deployment at some point of a mission to either guarantee the signing of peace or ceasefire accords or to support the host government in proceeding with conflict resolution processes such as DDR or SSR.

This subsection covers the main characteristics of each of these international and regional peace missions.

The African response to the high level of political instability in CAR in 1996, which included three military mutinies, was the establishment of the Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Bangui Accords (MISAB), which aimed at restoring peace and security in the country. MISAB was deployed in February 1997 at the request of President Patassé and participating states were Burkina Faso, Chad, Gabon, Mali, Senegal and Togo, the main tasks of which were to disarm the ex-rebels, the militia and all other unlawfully armed persons. In August 1997, following UN resolution 1125 and at Patassé's request, MISAB was officially approved as a UN-authorized force.

Name	Duration	Agency	Scope
Inter-African Mission to Monitor the Bangui Accords (MISAB)	February 1997 - April 1998	Regional (Burkina Faso, Chad, Gabon, Mali, Senegal and Togo) UN-authorized	CAR
United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA)	April 1998 - February 2000	International (UN)	CAR
United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in the Central African Republic (BONUCA)	February 2000 - January 2010	International (UN)	CAR
Force Multinational de la Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale (FOMUC)	October 2002 - July 2008	Regional (CEMAC)	CAR
United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCAT)	January 2008 - December 2010	International (UN)	Regional (CAR/Chad)
European Union Force in the Republic of Chad and the Central African Republic (EUFOR TCHAD/RCA)	January 2008 - March 2009	Regional (EU) UN-authorized	Regional (CAR/Chad)
Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in Central African Republic (MICOPAX)	July 2008 - December 2013	Regional (ECCAS)	CAR
Peacebuilding Commission	June 2008 (still on)	International (UN)	CAR

Name	Duration	Agency	Scope
United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Support Office in the Central African Republic (BINUCA)	January 2010 - April 2014	International (UN)	CAR
United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA)	March 2011 (still on)	International (UN)	Regional (ECCAS)
International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA)	December 2013 - April 2014	Regional (AU)	CAR
«Operation Sangaris»	December 2013 - April 2014	France	CAR
European Union Force in the Central African Republic (EUFOR RCA)	February 2014 (still on)	Regional (EU) UN-authorized	CAR
United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA)	April 2014 (still on)	International (UN)	CAR

Figure 2. Peace missions deployed in the Central African Republic, 1997-2014. Source: the author.

The UN also responded to the late nineties political crisis in CAR. In April 1998, UN resolution 1159 saw deployment of the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) to "assist in maintaining and enhancing security and stability in Bangui and the vicinity; supervise, control storage and monitor the disposition of weapons retrieved in disarmament exercise; assist in capacity-building of national police; and provide advice and technical support for legislative elections", amongst other things. MINURCA, which comprised MISCA, was replaced by the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office in the Central African Republic (BONUCA), which had been authorized in December 1999 by the UNSC and was eventually deployed in February 2000 after the withdrawal of MINURCA. BONUCA was tasked with "supporting the Government of CAR's efforts to consolidate peace and national reconciliation, strengthening democratic institutions and facilitating the mobilisation of international political support and resources for national reconstruction and

economic recovery". This mission lasted for almost a decade until it was replaced by the United Nations Integrated Peacebuilding Support Office in the Central African Republic (BINUCA), described below.

The security situation deteriorated appreciably again in 2002 (Center on International Cooperation, 2009). The response on this occasion was regional. In October 2002 CEMAC deployed the *Force Multinational de la Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale* (FOMUC), which comprised a force of around 400 troops set up to support political stability and the restructuring of the *Forces Armées Centrafricaines* (FACA). FOMUC was eventually replaced in 2008 by the Mission for the Consolidation of Peace in Central African Republic (MICOPAX), described below. Due to their broad, multidimensional scope, BONUCA and FOMUC became the main actors for peacebuilding in CAR in the early part of the 21st century.

Shortly after the approval of the 2005 Constitution under Bozizé's government and a timid attempt to lead the country to real democracy, ECCAS established MICOPAX in 2008, which co-existed with FOMUC for a while during a period of transition and eventually replaced it in July 2008. During this period of co-existence both organisations also collaborated closely with BONUCA. The MICOPAX operation comprised over 2,500 military troops and police officers from countries including Cameroon, Republic of the Congo, Gabon, Guinea Equatorial and Chad. MICOPAX's mandate included protecting civilians in high violence areas such as Bossanga, although in 2009 there was a renewal of activities by armed groups, which accused Bozizé of failing to implement the agreements reached with the rebels (Center on International Cooperation, 2010). MICOPAX was eventually replaced in December 2013 by the African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA), described below.

In June 2008 CAR became the fourth country after Burundi, Sierra Leone and Guinea to be placed on the agenda of the UN PBC, which

was an expression of the UN's firm determination to implement a peacebuilding approach in the Central African country. One of the main tasks carried out by the PBC in CAR was transforming BONUCA into an integrated peacebuilding mission, known as BINUCA. This mission therefore fundamentally represented an expansion of the UN mandate in CAR. In a statement by the President of the Security Council in December 2009, the UN welcomed the establishment of BINUCA, which was eventually deployed in January 2010 and aimed at the support of national and local efforts to consolidate peace, enhance governance and complete the DDR process. BINUCA was also mandated with focusing on the activities of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), an originally Ugandan rebel group operating in the Central African region that allegedly claims democratic principles, but in reality operates as a criminal group with no clear political goals. After almost four years of work, BINUCA was subsumed in April 2014 into the newly established United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), described below.

The deterioration in the security situation in the Central African Republic due to increasing tensions and fighting between ex-Séleka and Anti-balaka under the Djotodia administration led to UNSC resolution 2127 in December 2013 and authorisation of the African-led International Support Mission to the Central African Republic (MISCA), which at the same time replaced MICOPAX. Promoted by the AU's Peace and Security Council and supported by a robust French deployment known as "Operation Sangaris" (International Institute for Security Studies, 2013), MISCA was mandated to protect civilians; restore security and public order; restore stability and state authority throughout the country; and establish conditions conducive to the provision of humanitarian aid, DDR and SSR, amongst other things, in close collaboration with transitional authorities and BINUCA. As with BINUCA, MISCA and "Operation Sangaris" were eventually absorbed into MINUSCA.

With the aim of reinforcing MISCA and to provide support to African-led efforts to contain the conflict in CAR (International Institute for Security Studies, 2014), in February 2014 UN resolution 2134 authorized the establishment of the European Union Force in the Central African Republic (EUFOR RCA). The EUFOR RCA is a bridging operation responsible for using all necessary means to contribute to the provision of a safe and secure environment in Bangui and contributing to international efforts to protect the populations most at risk. The mission was initially planned to hand over to MISCA within a maximum six months. In April however it was agreed that MISCA would be transformed into a stronger UN peacekeeping operation, and MINUSCA was established. This actually marked the beginning of a new chapter in EU-UN cooperation in crisis management (International Institute for Security Studies, 2014).

To date, the only remaining UN-led mission deployed solely in CAR is MINUSCA, which absorbed BINUCA, MISCA and the French "Operation Sangaris" when it was established in April 2014. Adopted by the UN Security Council under resolution 2149, MINUSCA was established as a peacekeeping operation aimed principally at the protection of civilians; support for the implementation of the transition process; the facilitation of humanitarian assistance; the protection of UN personnel; the promotion and protection of human rights; support for national and international justice and the rule of law; and support for DDR. This newly established mission represents a de facto response to a prolonged spate of inter-communal fighting, in particular between Muslim and Christian militias. The abovementioned struggle in the north between pastoralists and rebels, which has also contributed to the deterioration in the security situation, is another factor that fostered the deployment of MINUSCA.

Aside from the struggles in CAR between the government, the military forces and armed civilians fighting for different causes, there have also been major tensions and violent episodes in the area of the Central African border with Chad, mainly because of the opposition of

some Chadians in the south-east of the country to the arrival of both Central African refugees escaping the war in CAR and Sudanese refugees escaping the humanitarian crisis in Darfur. As the security situation gradually worsened in this area, the UN presented a proposal for a regional peacekeeping mission although it was rejected by Chad because it was concerned that the UN was trying to turn Chad into a rear base from which to launch operations in Sudan. As a result, the French pressured the EU into deploying a mission together with the UN, following which Chad accepted the deployment of both missions (Center on International Cooperation, 2010).

This is the background to the deployment of two peace missions in this conflict-ridden border region pursuant to UNSC resolution 1778, which was passed in late 2007. On the one hand, the UN established the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCAT) and, on the other hand, authorized the establishment of the European Union Force in the Republic of Chad and the Central African Republic (EUFOR TCHAD/RCA) for a period of one year. Early 2008 saw the parallel deployment of both missions. These missions were basically mandated to deal with security issues and the protection of civilians in the border area, as well as safeguard human rights, the provision of humanitarian assistance and the prevalence of the rule of law. Both missions were deployed in CAR and Chad although their presence in CAR was much more limited and concentrated in the north-eastern area bordering Chad. At the culmination of its one-year mandate in 2009, the responsibilities of EUFOR TCHAD/RCA were transferred to MINURCAT, the responsibilities of which were eventually assumed by Chadian security and justice bodies in December 2010.

Fearing a further deterioration of stability in this border area and a resulting major regional crisis, in March 2011 the UN launched the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA), which included the ten members of ECCAS. Amongst other goals, UNOCA was mandated to strengthen regional conflict prevention mechanisms; cooperate with ECCAS and other stake-holders in the promo-

tion of peace and security in the broader Central African sub-region; strengthen the DPA's capacity to advise the UNSG on different matters; enhance linkages in the sub-region to promote an integrated sub-regional approach and facilitating coordination and information ex-change; and report to the headquarters on developments of sub-regional significance.

2.3 TYPE OF PEACE AGREEMENT

In a context of on-going episodes of violence and political instability, the signing of peace agreements was an arduous challenge for both countries. The inclusion of all actors has been gradual and some insurgent fractions remain reluctant to join the peace process. At the same time, breaches of the peace agreements have been recurrent and, at the time of writing, both countries continue to suffer from serious and violent inter-group confrontations.

2.3.1 BURUNDI

In the context of the Burundian civil war, in 1997 the Burundian government and the Hutu parties in conflict started the first peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania, facilitated by the former Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere. The Arusha peace process succeeded in producing a peace agreement, which was signed by the government and the Hutu parties, except for CNDD-FDD and PALIPEHUTU-FNL, on 28 August 2000. The agreement consisted, among other measures, of the establishment of a national transitional government built on power-sharing structures between the Tutsi and Hutu. More specifically, article 1 of the so-called Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi provided that all parties accepted as binding five main issues: the nature of the conflict; problems of genocide and exclusion and their solutions; the democratisation process and the establishment of good governance; the necessary measures to guarantee security and lasting peace in the country; and multidimensional policies aimed at

socio-economic development and the improvement of the Burundians' standard of living.[14] Each of these issues was discussed by a different commission (Bentley and Southall, 2005).

After the signing of the peace agreement, the authorities began making greater efforts to include the Hutu-led armed insurgency of the CNDD-FDD and PALIPEHUTU-FNL in the accords. As Cunningham (2014) points out, however, fighting continued between both parties, which were the major armed adversaries of the regime. On the one hand, the CNDD-FDD claimed it was capable of fully participating in the political power-sharing structures and integrating into the regular army. The PALIPEHUTU-FNL, on the other, demanded more serious efforts to address long-lasting latent ethnic tensions between the Tutsi and Hutu. In 2003, Buyoya stepped down from the transitional government and the Hutu Domitien Ndayizeye took office. In November, Ndayizeye, supported by Mandela, led the transitional government and the CNDD-FDD to sign the Pretoria Protocol, which meant the insurgent group's withdrawal from the armed struggle. During the following months, ex-combatants of the CNDD-FDD were integrated into the army.

During the 2003 Nairobi workshop, a new initiative, the Burundi Leadership Training Program (BLTP), emerged. The BLTP was intended to provide training in collaborative decision making to a strategically selected group of Burundian leaders drawn from all social and institutional sectors. More specifically, the aim of the BLTP was to help build a socially cohesive network of 100 leaders capable of working across ethnic and political divisions in the country and, secondly, to embark on the country's post-war economic reconstruction. The BLTP became better known as the Ngozi Process, after the name of the place where most of the initial trainings took place (Wolpe *et al.*, 2004).

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14. For the full text of the peace agreement, see:
https://www.issafrica.org/cdburundipeaceagreements/No%201%20arusha.pdf

A new constitution was passed in 2005, which attempted, amongst other things, to overcome ethnic-oriented political agendas. The constitution consolidated Burundi as a multi-party system with one president as head of state. Inter-ethnic power-sharing structures were granted in just a few specific legal provisions. For instance, pursuant to article 124, there shall be no one prime minister but instead two vice-presidents, one belonging to the Tutsi and the other to the Hutu. In addition, article 129 mandates that the cabinet includes "at most 60% of Hutu" ministers and "at most 40% of Tutsi" ministers. On the other hand, article 164 states the National Assembly shall be composed of 60% Hutu and 40% Tutsi.[15]

The August 2005 general elections were won by the former insurgent group CNDD-FDD, which by then had become a political party, with its leader Nkuruziza becoming president. This political alternation meant the end of UPRONA- and FRODEBU-led politics, which had been marked by violent means, widespread corruption and economic mismanagement.[16] In 2006, after long and intense negotiations, the PALIPEHUTU-FNL also signed an initial peace agreement with the government. In 2008, after a one-year break in the violence, the last remaining Hutu insurgent group in conflict with the government signed the final peace agreement. A year later, in April 2009, PALIPEHUTU-FNL was transformed into a political party and renamed itself just FNL. Although DDR programmes were aimed at the reintegration of former FNL combatants into the army, intra-party tensions led to Rwasa seeking refuge in the DRC in 2010, from where he reorganised the FNL as an armed group, resulting in clashes with government forces that have continued up to the present day. Takeuchi (2013) argues that:

"(…) *in Burundi ethnicity is no longer the determinant of antagonism amongst political elites, which is a remarkable positive change. Nonethe-*

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15. See the full text of the 2005 Burundi constitution at: https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Burundi_2005.pdf
16. Information from the website of the School for a Culture of Peace, available at: http://escolapau.uab.cat/conflictosypaz/ficha.php?idfichasubzona=205&paramidioma=1

less, power has been gradually concentrated in the former rebels of the CNDD-FDD (…)" (Takeuchi, 2013:58).

This fact has fostered the growth of institutional corruption networks and the rearming of opposing groups, in particular the FNL. Despite the appreciable reduction in the high-intensity inter-ethnic conflict and the fact that there have not been any major violent clashes since 2012, the recent relapse into episodes of violence in the context of the 2015 elections between the supporters of the re-elected President Nkurunziza and supporters of the opposition party led by Agathon Rwasa, who claimed that the electoral process was a fraud, means that the power struggle continues to remain unresolved.

2.3.2 THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

With regard to CAR, a peace agreement was signed between Miskine and Bozizé in Sirte, Libya, in January 2007 (Berman and Lombard, 2008). A year later, in June 2008, the government signed a peace agreement with the APRD and the UFDR, which failed within three months because of disagreements over the issue of amnesty. In December 2008, the government, political opponents and the rebels signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and Bozizé established a new government. The CPA primarily focused on military aspects such as respect for the ceasefire, amnesty laws, the reinstatement of ex-combatants, the DDR process, etc.[17] In August 2012, the Convention of Patriots for Justice and Peace (CPJP) acceded to the CPA and was the last rebel group to join the peace process.

The 2011 presidential elections were won by Bozizé but were called into question by the general public, which generated further political instability, especially in the northern areas where the main focus of opposition to Bozizé was located. In March 2013 Bozizé was ousted

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17. See the full text of the 2008 CAR Comprehensive Peace Agreement, available at: http://www.ucdp.uu.se/gpdatabase/peace/CAR%2020080621.pdf

from power in a coup led by a coalition of five northern, predominantly Muslim rebel groups known as the Séleka ("alliance" in the Sango language), which accused the president of reneging on the 2007 peace agreement (International Institute for Security Studies, 2013). Despite support from neighbouring countries, Bozizé was defeated and in April 2013 the coup leader Michel Djotodia declared himself president. In September Djotodia dissolved the Séleka, with some rebels being integrated into the armed forces, although some combatants remained armed and have since become known as the ex-Séleka. Continuous political instability led Djotodia to resign in January 2014 and a transitional government led by the former mayor of Bangui, Catherina Samba-Panza, was established. Recent violent episodes between Muslim and Christian communities in the country however have weakened the security situation and hindered the accomplishment of the CPA, thus hampering the consolidation of peace.

2.4 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: COLLECTIVE CONFLICT DYNAMICS

On the basis of the detailed description of different dimensions of the two conflicts in Burundi and the Central African Republic, the following is a logic-based process of identifying shared conflict dynamics. As pointed out in the introduction, a comparative analysis of this type enables the researcher to identify common conflict-related patterns, while enhancing the understanding and comprehension of individual cases and providing potential explanatory factors for other instances with characteristics similar to those in the countries selected here.

2.4.1 CONFLICT PRECEDENTS

Concerning the conflict precedents, the fundamental aspect that both Burundi and CAR have in common is the legacy of colonialism and the

effects this has had on post-colonial local societies. A few hard facts illustrate how both countries continue to suffer from this legacy. On the one hand, the biased treatment given to ethnic communities during the colonial period and in particular during the transitional period towards independence led to the consolidation of an inherited political hierarchy that engendered confronting parties that ended up in violent struggle. In Burundi the status of the Tutsi was raised during the European colonial period whereas the Hutu, who accounted for over 85% of the population, were treated badly. In CAR, two ethnic groups near the Ubangui River –particularly the Ngbaka and the Yakoma– had benefitted disproportionately from French colonial rule, with the larger communities of the Gbaya, Banda, Mandja and Sara, which comprise over 80% of the population, being conferred an inferior status.

On the other hand, this inherited political hierarchy led to a permanent desire among the ill-treated groups to play a greater political role, which often manifested in violent rebel insurgencies against the government. The military consisted mostly of one single, and usually the dominant, ethnic group. Apprehensive about the growing role of the ethnic minorities, military coups by the regular army were common and military dictatorships consolidated in order to underpin its dominant position. Episodes like these were especially evident in the case of CAR, where three military coups took place in one year alone (1996). Military-led rebellions and the consequent response of rebel parties, or vice versa, prevented the consolidation of political stability in both countries and thereby hindered (as it still does) the establishment of a democratic system.

Another fact of significance that reflects the legacy of colonialism bears a close relation with the ethnicisation of the party system. During the emergence of the first political platforms in both countries in the fifties, groups were politically organized according to the ethnic cleavage. Not long after independence, however, different political organisations began to identify with one particular ethnic group or another, with a division conforming to that imposed during colonies times. Up until

the emergence of the recent religion-based conflict in CAR, the main cleavage guiding domestic politics in both countries was either ethnicity or communal identity, with social and economic cleavages always being pushed into the background, although this does not necessarily mean they had no impact on the development of inter-group tensions.

As mentioned above, economic disparity was closely linked to precedents at political level. The political hierarchies that constituted the legacy of the decolonisation process also resulted in the reproduction of economic inequality that contributed to an increase in inter-ethnic rivalries, the most decisive effect of which was patrimonial use and inefficient management of resources, which had devastating effects on the economies of both countries. In both cases, long-lasting non-democratic regimes, such as Bagaza's regime in Burundi and Kolingba's military rule in CAR, implemented economic policies that had drastic consequences for their countries' societies and used up natural resources for their own interests. In CAR, the IMF even withdrew its financial assistance accusing Patassé of mismanagement and corruption.

In socio-cultural terms, and as a result of a protracted context of violence lasting decades, the citizens of both countries have become socialised in a culture of violence. The normalisation of violence can only be overcome through the dissemination of peace education programmes, which will require long-term efforts to reach tangible results. In addition, the stagnation that occurs in a country where there is a situation of on-going violent struggle, together with the consequent instability this produces in many fields, prevents a robust education system from being consolidated. Children are therefore affected by low levels of education, which makes it easier for politicians to manipulate their citizens according to their own interests.

2.4.2 TYPE OF CONFLICT

As to the nature of the conflict in the cases studied, the comparative analysis focuses on two key aspects: the nature of the incompatibility

underlying the struggle and the actors involved. In terms of the incompatibility, both countries have witnessed similar power-induced conflicts. On the one hand, the Hutu-led resistance movement, led by the PALIPEHUTU-FNL and the CNDD-FDD, was repeatedly targeted by the Tutsi-dominated government and military forces during the civil war. On the other hand, the two main focuses of opposition in CAR in the nineties were the Yakoma-dominated military forces and their supporters on the one side, and Patassé's personal security bodies and his supporters on the other. The force ultimately driving the pace of the conflict in both cases has therefore been the desire to control the government.

In terms of the actors involved, it is worth mentioning first that both cases come under to the state-based conflict category provided by the UCDP. Between the government and the regular army in both Burundi and CAR, one or the other has always been a conflicting party. Nevertheless, the importance of the analysis lies in the sub-category of state-based conflicts. In the two cases at hand, both countries can be qualified as being in the sub-category of internationalised intra-state conflicts, with a two-fold external dimension. On the one hand, all parties to the conflict have received the support of neighbouring countries at some point. In Burundi, the Hutu-led movements developed out of the exiled Hutu population in Tanzania, which failed to prevent the Hutu rebel movement from organising into an armed group. In the case of CAR, Chad always played a key role in Central African domestic affairs, as for example in 2003 when the Chadians supported General Bozizé in ousting Patassé from power. On the other hand, the internationalisation of the conflict in both cases is also evident in the international interventions that have taken place. Burundi received support from the AU and the UN, specifically from the Department of Political Affairs and the Peacebuilding Commission, whereas CAR saw the deployment of missions from five different international and regional organisations, namely the AU, CEMAC, ECCAS, the EU and the UN. This phenomenon is indicative of the fact that the parties directly involved in the conflict, as well as external

parties, realized that a necessary condition for resolving the conflict was a regional approach.

<mark>2.4.3 TYPE OF PEACE AGREEMENT</mark>

The last dimension identifies similarities between the two cases as regards the nature and development of the peace agreements and also on the basis of the definitions provided by the UCDP. In terms of the scope of the peace agreement, the Burundian Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement was multidimensional and covers different societal reforms and hence is comprehensive, whereas the Central African Comprehensive Peace Agreement is only partial, i.e. it targets a specific dimension, in particular, the military and security issues.

With regard to the extent of inclusivity, both Burundi and CAR ultimately managed to include all of the actors in the peace agreement. The last conflicting parties to join the Arusha Peace and Reconciliation agreement were the CNDD-FDD in 2003 and lastly in 2008 the PALIPEHUTU-FNL. In CAR, the last group to sign the CPA was the CPJP, which eventually join the peace process in 2012. In short, a comprehensive peace agreement has been gradually achieved in both cases in terms of the level of inclusivity, in other words, the number of actors involved.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES

As stated in the introduction, the main goal of this working paper is not the outcome of the comparative analysis between Burundi and the Central African Republic itself, but rather the testability of an analytical framework for major armed conflicts that is to be used to present the cases within the context of a PhD dissertation. The author affirms that the methodological rationale behind the design of this analytical framework is based on the simple fact that, instead of using a descriptive register and listing the nature of the conflicts case by case, placing them in the context of a different dimension and categories makes comparison much easier, together with the identification of common patterns and conflict dynamics.

In this regard, use of the analytical framework presented above has proved satisfactory for developing a comprehensive and accurate definition of an armed conflict, including the three different dimensions of the cases analysed: the precedents, the type of conflict and the features of the resolution stage. In particular, the author points out the need to better understand the underlying causes of a violent struggle, i.e. the precedents, in order to make sense of more systematised data on the type of conflict and the resolution stage in dimensions two and three, respectively. To this end, and as is pointed out in the introduction, causal complexity in the social sciences cannot be categorized in a one-size-fits-all variable, and the in-depth study of causation in conflict analysis will vary according to the individual researcher's objectives, hence the choice here to add the political, economic and socio-cultural precedents to the UCDP indicators.

In the in-depth analysis of the root causes of the conflict, this working paper combines a historical study with the two fields of international relations and peace and conflict studies. As such, bridge building between different academic fields and approaches can enhance the un-

derstanding of social phenomena. The absence of interdisiciplinarity in certain specific fields of study, such as Political Science, Sociology, Anthropology, History, International Relations, Psychology, Peace and Conflict Studies, Economics, and Philosophy, is particularly detrimental to the general understanding of human beings and their social context, given that the analysis of social phenomena in terms of one specific academic approach, and in a way that is detached from other disciplines, hinders the comprehensive understanding of the multifaceted and multidimensional nature of human beings and the socialisation process.

The present analytical framework is also useful for identifying shared conflict-related dynamics between cases where the dimensions are analysed in terms of variables and categories. In particular, the working paper highlights common aspects such as the legacy of colonialism, which has had an impact on the post-colonial political and economic dynamics; the protracted situation of insecurity, which has brought about deep-seated socio-cultural failings such as the consolidation of a culture of violence; the presence of regional and international missions during the conflict resolution stage, as the result of a common regional approach; the gradual broadening of inclusivity of different actors in the peace agreements, and so forth. Further research of similar cases is necessary to test these findings and help define a conflict model for the Central African region.

From the methodological point of view, issues such as case selection, the comparative method or the use of generalisation could be further discussed. The analytical structure has proved to be viable for the comparison and understanding of different cases that share similar key characteristics such as the dynamics of the political background, the presence of international forces during the conflict and a regional approach. Nonetheless, the variables described may well need to be modified in order for the comparative analysis of more dissimilar cases to be feasible.

Another issue is that the working paper puts forward the idea that a within-case analysis (small-N cases) combined with a process-tracing method (that looks at the causal chain) based on this analytical framework may be a reliable way of establishing causal process between an independent variable (for example, the political precedents) and a dependent variable (for example, the type of dispute). This approach calls for a more robust application of the methodology for proof of validity. Lastly, with regard to the aspects of generalisation and extrapolation, the text points out that social generalisations are necessarily contingent on their context and that, in order to establish the general applicability of a new or modified explanation of a case, it must be shown that they accurately explain other cases. This is something that will also require further methodological and empirical development.

The purpose of this working paper is to disseminate this analytical framework among scholars and experts in the field and to obtain critical feedback for improving its applicability in the context of the author's doctoral thesis. Comments and criticisms regarding any aspect of the article are therefore welcome, in particular regarding the methodology, the comparative analysis, the content described for each case and the collective conflict dynamics outlined after the results of the comparison. In this regard, the intention of the author is also to encourage academic research in this field in its endeavours through networking to contribute to the building and sharing of knowledge.

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■ The principle purpose of the ICIP is to promote a culture of peace in Catalonia as well as throughout the world, to endorse peaceful solutions and conflict resolutions and to endow Catalonia with an active role as an agent of peace and peace research. The ICIP, seeking consistency between ends and means, is governed by the principles of promoting peace, democracy, justice, equality and equity in relationships between individuals, peoples, cultures, nations and states. It holds the aim of working for human security, disarmament, the prevention and peaceful resolution of conflicts and social tensions, and strengthening the roots of peace and coexistence, peace building and advocacy of human rights.

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