

(RE)THINKING TIME  
AND TEMPORALITIES  
IN PEACE AND  
CONFLICT

Zentrumstage 2020

October 29-31

LONG PROGRAM

Philipps



Universität  
Marburg



CENTER  
FOR  
CONFLICT  
STUDIES



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ZENTRUMSTAGE  
2020

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 29, 2020

14:00-16:15

**Opening Ceremony**

**Keynote I – Natascha Mueller-Hirth (Aberdeen):**

**Chronopolitics and temporal resistance in peace and conflict**

Moderator: Susanne Buckley-Zistel

*Dr Natascha Mueller-Hirth is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at Robert Gordon University Aberdeen, Scotland. She holds a PhD in Sociology from Goldsmiths College, University of London. Her research utilises qualitative methodologies to examine issues around peace and conflict, environmental change, development and gender, focusing primarily on Kenya and on South Africa. Natascha has published articles on subjects such as the politics of time and temporality in transitional justice, gender and peacebuilding, climate change and sustainable livelihoods, and the governance of development and development organisations. She is co-editor of *Time and Temporality in Transitional and Post-Conflict Societies* (2018) and co-author of *The Sociology of Everyday Life Peacebuilding* (2018) and is a member of the editorial board of *Time & Society*.*

16:15-17:00

**Virtual Coffee Break**

17:00-18:30

**Panel I and II**

**Susanne Buckley-Zistel (Marburg) - Time and Temporality**

The paper contributes to analysing the notions of time and temporality from a philosophical perspective. Traditionally, time serves as a synonym for a sequence of 'nows' that disappear into the past where they become 'thens'. However, the backwards and forwards movement central to the process of a hermeneutic understanding challenges this linear direction and has led Martin Heidegger to develop the notion of temporality, which was subsequently adopted by Hans Georg Gadamer (Heidegger, 1988, 35-6). For Heidegger the forward movement of time is also always simultaneously a movement backwards, for it retrieves and recovers what has been in the past. He therefore suggests a circularity where the retrieval of the past conditions what is possible in the future. This circular movement is profoundly ontological for it composes the very identity of individuals and communities. Their present identity is produced through the repetition of narratives about the retrieved history. This repetition makes manifest the social, spatio-temporal reality of the people – it produces and re-produces their identity. However, situated between past and future, people not only retrieve their past but at the same time they stretch out towards the possible in the future, they cast themselves forward into a horizon of existence. For Heidegger, being constituted by previous moments the present simultaneously constitutes moments-to-come. The 'now' is only shaped in its presence through a particular interpretation of our past, and this particular way is conditioned by our attitude towards our future. There is a constant forward and backward movement between the horizons of our past and of our future.

The paper takes the notion of time and temporality in Heidegger and Gadamer as a starting point to reflect about their content and value for peace and conflict studies, in particular regarding memory and identity in the aftermath of violent conflict.

*Susanne Buckley-Zistel is Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at the Center for Conflict Studies, Phillips University Marburg.*

**Christina Pauls (Augsburg) - Peaces that frame our extended Present**

The innocency of Peace Studies and related disciplines in the face of violence has been increasingly scrutinized by a number of scholars who question its epistemological foundations (Azarmandi 2018; Brunner 2020; Fontan 2012; Grosfoguel 2013; Maldonado-Torres 2020). Besides the territorial, geographical and discursive dislocation of conflict and violence to the Global South (Azarmandi 2018, 70), the epistemic colonial premises upon which main-

stream Peace Studies are built need to be scrutinized for their partiality as “a white perspective disguised as universal, impartial, and colorblind” (Azarmandi 2018, 73).

This white perspective is imbued with power and hierarchies, particularly in its relation to the objects of research, often focusing on collecting, analyzing and researching narratives of pain (Tuck & Yang 2014, 229) that are typically being localized in the past within a linear, Eurocentric conception of time. Seen from a critical decolonial perspective, the majority of peace and conflict research can be identified as pain-based research (Tuck & Yang 2014, 229), in which “the logics of pain has superseded the now outmoded racism of an explicit racial hierarchy with a much more politically tolerable racism of a developmental hierarchy” (Tuck & Yang 2014, 231). In contrast, desire-based research “does not deny the experience of tragedy, trauma, and pain, but positions the knowing derived from such experiences as wise” (Tuck & Yang 2014, 231).

Nevertheless, by uncovering these power imbalances within modern/ colonial epistemologies, research processes remain within a linear conception of past, present and future, in which pain connects to the past and desire points ahead toward the future. Rethinking time and temporalities, therefore, requires a decolonial reflection of the dominant global linear thinking - which, according to Mignolo “describes (...) the imperial partition of the world since the sixteenth century” (Mignolo 2011, 78). Based in the mapping and colonization of space, the colonization of time has centered Europe at the very present of time.

Such linear conception of time has discursively been constructed as the norm, with a pejorative notion of backward-orientation and a positive, progressive notion of futureorientation. It neglects other cosmologies, in which time is understood to move circularly and polychronistically. In the Rwandan language, for example, the word ‘ejo’ means both yesterday and tomorrow, and indicates a more circular understanding of time, in which we move within “a present that is enriched by both the past and the future” (Tuck 2010, 644).

John Paul Lederach gives an insight to such circular view of time by citing Jebuwot Sumbeiywo with a metaphor from her native Kalenjin:

[People say], ‘the past that lies before me and the future that lies behind me. They point ahead of them when they talk about the past. (...) I understand that what we know, what we have seen, is the past. So it lies before us. What we cannot see, what we cannot know is the future’. Then she began to walk backward. ‘So the past we see before us. But we walk backward into the future. Maybe my grandparents’ way of saying it is more accurate’ (Jebuwot Sumbeiywo quoted in Lederach 2005, 135-136).

What if pain can also be studied in the future? What if desire influences the way historical narratives are constructed? And to what extent do these

questions constitute the present? Bringing these two critical aspects together, namely pain-based research and linear conceptions of time, I invite us to dare moving towards less (epistemically) violent Peace Studies, as we are tapping into a balanced and expansive present at the interface of past and future.

## References

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*Christina Pauls is a peace researcher and lecturer at the University of Augsburg focusing on decolonial peace research. Her main research interests are transnational peace research, peaces otherwise, and decolonial perspectives. She has been living and working in Rwanda for several years and has worked on transgenerational traumatization among descendents of German-Russian families (Pauls 2021, forthcoming).*

## **Sandra M. Rios Oyola (Louvain) - Dignification and the Teleology of Transitional Justice**

This article examines how the ideas of human dignity and dignification shape transitional justice, particularly in regard to its "teleology of transition" used in its conception of time and temporality. This view sustains that violence is found in the past, where a situation of human rights violations took victims' human dignity away; this is followed by the implementation of TJ mechanisms; which takes us to a future where victims' human dignity is restored thanks to the implementation of TJ mechanisms. Some scholars have identified the limitations imposed by the teleological imaginary in TJ (Castillejo-Cuéllar 2014; Hinton 2018; Mueller-Hirth and Rios Oyola 2018). This article proposes that the lens of human dignity and dignification allows us to understand how the TJ

teleology operates.

A basic definition of human dignity emphasizes the recognition of the intrinsic worth of all human beings; this means that people should not be used as means to achieve an end, that we are all equal, with the same rights, and entitled to autonomy and agency. The dignification discourse implies a process by which victims re-acquire their dignity or get their dignity restored after experiencing human rights violations. Some TJ mechanisms establish “guaranteeing the dignification of victims” as one of their main goals, as in the case of the Truth, Coexistence and non-Recurrence Commission in Colombia. There is no consensus on the idea of human dignity as it is used in International Human Rights Law, or in Constitutional Law, but the content and substance of the concept has been widely discussed (Barak 2015, Daly 2012, Dupré 2015). In TJ, there is still a pending conversation on the uses of the concept of human dignity. Similarly, the dignification discourse, is a discourse of loss and achievement that needs critical interrogation. This article argues that the discourse of dignification and the teleological imaginary in transitional justice, reinforce each other. This research is based on the analysis of TJ reports and policies, with a particular focus on reparations and truth commissions in Latin America.

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<sup>1</sup>This article is part of a larger research on “How does Transitional Justice contributes to restoring Victims’ Human Dignity. The case of the truth commission, reparations, and historical memorialization in Colombia” funded by the National Fund for Scientific Research (FNRS).

*I am a Colombian sociologist and my research interests cover the study of human dignity, memory, and transitional justice from an interdisciplinary perspective. I obtained a Fonds De La Recherche Scientifique - FNRS postdoctoral grant in 2018, and I am currently a researcher at the L'Institut de Sciences politiques Louvain-Europe (ISPOLE) - Université Catholique de Louvain. My research studies how transitional justice helps to restoring victims' human dignity, with a focus on the case of Colombia's Truth commission, Historical Memory Commission and Reparations. I am the author of the book 'Religion and Social Memory amid Conflict. The Massacre of Bojaya in Colombia' (Palgrave Macmillan 2015) and the co-editor of 'Time and Temporality in the Study of Transitional Societies' (Routledge 2018). I have also written on the influence of memory, emotions and religion on peacebuilding and I have experience teaching subjects such as human rights, Latin American politics and research methods.*

## **Ana Leticia Soares (Hamburg) - The Kinetics of Security: Deconstructing Temporal Linearity Perspectives to Understand the Securitization Theory**

The concept of kinetics conveys motion. The term comes from the natural sciences and it serves as an allegory for temporal mobility. Deleuze's Bergsonism, on the other hand, brings to light a deconstruction of temporal linearity, in spatial terms, and evokes a virtual perception of time in his conceptualization. Both ideas, kinetics and non-linearity of time, are applied in this paper with the intent to approach some concepts of the Copenhagen School Securitization Theory (ST). As a matter of fact, the ST deals with the construction of security issues and their resolution within politics that transform structures and social behaviors. For an object to be securitized, it requires the utterance of a securitizing discourse by a relevant actor and the legitimation of the discourse by an audience. That said, it is important to mention that problems found in the core of the theory, such as its indecisive ontology and the underdefined element of the audience – essentially conceptual problems – can, therefore, be tackled by asking how the process of securitization relates to the phenomenological discernment of time. Previous works have failed to connect the speech act, a vital part of the ST, to the notion of temporality and the perils of perception, relying on given philosophical grounds. Thus, this paper proposes foregrounding philosophy to deconstruct our linear perspective of time and, consequently, shifting the focus from the structure of pre-existing elements/process/outcome to the motion of securitization. The present work is mainly theoretical, addressing the problems by deductive reasoning. The methodological process is to review the current ST literature and connecting it to the elaborations of Gilles Deleuze to provide a new perspective on old conundrums.

*Ana Soares, M.A. is a PhD Candidate in Political Science at Hamburg University. She graduated from La Salle University, Brazil, in 2015 and she got her master's degree in International Relations in 2017 at Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary. Currently, she is part of Prof. Dr. Antje Wiener's chair of Global Governance at Hamburg University – as a researcher and lecturer – and she develops her doctorate research at the Latin American department at the GIGA Institute in Hamburg. She is also coordinating the working group “A Pandemic Peace? Narrative Shift in Discursive Disarmament Strategies” at the CSS Hamburg, and she is an associated graduate student to the IGK-SFB 138 “Dynamics of Security” at Marburg University. Her areas of research include IR theory and security studies, with a focus on discourse analysis, social mobilization, and securitization theory.*

## PANEL II      MULTIPLE TEMPORALITIES IN CONFLICT

Chair: Anika Oettler (Marburg)

Thursday, October 29, 17:00-18:30

### **Julie Bernath (Marburg) - Multiple temporalities and questions of timing and sequencing: reflections on transitional justice in the Syrian context**

Focusing on the empirical case study of Syria, this paper explores the interlinkages between subjective temporalities of war and peace and demands for transitional justice. It draws from qualitative interviews conducted with approximately 80 Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Germany and 30 members of civil society organisations working on transitional justice in the Syrian context between December 2018 and January 2020. This paper shows that it is not only the places which Syrian refugees inhabit, but also their subjective temporalities of war, violence and peace that shape demands and mobilization practices for transitional justice. As such, the Syrian context questions not only spatial assumptions in the field of transitional justice – with avenues for accountability being explored outside of the nation state, based on the transnational trajectories of Syrian refugees, activists and transitional justice professionals. It also questions traditional views on timing and sequencing in the field of peacebuilding, according to which transitional justice is set to unfold only after peace negotiations have ended with an outline for the political transition. This paper first shows that actors operating in the Syrian context display conflicting views on the timing and sequencing of transitional justice depending on their professional identities and locations of work. On the one hand, humanitarian actors working inside Syria or in host countries bordering Syria focus on relief and emergency efforts, whilst peacebuilding actors and mediators at the United Nations press for a political solution as a precondition for any discussion of justice and accountability. On the other hand, human rights activists and transitional justice professionals aim at re-politicizing the



discussion on the peace process for Syria in stressing that there is ‘no peace without justice’, and in framing justice as a condition for the return of Syrian refugees. Second, this paper discusses the multiple temporalities that exist between Syrians located inside of Syria and those outside- with the population located within prioritizing negative peace and the rebuilding of livelihoods over accountability. It also analyses different preferences in terms of transitional justice amongst Syrian refugees living in Germany and Lebanon – depending on when they have fled Syria, their exposure to violence in Syria and their links to the home country. This paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of these multiple and conflicting temporalities in light of the ongoing efforts, in European host countries, for accountability for international crimes committed in Syria under the universal jurisdiction principle.

*Julie Bernath is a visiting researcher at the Center for Conflict Studies of the University of Marburg, and a senior researcher at swisspeace. She is currently conducting research on transitional justice perspectives of Syrian refugees in Germany and Lebanon. For this project (June 2018 – January 2021), funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, she is hosted at the University of Marburg; with shorter stays at the Issam Fares Institute of the American University of Beirut and the Department of Geography of the University of Cambridge. Julie’s research specializations include victims’ participation in transitional justice and transitional justice in Cambodia and Syria. Julie is Chair of the Standing Group on Human Rights and Transitional Justice of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR). She holds a PhD in political science from the University of Basel and a MA in political science from the Institut d’Études Politiques in Paris.*

## **Venera Kusari (Yangon) - Understanding Myanmar’s Internal Conflicts through the Lens of Time**

Myanmar has been making the international headlines since 2016 when the mass violation of human rights of the Rohingya by the Myanmar military occurred. Globally, Myanmar is known primarily for this event and for the country’s staunch leader Aung San Su Kyi who led the peaceful movement to transition the country from military junta to democracy. However, to understand Myanmar’s long standing internal conflicts, it is imperative to view the country’s dynamics from a time-related approach that acknowledges the multifaceted aspects. Myanmar has a population of some 54 million people, with a prolonged and conflictive colonial heritage from 1824 (British Burma) to 1948 (Independence), a strongly repressive and inward-looking military rule between 1962 and 2010, a rich and proud cultural tradition, and a population divided into some 135 recognized ethnic group (classified under eight major national ethnic races, dominated by the Bamar, which comprise around two thirds of the population). The country has experienced long-standing internal conflicts driven

driven by multiple ethnic and geographical disputes, greatly complicated by 21 groups of armed ethnic minorities seeking to achieve greater autonomy and equality from the Union, all of which has led to one of the longest-running civil wars on the planet.

This paper will examine how the above mentioned periods have influenced Myanmar's internal conflict tendencies with their ups and downs over time and space and how in turn have sharpened conflictive and parallel temporalities. It will look at how the pervasive authoritarian culture that defines the military continues to shape much of public policy and opinion, especially as related to security and sovereignty issues. It will examine the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement as a continuation of "a work in progress," while many of the armed groups continue to provoke periodic attacks. Also, it will assess the long-festering discriminatory treatment accorded for decades to various minority populations, but most especially to the Muslim Rohingya, which currently escalated into periodic crises – with spikes in every year between 2012 and 2016, and especially in August of 2017 – to the point where this pattern seriously undermined progress in all other spheres, and particularly in the political and peace processes.

*Venera Kusari, currently, is a Program Director a SMILE Education and Development Foundation, a Myanmar organization working with diverse people from all levels of Myanmar society to promote freedom of religion and belief and to protect the dignity and rights of ethnic minorities. Venera started her career in the humanitarian and human rights field during the conflict in Kosovo in 1999. She worked with organizations such as the International Crisis Group, Mercy Corps International, Solidarites International, and Cordaid. She then pursued her studies in New York City where she received an undergraduate degree in Political Science and Sociology from the City University of New York and a graduate degree in Negotiation and Conflict Resolution from Columbia University. Venera was also awarded a Fellowship on a communication theory Coordinated Management of Meaning (CMM) by Columbia University. In New York City Venera worked for Committee to Protect Journalists and UN Women. In the past five years Venera has worked as a program coordinator and researcher of conflict at Columbia University where she managed youth programs in Colombia and Kosovo and conducted research on complex dynamics in conflict, communication and conflict, power asymmetries, and sustainable peace.*

## **Obinna Nweke (Otago) - The Dawn of National Reintegration: Time and Reintegration in the aftermath of the Nigerian-Biafra War**

Authorities in many transitional societies are increasingly turning to reintegration programs that emphasize the speedy integration of former combatants and perpetrators that are produced at the end of conflict. However, there has been limited engagement with time as an important category for understanding the reintegration experiences of former perpetrators. Thus, focusing on the

DDR program implemented for Igbos at the end of the Nigeria-Biafra war, this article asks: what challenges and relations of power does the pace of social acceleration throw up for reintegration programs in post-hostility societies? First, it contends that while frequently portrayed as taking place within an open time frame, reintegration programs are grounded on a linear temporality that prioritises the hasty return of former perpetrators--who are perceived as peace spoilers and security threats--to their communities as the dawn of peacetime and window that enables them move beyond the consequences of their past rebellion against the State into a secure political, economic and social future.

Second, it argues that although Nigeria's post-Biafra DDR is often hailed as a stellar example of a reintegration program in which the conflict has not reoccurred, it runs contrary to the reintegration experiences of the Igbos which has been marked by continuities of violence and marginalisation in aggravated forms unlike they had experienced in pre-conflict times, according to which their identity as rebels and a conquered people continue to slow down their struggles to integrate themselves as former key players in Nigeria's power structure. Third, I unpack the contradiction between the long term reintegration temporality of 'patience and hard work' harped by the Federal Military Government after the war, and Igbo experiences of the numerous fast-paced social acceleration programs like the indigenization decree, structural adjustment program, selective regional investments, currency exchange scandal, sale of Igbo properties, and discharge without benefit implemented at a time when the Igbos were still smarting from the losses of the conflict, forcing them to retreat to the informal sector of the economy which is taken to be in a 'backward time zone' to survive, and leaving many of their descendants feeling left behind. Finally, I explore the politics of waitness inherent in the continued delay for the Igbo presidency 50 years after the war. This analysis advances knowledge on the temporary turn in critical peace research by exploring the time dimensions of reintegration practice and the hierarchies it perpetuates in post-conflict societies.

*Obinna Nweke is a PhD candidate at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand. His current research focus is on ex-combatant agency within the context of the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) program for former militants in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria. Obinna's interdisciplinary interest spans across academia and practice on issues around local and indigenous peacebuilding practices, transitional justice, memory politics, security governance and post-conflict DDRs.*

*Email: [obinna.nweke@postgrad.otago.ac.nz](mailto:obinna.nweke@postgrad.otago.ac.nz)*

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 30, 2020

09:30-11:00 Panel III and IV

PANEL III TIMING AND CONTEXTS  
*(This session will not be recorded)*  
Chair: Astrid Juckenack (Marburg)  
Friday, October 30, 09:30-11:00

**Joana Amaral (Marburg) – A Public Timing? Confidentiality and Public Communication in the Colombian Peace Negotiations**

Peace negotiations are customarily exclusive and secret endeavours. While confidentiality may be essential to the delicate process of negotiating peace, negotiating 'behind closed doors' prevents cooperation and progress from being known to the public. Existing research has shown the negative impact of secrecy on the durability of peace and explored what motivates political elites to retain adversarial public discourses during peace negotiations, but not their opposites. To address this gap, this paper provides an in-depth study of the negotiations between the Santos government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) between 2012 and 2016. A qualitative content analysis of interviews with leading members of both delegations, their memoirs, and the joint communiqués issued by the 'Mesa de Diálogos' – the high-level negotiations – uncovers the negotiation dynamics and external factors that shaped the disclosure of progress to the public during the negotiations. Its findings contribute to existing academic debates on the need for secret versus more open and inclusive peace negotiations, exploring the tension between confidentiality and the need for timely public information and education.

*Dr. Joana Amaral is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Center for Conflict Studies at the University of Marburg, heading a research project fully funded by the German Foundation for Peace Research. Her work in peace processes has focused on the study of peace negotiations and mediation, particularly in Colombia, Northern Ireland, Cyprus and Sierra Leone. The author of Making Peace with Referendums: Cyprus and Northern Ireland (Syracuse University Press: New York, 2019), her publications focus on several issues related to peace negotiations, such as public communication, peace referendums, the inclusion of armed groups in peace negotiations, civil society inclusion, and the use of sanctions with mediation.*

## **Bertie Kangoya (Marburg) - The Time of History and Memory in Zimbabwe: Multi-Layered Healing and Reconciliation Challenges for Second-Generation Victims**

This presentation addresses the complexities of the national healing and reconciliation efforts in Zimbabwe – a country with multiple layers of violence embedded in a conflict-prone context. While there have been years of relative peace since Independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's history illustrates the anatomy of a predatory state, characterised by corruption, militarisation, and orchestrated election violence. This paper focuses on the case study of two orphaned children. Their stories encapsulate the second-generation victim survivors' experiences of multi-layered violence, memory loss, and historical trauma. We are at a crucial point in the timeline of the lives of these orphans, where the reconciliatory efforts must be specific to their needs if they are to find justice and peace.

The critical question to explore is how can these orphans, the second-generation victims of election violence, find justice while their daily lives are embedded in the multi-layered violence that led to their parents' deaths? Key considerations regarding the orphans' state of continued violence and lack of support will be discussed, while illustrating that there is a disjunction between the experiences of second-generation victim survivors and the reconciliatory processes in place to elicit justice and healing.

*Bertie Kangoya is a PhD candidate in Transitional Justice at the Center for Conflict Studies- Philips Marburg University with special interest in victim-survivors, their voice and agency in post-conflict, authoritarian, and militarised societies. He serves as a Board Member for Touching Lives Africa and Transitional Justice Advisor for Heal Zimbabwe Trust. His dissertation research focuses on the experiences of victim-survivors of election violence in Zimbabwe. Namely, he is exploring how victim-survivors can pursue transitional justice in a country where the perpetrators of violence are still in power. He seeks to analyse the effectiveness of the current processes aimed at peace and reconciliation already in place by identifying gaps that can be addressed through elevating victim agency to achieve justice, healing, and peace.*

## **Felix Schulte (Heidelberg) - Trigger Events, Emotional Climates, and Cascades of Cultural Identity Conflicts**

Inter-communal and self-determination conflicts revolve around cultural identities that are highly emotionally charged. They often manifest in quickly and unexpectedly escalating conflictive mass behaviour such as riots and protests. How can these nonlinear short-term escalation dynamics be explained?

The dependent variable is cascades of conflictive mass behaviour in cultural identity conflicts, defined as spontaneous and self-organized contentious collective action. Cascades are endogenous, nonlinear propagations of upheaval waves in time and space, leading to varying intensities and extensities. Mass behaviour is triggered by “sparking events”. While this is an often-used concept, it remains undertheorized as the relative importance of triggers and structures is undecided. Our approach combines both factors. On this account, we turn to self-organized criticality (SOC), a characteristic feature of complex systems where “epidemic” behaviour arises through the triggering of cascades. We use the “forest-fire model”, a widely discussed mechanism of SOC, as a heuristic. It combines the accumulation of “fuel” with activation “sparks”. This approach contrasts with rationalist explanations. In their view, incidents of unrest are either orchestrated by mass-mobilizing elites in advance or the result of the instrumentalization of disruptive events. In contrast, we take a bottom-up perspective. Unlike agent-based and epidemiological models, however, we argue that cultural identity conflicts are not mainly driven by rational choice.

In our model, collective emotions provide the “fuel” by heightening the readiness to act on a sparking event. This perspective has been largely neglected so far. People experience emotions as parts of social networks. This gives rise to emotional climates, the focal independent variable. Emboldening emotions of discontent, such as anger and pride, express perceived grievances. Protests and riots are “epidemics” of avalanching fight reactions with which people collectively respond to these emotions. Collectives self-organize into networks of mobilization as emotional climates not only express in a heightened arousal but also in denser communication networks. The article presents preliminary results of a cascade dataset of instances of conflictive mass behaviour in cultural identity conflicts in 2019. We select those cascades where sparking events can be identified and assess the size of a cascade by measuring its spatio-temporal extensity and its intensity, based on the numbers of participants, of people killed and injured, and the amount of property damaged.

*Felix Schulte received his BA from Cath. University Eichstätt and Linköpings University (Sweden), where he studied Political Science, Sociology and History (2008-2011), his MA in Political Science from Heidelberg University in 2014 and his doctorate in 2019. His research interests include ethnic conflicts, minority issues and post-conflict institutional engineering. Felix was a guest researcher at the Åland Islands Peace Institute (Finland) and the Institute for Minority Rights at EURAC Bolzano (Italy). Since 2016, he is lecturer of Comparative Politics at the Institute of Political Science at Heidelberg University.*

**Tine Destrooper & Marit de Haan (Ghent) - Resuming adjourned ongoingness: The temporality of rupture, transition and continuity in Chile.**

Almost as soon as post-conflict studies became a prominent field of study, the notion of “post” was problematized for implying a clean break between times of war and times of peace. The field of transitional justice has been more careful in assuming such a clean break, proposing a more elongated understanding of how change unfolds in societies emerging from conflict. However, also transitional justice has been criticized for its short-term orientation, focus on ‘quick fixes’ and its assumption of linear progress towards a liberal ideal.

While the premise of transitional justice is precisely that the past bears upon the present, it often fails to sufficiently analyse – and address – continuities. In the past decade, attention grew for long-term effects of both conflict and transitional justice interventions themselves. However, there has been little systematic attention to the very concept of *transition*. In this paper, we argue that insights from restorative justice can enrich the temporal dimension of this concept.

This is a crucial exercise, especially if we consider that some of the most paradigmatic cases of “finished” transitional justice processes today seem to raise questions on whether transitions can be understood as delimited in time.

Chile is one such case. Considering the expressed needs of victims of human rights violations committed during the military dictatorship and the demands of protesters today suggests that, indeed, the past continues to bear upon the present and the transition is far from “over”.

Sequencing characterized the Chilean TJ process: the most grotesque human rights violations were addressed first, leaving other kinds of violations to be dealt with later. However, these violations – including those concerning social and economic rights – have in many ways remained unaddressed, leaving victims waiting. This waiting, however, in the Fall of 2019, transformed into contestation, when people took to the streets with demands related to continued extreme inequality. This raises a number of questions: What are the temporal dynamics linking the victims of the dictatorship to these protests? What are the entanglements between transitional temporalities and power? And how do different temporalities (e.g. of trauma and social change) co-exist and co-constitute each other?

Drawing on insights from restorative- and social justice, this paper asks how we can better understand the notion of transition, and more systematically engage with the needs of victims, needs which seldom know a clean break.

We argue that a temporal lens presents an indispensable analytical tool to understand the ongoingness of transitions.

*Tine Destrooper is an associate professor at the Faculty of Law and Criminology of Ghent University and a member of the Human Rights Centre at Ghent University. Her research focuses on victim participation in transitional justice. She currently carries out a comparative study on the long term and unforeseen effects of victim participation on victims and their communities. She was previously director of the Center for Human Rights and Global Justice in New York. She also held positions at various other European and American institutions, including New York University, the European University Institute, Leiden University, Wissenschaftskolleg Berlin and the Universities of Antwerp and Leuven. Here she conducted research on the consequences of violent conflict and the role of the international community in dealing with the aftermath of violent conflict. Her publications and lectures at various international forums have highlighted the often unforeseen consequences that international interventions can have for local (groups of) rights-holders.*

*Marit de Haan is a PhD researcher at the Human Rights Centre of Ghent University. Her research is about the victims of the Chilean military dictatorship, with a specific focus on victim participation in the transitional justice period, restorative justice and victims' needs. Marit holds a BSc in Psychology and MA in Global Criminology from Utrecht University. She has worked as a researcher in Chile (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile & Universidad de Chile), collaborating on various research projects in the area of restorative justice and victim's justice needs. Other international projects she has worked on, amongst others for the City University of New York, focused on the reform of prisons worldwide and more humane responses to criminal behavior. Before starting her PhD, she worked for the Research and Documentation Centre of the Dutch Ministry of Justice. Her research project is funded through an individual FWO PhD fellowship.*

## **Mariam Salehi (Marburg) - Transitional justice, constitution making, and conflicting temporalities in transitional Tunisia**

This article looks at the process of constitution making and the related mechanism of conflict resolution Tunisia's transitional justice process. It explores the interplay between acute and more long-term approaches to conflict resolution. The Tunisian constitution-making process ended successfully with the help of an acute conflict-resolution mechanism – the 2013 National Dialogue. This mechanism was internationally lauded for its success and four Tunisian civil society organizations won the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize for its facilitation. At the same time, an institutionalized transitional justice process was launched, and anchored within the constitution, but for which the institutions only started operating later on. Its main institution, the Truth and Dignity Commission, however faced criticism and has at times been described as a failure, because it could not deliver on its promises.



This article highlights the interlinkages and simultaneous trends and counter-trends: developments in and through the National Dialogue (and beyond) would relevantly shape the course of the transitional justice process, leading to shifting political priorities and timelines. Directly after the fall of the Ben Ali regime in 2011, transitional justice and related processes of accountability/vetting were a strong priority, however, this changed quickly because of mounting political tensions that sometimes culminated in violence, the 'religious-secular divide,' and consequently a deadlock in the National Constituent Assembly. To overcome this deadlock, and after several failed attempts, the National Dialogue was initiated, which succeeded in functioning as a forum for political adversaries to get to know each other and to build trust. The National Dialogue thus facilitated processes of elite deal-making. However, by doing so dismantling 'the system' (the structures in politics, economy, the justice sector etc. that enabled repressive rule) at a deeper level and seeking justice and accountability lost priority. To achieve constitutional progress and necessary acute conflict resolution, prospects for more long-term conflict resolution through a transitional justice process were pushed back. Simultaneously, the institutionalization of transitional justice progressed through anchoring the institutionalized project in the constitution. The project and the related institutions, especially the Truth and Dignity Commission, had to struggle with the declining political will. Since political deal-making was prioritized also by those actors who previously pushed for transitional justice, the latter lost priority. In this vein, the article prompts a discussion about the interplay between transitional justice and constitution-making, as well as the temporality of different measures that are considered a 'success' and a 'failure' in conflict resolution.

*Dr. Mariam Salehi is A.SK postdoctoral fellow in the Global Governance unit at the WZB Berlin Social Science Center and a research fellow at the Center for Conflict Studies at the University of Marburg. Her research is situated at the intersection of International Politics and Peace and Conflict Studies, with a particular focus on internationalised processes of change. Her PhD thesis on the Tunisian transitional justice process has won the 2019 dissertation award of the German Middle East Studies Association.*

## **Ingrid Samset (Leiden) – Temporalizing Transition**

In recent years, processes labelled war-to-peace transitions or transitional justice have often failed to live up to expectations implied in the constitutive term of transition. I argue that transition, conventionally conceived, is a misleading metaphor. Drawing centrally on philosopher Henri Bergson's work, I propose to reconfigure transition so as to better fit open-ended temporalities.

*Ingrid Samset is an Assistant Professor at Leiden University. Her research interests include transitional justice, conflict processes, postcolonial theory and the politics in and of Africa. Her work has been published in e.g. Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, International Peacekeeping and Review of African Political Economy. Email: i.samset@luc.leidenuniv.nl*

**11:00-11:30**      **Virtual Coffee Break**

**11:30-13:00**      **Panel V and VI**

## PANEL V      POLITICAL TEMPORALITIES

Chair: Alex Veit (Marburg)

Friday, October 30, 11:30-13:00

**Filip de Maesschalck (Antwerp) - Statebuilding support to post-conflict states. A temporal analysis of the interplay between European engagement and domestic legitimation mechanisms throughout the 2015 electoral cycle in Burundi.**

Over the past two decades, statebuilding has emerged as a central yet contested concept of international engagement with post-conflict states, with new questions arising under the current global rise of authoritarianism. To remain in power, what are the mechanisms authoritarian regimes rely on to legitimate themselves? And what is the nature of interplay between these legitimation mechanisms and international engagement? These are the questions the research aims to address, through within-case qualitative analysis using a time-sensitive lens.

The research focuses on European statebuilding support to Burundi before and during its 2015 elections. These elections sparked a crisis along multiple dimensions, including a crisis of the incumbent regime's legitimacy. Two broadly distinct stages of interplay between European engagement and domestic legitimation can be discerned. In the period between the 2010 and the 2015 elections, European actors remained largely supportive of the regime, notwithstanding disquieting signs of rising authoritarianism. Only in the immediate run-up to the 2015 elections they shifted to a more opposing and sanctioning behaviour. This, in turn, generated a notable shift in domestic legitimation mechanisms, which seems to show that the Burundian regime understood well how to read European actors' behaviour and how to react to it. Equally important is the sharp agency and agility with which the regime managed to do so, especially when compared to the relative inertia of the

European actors engaged with Burundi, thus indicating the presence of dissimilar temporalities which the regime used to its advantage.

The research findings suggest that European engagement in Burundi has contributed to authoritarian regime consolidation, through its interaction with domestic legitimation mechanisms, and regardless of the observed shift from regime support to regime contestation. Moreover, it is argued that – despite temporal notions such as contingency, volatility, prioritisation and sequencing permeating the debate on statebuilding support – European actors continue disregarding the key role played by time and temporality, with negative effects on the attainment of the statebuilding objectives set.

*Filip De Maesschalck works as a foreign service officer at the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Independently, he conducts doctoral research on European statebuilding support to post-conflict states at the Institute of Development Policy (University of Antwerp). His research interests include the political economy of (European) aid, post-conflict statebuilding (with a focus on the African Great Lakes Region), authoritarianism, legitimacy and legitimation, and time and temporality.*

### **Werner Distler (Marburg) - Time is running out. Temporal contestations and conflicts on sovereignty in territorial administration.**

Both UN-supervised trusteeship of societies in the period of decolonization after the Second World War and recent UN-led territorial administrations in conflict-ridden societies had set the goal of self-government and independence in their international mandates. Colonial administration under the observation of UN institutions and direct rule by UN officials were considered a somewhat exceptional, but necessary period of transition to an independent, sovereign future of the respective territory. However, the timescape of this period were not defined in mandates of the Trusteeship Council or the Security Council. Instead, international actors had the task to evaluate on a regular basis – in reports and debates at the UN – when the administered society was “ready” for independence. In my presentation, I will focus on conflicts of temporal imaginations in the two cases of Papua New Guinea (UN-mandated Australian trusteeship, 1946-1975) and Kosovo (UN administration, 1999-2008): Questions of how and when to achieve independence became key references in political conflicts on self-determination between international, domestic and communal actors. While I support the recent argument of Christie & Algar-Faria that “privileged timescapes associated with states and the international community obscure local chronopolitics” (2020: 20) in interventions, I will focus on how domestic political actors tried to disrupt, resist, and re-set temporal constructions of internationals. My argument is that while the international “governing of time”

in reports and institutions dominated the techniques of administration, actors in Papua New Guinea in the early 1970s and in Kosovo before 2008 repeatedly and successfully pressured for independence and self-government through alternative temporal imaginations. Thereby, they set a political process in motion, which eventually could not be delayed further by international actors.

Christie, R., & Algar-Faria, G. Timely interventions: Temporality and peacebuilding. *European Journal of International Security*, 1-24.

*Werner Distler is a postdoc research fellow at the Collaborative Research Centre 'Dynamics of Security' and the Center for Conflict Studies at the University of Marburg. In the Centre, his work focuses on legacies and roles of security constructions in cases of international statebuilding (Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Kosovo). Furthermore, he works on the social practice and the role of knowledge in the everyday of international interventions, on political authority in statebuilding (in elections, institution-building, and constitutional politics) and on 'economies of peace' after conflict.*

### **Andrea Carolina Jaramillo Contreras (Marburg) - Contrasting Temporalities between the Reincorporation Policies and the everyday of FARC-EP excombatants in Colombia: A Matter of Power and Synchronicity**

The Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) is one of the approaches that are implementing most of the countries that are passing through a peace process with insurgent groups. Scholars and practitioners have done a variety of studies to show the implications, alternatives and challenges that this process entails. However, few of them have been focusing on the tensions of temporality between the everyday practices of ex-combatants and the time requirements that the reincorporation policies demand. In such, few researchers have not been considering that “each stage of the DDR program has its own temporality and corresponding strategies” (Theidon, 2007 p.87).

Based on the peace agreement between the FARC-EP ex-combatants and the Colombian government signed in 2016, and the collective reincorporation approach agreed between both parts, I want to show the temporality contrasts in the practice of reincorporation and the time frame of the political agenda of reincorporation. Mostly, the temporality approach in policies are seeing fragmented and segmented (Lefebvre, 1991) and are analysed under a synchronic rather than a diachronic perspective (Howlett & Goetz, 2014), affecting the understanding of the everyday dynamics of the subjects of intervention and giving therefore, a lack of comprehension of the natural fluidity of peace from bottom-up perspectives.

While the external actors consider the reincorporation as a linear

perspective that has to be fulfilled through several numbers of interventions (such as job opportunities, health security, social activities, etc.), the ex-combatants see their reality in an integrated way between their past and their present, seeing thus their reincorporation as a natural process that has no limit in the time. In this regard, I want to argue the importance of the everyday temporalities from the view of the ex-combatants and the frictions that may appear in this regard when they interact with the ones who implement the policies. By understanding the gap between the time perceived from the ex-combatants and the time perceived from outsiders (policymakers and international donors). Based on that I explore the limitations that this understanding can deliver in sustainable peace and the relation of this with the power and synchronicity during the reincorporation processes.

*Andrea Jaramillo is a Psychologist with more than 10 years of experience as practitioner in the peacebuilding in Colombia. She has a bachelor studies in Psychology and a MA studies in Social Justice Perspective at the International Institute of Social Studies (ISS). Now pursuing her Ph.D. at Marburg University (Germany) at the faculty of Sociology with the topic "Collective Reincorporation: Meanings and Practices of Ex-combatants from the FARC-EP in Colombia". Here, she accompanies the local peace-building emerging from everyday practices and interaction between ex-combatants and surrounding communities. Before her PhD, she has been working with ex-combatants, victims and rural communities in topics related to reintegration, reconciliation and reparation throughout the country.*

## PANEL VI THE PRESENT OF VIOLENT PASTS

Chair: Timothy Williams (Munich)

Friday, October 30, 11:30-13:00

### **Kristine Avram (Marburg) - Reconstructing Past Violence and State Repression in Romania: Polychronic Storytelling in Narratives of Former Securitate Officers**

In the field of peace and conflict as well as in memory studies, narratives are seen as a vehicle for shaping and giving meaning to (traumatic) experiences and (violent) events of the past. Importantly, narrative (re)production is not simply the mirroring of reality or a recounting of experience but a creative process of (re)constructing past violence and state repression by selecting and ordering certain episodes from a wide array of events and experiences. Inasmuch as narratives are conceived as representations of time-ordered sequences of events, thereby linking, past, present and future, they assume a linear and homogenous 'narrated time' (story time) within accounts of the past, which is artificially transformed by the present act of telling. However, I contend

that personal narratives about past violence and repression are composed in a much more complex way in that they shift between different pasts, presents and futures and display a “fuzzy temporality” (Hermann, 2004).

In particular, I argue that personal narratives about past violence and repression are marked by circularity, simultaneity, and an overlapping of time. Thus, accounts of the past do not follow a chronological approach but a polychronic one, i.e. the account moves back and forth between different pasts and the present. Against this background, the paper interrogates how former Officers of the Securitate, i.e. the political police in Romania during the communist regime, make sense of the country’s and their own past and narrate it in the present. Based on a narrative analysis of semi-structured interviews with seven former Securitate Officers, I show that storytelling is polychronic and highlight what functions the evocation of different times serves (i.e. inter alia a re-contextualization of violence and repression or the deflection of responsibility).

*Kristine Avram is a Research Fellow and Lecturer at the Centre for Conflict Studies, University of Marburg, Germany. Her current research project deals with the effects of ascribing individual criminal responsibility in judicial processes on the societal interpretations of past collective violence and state repression. In particular, she analyses the various approaches to, and ascriptions of, responsibility in private and public narratives. Here, Romania serves as a single case study. Her research interests include international criminal justice, sociology of law (in transitional contexts), and narrative analysis.*

## **Emily Mannheimer (Rotterdam) – Navigating (post)conflict timescapes: Game of Thrones tourism and the "new" Belfast.**

When it comes to transitional societies, the term “post-conflict” is often used to describe the nebulous period of time after a conflict has formally ended. In Northern Ireland the post-conflict period has opened opportunities for re-imagining and re-defining the reputation of the region and particularly the capital city of Belfast. City planners and local politicians have channeled their efforts for this re-imagining through the tourism industry. From Troubles tours to Game of Thrones; the Titanic museum to food, drink and entertainment; Belfast is a place where a multitude of narratives of past, present and future pervade.

However, the way that the notion of post-conflict is perceived, understood and experienced is certainly more complex. Conflict temporalities segment the temporal trajectory of a conflicted society into pre-conflict, conflict, post-conflict and future phases. What constitutes the boundaries between “the past” and “the new Belfast” is often fraught with ambiguity. Through an analysis of

guided tour narratives and interviews with tour guides, I examine how time in a conflicted society is understood, constructed and communicated through guided tours. From tours that reflect on the past conflict, glorify industrial heritage, celebrate present achievements, or allude to a hopeful future, guided tours are the medium through which temporal periods of Northern Ireland are expressed. The aim of this paper is to identify the various temporal imaginings of Northern Ireland and above all to analyze the sociopolitical discussion of what it means to be a “post-conflict” society.

*Emily Mannheimer (mannheimer@eshcc.eur.nl) is a PhD candidate at Erasmus University Rotterdam in the School of History Communication and Culture. She is researching tourism in the post-conflict city of Belfast, Northern Ireland as part of the Vital Cities and Citizens initiative. Her research interests include the politics of representation, memory, heritage, place, and placemaking in cities with difficult pasts.*

### **Samira Marty (Oslo) - “This April Never Again”: diverging temporalities between Free Nicaragua-activists in Berlin**

On April 18, 2018, widespread violence erupted in Nicaragua after its President Ortega announced a Social Security reform. Clashes erupted between protesters and government forces (paramilitary and police), plunging Nicaragua into a severe socio-political crisis. April 18 has since come to powerfully symbolise a division of time into a “before” and “after”.

Based on thirteen months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Northern Nicaragua and Berlin, I trace the narratives of memory and time surrounding this significant date. In Nicaragua, I documented both the outbreak and first violent eruptions in April 2018 before I relocated to Berlin where I joined the “Free Nicaragua” (*Nicaragua Libre*)-movement. The latter group called for frequent protests and other activities related to *la situación*, the situation, as Nicaraguans have labeled their crisis.

This paper will specifically explore the diverging perspectives on temporality of three diverse subgroups: First, I examine the memories of former West-German “brigadistas” who lived and worked in Nicaragua in the 1980s with the goal of supporting and advancing the revolution. These now mostly retired activists have joined the young Nicaraguans on the streets all over Western Europe in their fight for autonomy, evoking a discourse on the repetition of the past. I will then introduce the perspective of members of a group of Nicaraguan feminists in their early 20s who place the starting point of violence in 2007, when FSLN’s President Daniel Ortega was re-elected. Their narrative asks us to question what counts as violence, highlighting increasing gender violence as something which they directly relate to Ortega’s stepdaughter’s allegations of

sexual abuse by Ortega. Lastly, I analyze the narratives of Nicaraguan exiles in Berlin who consider the 2018 eruption of violence an unprecedented event that nobody had expected.

Among these different groups, I aim to investigate the diverging meanings of temporality relating to various and multi-faceted forms of violence. Undoubtedly, these diverging views on the past reveal their political standpoints and the importance these activists attribute to the past. Whilst some acknowledge the country's revolutionary past as a period of polarization and civil war, others highlight the geopolitical struggles of the Cold War that dominated in that period or the makings of their own political identities. In this light, the Free Nicaragua-activists unified slogan "This April never again" (*este abril nunca más*) illuminates how historical imagination, political opinion and generational differences has not only shaped their political activism but also sheds light on how identity and memory may play a crucial part in how Nicaraguans deal with the past.

*Samira Marty is a PhD Candidate at the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo and currently a Junior Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Conflict, Development and Peace-Building at The Graduate Institute in Geneva. Her PhD thesis conjoins diverging perspectives on temporality, historical imagination and violence with forms of transnational solidarity-activism between (West-)Berlin and Nicaragua at the height of the Cold War and its re-emergence since the outbreak of mass protests in Nicaragua in April 2018. Her past research project "The female face of resistance" (Promedia 2017) ("Das weibliche Gesicht des Widerstands", orig. in German) combined creative and ethnographic writing on indigenous activism in post-genocide Guatemala.*

## **Gustavo Rojas Páez (Bogota) & Colleen O'Brien (Jena) - Conflict temporalities and indigenous victimhood narratives within Colombia's turbulent transition**

While Colombia's indigenous communities comprise only four percent of the population, in the over 50 years of armed conflict in the country indigenous communities have been disproportionately affected, leading the Colombian Constitutional Court to declare in 2009 that indigenous communities are facing extermination as a result of forced displacement. When the Colombian government and the FARC signed a historic peace agreement in 2016 that, among other stipulations, was supposed to give more rights to indigenous people, Colombia was lauded by many for involving an "ethnic commission" in the formation of these accords. The peace accords, however, conceive of violence as 'events' bound in time rather than as 'processes', which conflicts with the narratives of the indigenous communities. In this paper, we discuss the temporalities informing the victimhood narratives that are part of global transitional justice (TJ) frameworks and their representation of indigenous



victims and structural injuries. We argue that the periodization of the violence of the past, in a transitional justice setting, gives rise to exclusionary practices that create categories of victimhood. Given that the construction of pasts can serve as a powerful impetus for a conflict's continuation, transformation, resurgence, or even resolution it is important to examine the narratives of both indigenous victims and the main actors in the TJ system.

Since colonial times, Colombia's indigenous communities have endured different forms of violence that have led to the systematic dispossession of their lands, displacement and loss of cultural identity. From the perspective of indigenous peoples, their territories have been affected since the colonial era and the historical injuries they have endured do not fit in the temporality of the violent past proposed by the state. We inquire into the rationales that have recognized indigenous victimhood and its meanings to counter the structural injustice that continues to mark Colombia's reality. Our analysis is concerned with the institutional ways in which indigenous victims are defined within discourses of conflict management such as Transitional Justice. What is meant by indigenous victims? Whose suffering counts when it comes to defining victims in a TJ setting? When is the violence understood to have started and ended, if at all? Addressing these questions is important for understanding the relationship between victimhood narratives within TJ and their relationship to the temporalities that mark the production and understanding of knowledge in today's globalized world.

*Gustavo Rojas Páez is a lecturer in Law at the Universidad Libre in Bogotá and he researches collective rights. He is currently completing his PhD at the University of the Basque Country. He has written about transitional processes in Colombia, the state of exception in Comuna 13 in Medellín, and criminalization of protest globally, among other topics.*

*Colleen O'Brien has a PhD in Linguistics from the University of Hawai'i. She is a researcher at the Jena Center for Reconciliation Studies at the Friedrich Schiller University. She has worked with the Kamsá people in southern Colombia, studying their language and culture, and has written about the relationship between indigenous language loss and the Colombian conflict. She is currently producing a feature-length documentary film called *Strangers to Peace* about the reintegration of ex-combatants of the FARC into Colombian society.*

**13:00-14:30**      **Lunch Break**

**14:30-16:00**      **Panel VII and VIII**

## PANEL VII      TIME AND TEMPORALITIES IN IR

Chair: Julius Heise (Marburg)

Friday, October 30, 14:30-16:00

### **Maria Ketzmerick (Bayreuth) - “Colonial Continuities in Secessionist Conflicts: The Anglophone Question as a Threat to Security in Cameroon”**

In October 2017, Anglo-Cameroonian secessionists proclaimed independence from Cameroon's central state, by complaining about decades of discrimination and lack of representation in the legal, educational and political system. The conflict has recently escalated violently, but is often attributed to the process of decolonization under a joint UN trustee mandate between France and Great Britain. The paper examines the mobilization of the past and the corresponding identities by focusing on narratives of security: Using narratives about terrorism, the strong state and democracy, and by focusing on constructions of agency, it shows how continuity is established between the past and the present. Thus, the paper empirically conveys which imaginations the current Cameroonian conflict as an "Anglophone question" shares with the period of decolonization and, moreover, to what extent secessionism as a dynamic of continuity unfolds political effects. By this, the paper contributes to research in critical security studies by including the colonial context in a historicized perspective to explain how security threats are shaped in postcolonial societies. The paper highlights the potential of interdisciplinary and multi-vocal approaches and marginalized perspectives in research on statebuilding, decolonization and security dynamics.

*Maria Ketzmerick works as Akademische Rätin (assistant lecturer) at the Chair for the Sociology of Africa at the University of Bayreuth. Prior to that, she completed her PhD within the Collaborative Research Center "Dynamics of Security" on postcolonial security constructions in the Cameroonian decolonization war at the University of Marburg. Her research interests include the dynamics in critical security research, postcolonial theories and processes of decolonization (especially in French colonialism), statebuilding and peacebuilding, the Central African region, and archival research in international relations.*

## **Eric Sangar (Lille) - Comparing “regimes of historicity” in media discourses on wars and interventions: how collective memory shapes uses of history to understand and confront contemporary conflict**

In recent years, there has been an increasing scholarship analysing the role of collective memory in international relations. Yet these studies have mainly focussed on single case studies that make it difficult to develop and compare general arguments on the links between collective memory and foreign policy discourse. This contribution will present the concept of “regime of historicity” as a useful concept enabling to understand the interaction between collective memory dynamics and debates on contemporary conflict. Relying on the writings by European historians Francois Hartog and Reinhart Kosselleck, the paper argues that individual societies develop shared yet nationally distinct perceptions of historical temporality. These perceptions influence the ways in which history is mobilised as a ‘toolbox’ to glean lessons for present action and/or as a ‘library’ to contextualise present-day crises. Comparing empirical results of a computer-assisted qualitative content analysis based on three large-n corpora featuring newspaper discourses on foreign conflict in the U.S., France, and Germany, the paper will demonstrate the relevance of specific “regimes of historicity” to explain not only the mere fact that some historical references are more mobilized in public debates than other, but more importantly their diverging analytical and normative functions.

*Eric Sangar is a Lecturer in Political Science at Sciences Po Lille, a full member of the research unit CERAPS (University of Lille) and an associated member of the Centre Emile Durkheim (Sciences Po Bordeaux). Prior to his arrival in Lille in 2018, he worked in various positions at European research institutions, including as a FNRS research fellow based at the University of Namur (Belgium) and as a Research Associate at King's College London as part of the EU project INFOCORE. In his personal research, he is studying the links between collective memory and uses of history in foreign policy and conflict discourse, the role of emotions in the justification of violence, and diffusion processes in Franco-German relations. Eric has published articles in various journals such as 'Political Psychology', the 'Journal of Strategic Studies', and 'Contemporary Security Policy'. He authored the monographs “Diffusion in Franco-German Relations: A Different Perspective on a History of Cooperation and Conflict” (2020) and “Historical Experience: Burden or Bonus in Today’s Wars? The British Army and the German Bundeswehr in Afghanistan” (2014). In 2018, he co-edited with Maéva Clément the volume "Researching Emotions in International Relations: Methodological Perspectives on the Emotional Turn" (2018). Eric holds a PhD in Social and Political Sciences from the European University Institute in Florence and an MA in International Affairs from Sciences Po Paris.*

*(This session will not be recorded)*

Chair: Irem Aki (Marburg)

Friday, October 30, 14:30-16:00

### **Helene Marie Abiraad (Brighton) - Temporalities of Peace and Violence in Beirut: Exploring Urban Activists' Narratives**

In this paper, I explore some of the temporalities and rhythmicities of peace and violence in Beirut, Lebanon. The city of Beirut and Lebanon in general, their physicality and history have been written about as cases of a city/country at war or post-war, grappling with their history in a linear way. Memory studies focusing on Lebanon are dominated by the protracted conflicts of 1975-1990 and violence, as well as their consequences and memorialisation (or lack thereof). In this context, the use of prefixes such as 'post-war' or 'post-conflict' does not seem to mean 'peace'. I argue that these prefixes give undue weight to past violence in the construction of the present and future of Lebanon, and reifies the country's relation to war, in an uncritical manner, defining the present solely in relation to past violence.

My doctoral research with urban activists in Beirut shows that a different interpretation of the temporalities and politics of peace and violence is possible in the Beirut context. Indeed, Beirut urban activists' interventions and struggles in ongoing negotiations over space, memory and society show how citizens can and do negotiate the spaces of the city, creating new lines of connection and an environment that is neither war or peace, but that contributes to imagining peaceful, safe and agreeable city and society. Complex temporalities and rhythmicities around the themes of urgency, status quo and impending doom coexist in urban activists' narratives and experiences of the city. The theme of 'urgency' uncovers temporalities of fear, joy, hope and happiness, where the theme of 'impending doom' unearths questions around the temporalities of apprehension and violence and the theme of 'status quo' explores inaction, tenacity and resilience. At the centre of my analysis of these temporalities is a focus on emotions, combined to a focus on the reclaiming of and reinterpretation of dominant rhythmic and temporal narratives by Beirut urban activists.

*Helene Marie Abiraad is a doctoral researcher at the Centre for Memory, Narrative and Histories (CMNH) at the University of Brighton, England. Her research is a multidisciplinary exploration of urban activists' narratives and experiences of space and place, the past and urban activism in contemporary Beirut, Lebanon. It draws on memory and urban studies to provide insights concerning the relationships of Beirut urban activists to a contested past and to a contested city.*

## Laura Kotzur (Marburg) - Archiving Resistance – Resisting Archives

When we think about archives, we often have old, static and dusty rooms in mind. They embody not only supposedly fixed knowledge, but also the power to make history through selection and collection. As places of hegemonic knowledge production, they are often assigned the role of maintaining the status quo in the societal system of power relations. However, archiving practices have also always been part of resistance movements that question and oppose these power relations. Commemorating, preserving and documenting not only present and past events and experienced struggles but also marginalised and silenced voices can shape imaginations towards alternative futures. By looking at several digital archives that are collecting visual material like photographs and video footage of resistance we can ask what makes the process of archiving become an act of resistance itself? How do these archives impact activism towards imaginative futures? And what can we learn from these counterarchives in how to perceive the entanglement of past, present and future? Insisting to constantly challenge the hegemonic narrative that attempts to silence these narratives, they play a crucial and active role in defining history as an active sociohistorical process. Therefore, they function as counterarchives and as essential tools to strengthen counter-narratives from below that question the way of making history. In contrast to written knowledge, pictures contain a different variety of information and strategy for representation. The choice of the media to be archived also represents a form of resistance against the classical forms of archiving. Moreover, the possibilities of digital space contribute through accessibility to widely spread shared experiences and might enable a collective memory of social movements or acts of resistance. Counterarchives are therefore always a strong part of the struggle of who is to be remembered and who is condemned to be forgotten. The institution of the archive and the archival practice are essential to approach the ubiquitousness of past, present and future. Encouraged to rethink future, a concept that is widely perceived as a temporal automatism of hegemonic power structures and that is impossible to shift, I want to argue, that counter-archives make a crucial contribution to the analytical reflections on imaginative futures by incorporating the knowledge of the past and shape the present.

*As a postgraduate student in Peace and Conflict Studies at the university of Marburg, I'm emphasising on resistance studies as well as post-colonial and memory studies. Besides, I'm working for the committee of basic rights and democracy and the dialogue project vacation from war and I'm engaged in several projects in which I'm trying to reflect on alternative ways of knowledge production. Since I was politicized early on by issues of social justice, I locate myself and my work in the continuity of leftist social movements and their efforts never to accept the status quo.*

**16:00-16:45**      **Virtual Coffee Break**

**16:45-18:15**      **Fishbowl: Conflict generations and generational conflict**

## FISHBOWL    CONFLICT GENERATIONS AND GENERATIONAL CONFLICT

In order to understand how social conflicts change or persist over time and how different conflict experiences affect social temporalities, an analysis of social generations is vital. Generational aspects are thus highly relevant when reflecting about conflict dynamics, not only regarding the succession of social generations experiencing violent conflicts, but also the intergenerational transmission of trauma or social conflicts. Furthermore, the generation-specific experience of social conflicts can enhance conflictive relations between generations themselves. Additionally, intergenerational relations can themselves become sources of conflict. All three dimensions, generations of, generations in conflict and intergenerational conflict, are often simultaneously present in social conflict dynamics – be they marked by physical violence or not. Despite their relevance for understanding the course of conflicts over time, especially protracted ones, generational aspects remain often limited to a demographic analysis, leaving aside explicitly conflict-focused and interdisciplinary perspectives on the topic. Based on these observations, we are seeking to open up debates by bringing together different disciplinary and theoretical perspectives through the proposed fishbowl-format. Based on our own experiences with and reflections on the analysis of generational conflict dynamics, we are looking to invite other participants into the format to share and discuss their insights and experiences with the topic. Drawing from these, we hope to enhance an interdisciplinary understanding of a generational dimension of conflicts.

### **Contributions by:**

#### **Pia Falschebner (Marburg)**

*Pia Falschebner is a research assistant in the research project "Politics of Reparations of Victim Organisations in Transitional Justice Processes" at the Centre for Conflict Studies in Marburg. Her research interests include post-colonial theory, dealing with the past, memory, identity and conflict, and social movements. In her master thesis she focused on the sustained (traumatic) effects of the current memory culture of the colonial past in Germany.*

## **Tareq Sydiq (Marburg)**

*Tareq Sydiq is a research assistant at the Center for Conflict Studies in Marburg. He is currently finalizing his PhD on how political interests can get articulated and heard within authoritarian contexts. His research interests include authoritarian states, contentious politics, resistance studies and domestic conflicts.*

## **Miriam Tekath (Marburg)**

*Miriam Tekath is a research assistant at the Center for Conflict Studies, University of Marburg. Her research focuses on everyday conflict dynamics and conflict resolution practices in societies polarized by long-term separatist aspirations.*

## **Dariusz Zifonun (Marburg)**

*Dariusz Zifonun works at the University of Marburg's Center for Conflict Studies as well as at the Institute of Sociology. His research interests are in the sociology of everyday life and the sociology of knowledge. He recently published a book about German sociologist Hans-Georg Soeffner and journal articles on the ritual 'management' of intergenerational conflicts and on the small worlds of amateur football.*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 2020

09:30-11:00 Panel IX and X

PANEL IX RELATIONAL TEMPORALITIES IN PRACTICING PEACE

Chair: Stéphane Voell (Marburg)  
Saturday, October 31, 09:30-11:00

**Andrea Nicolas (Berlin) - Time as a weapon, time for peace: Interethnic peacefare of elders (Ethiopia)**

This paper addresses the example of two former enemy groups, who have – over an extended historical period of settling in the same region – developed a joint way and juridical procedure that allows for their living together. Oromo and Amhara elders in central Ethiopia have over time developed a formal mediation meta-procedure, suitable to members of both ethnic groups, to settle their conflicts and to make peace. The institution does not prevent all conflicts from occurring in the area. It successfully prevents them, though, from escalating and developing into ‘ethnic clashes’ that might incite ‘bush-fires’ of further violence. In both groups, inter-generational differentiations provide for diverging economic and political interests and moralities of people born at different moments in time. The generational timelines allocate specific roles of ‘peacefulness’ to elders, while ideals of ‘fighting’ are mainly assigned to the younger generations. Interethnic conflict settlements incite that elders of both groups, to some degree, have to disassociate themselves from confrontational behaviours or anger of younger fellows, and instead ally themselves with their aged peers from the other side. The same elders had in their youth been ‘fighters’ themselves but now would form joint councils with the elders of the other ethnic group, with agreed-upon rules and the common goal of peacemaking. The shared identity of generational ‘sameness’ outweighs, in these settings, their diverging ethnic identities, which implies a distinct notion of common experiences and shared historical memories. It seems a worthwhile task to explore how, in the course of time, apparent ‘enemy groups’ are capable to build up such joint peacemaking institutions.

The different mediation procedures of Oromo and Amhara elders incorporate rules of timing and sequencing that have important impacts on the prospects of succeeding in the settlement of conflicts. In serious cases of quarrel and bloodshed, particular time intervals have to be kept in contacting the other side, thus leaving time for the quarreling parties to calm. Repetition is another means employed by the elders. Every few days, week by week, they return to the home of the violated party and ask them for peace. After some time, even most reluctant parties eventually might give in and agree to talks. Safeguarding mechanisms of sequencing allow for some trust in the process. Not before one side has fulfilled what it had promised, actual concessions have to be made by the other. Such measures establish a degree of procedural safety for both



parties and increase the likelihood that they remain loyal to the peacemaking endeavour.

The potentials and qualities of time and temporalities for creating peace, or avoiding conflict, shall be further explored in this paper, and be made fruitful for a wider theoretical debate. It puts forward the theoretical question: What are the possible 'roots' of peace? And what has time to do with it?

*Andrea Nicolas is a social anthropologist and postdoctoral researcher. She received her PhD from Free University in Berlin. She worked i.a. for the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle, the Department of Social Anthropology at Martin Luther University in Halle-Wittenberg, the International Max Planck Society (MaxNetAging), the Graduate School of the University of Rostock, and at Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt/Main. Andrea Nicolas has carried out extensive fieldwork in Northeast Africa. She is the author of the book *From Process to Procedure: Elders' mediation and formality in Central Ethiopia* (Wiesbaden 2011).*

### **Anne Stein (Lund) - Agonistic peace in the streets: The potential of protest as an agonistic practice in Colombia**

This article contributes to the emerging theoretical literature on agonistic peace as an alternative to peacebuilding approaches that strive for rational win-win solutions to conflict. It specifically zooms in on agonism related to protest and investigates how practices of protest can work as a platform of agonistic expressions in post-peace agreement societies. Using the anti-government protest in Colombia in 2019/2020 as a case study, the article examines images and video material from the protest empirically and demonstrates how they are instances of agonistic peace. The article has a two-folded aim. First, it constructs a methodological framework that takes its vantage-point in a performative-interpretative approach to the visibility of protest movements, by analyzing linguistic and embodied performances as well as relational aspects of protests on the micro level; second, it elaborates a theoretical understanding of how protest practices linked to protracted identity conflicts can be conceptualized as an agonistic peace practice. The theoretical advancement rests on Mouffe's notion of agonism and counter-hegemony and shows how different protest practices challenge hegemonic social orders and social inequalities, exacerbating how protest practices have the potential to create "chains of equivalence" to alter social relations on the ground.

*Anne Stein is a doctoral candidate in Political Science with a special focus in peace and conflict studies at Lund University. Her PhD project seeks to explore links between agonism and feminist resistance. In her project, she looks into agonistic peace as a way to transform violent conflicts into non-violent forms of social struggle and change and to identify ways to create more sustainable peace practices. Her research centers on ideas of agonistic peace, identity and memory, and draws on postcolonial and feminist theories. Anne holds a Master of Art in Peace and Conflict Studies from the University of Marburg in Germany and a Master of Science in Social and Cultural Anthropology with a special focus on human (in)security from the Free University Amsterdam (VU) in the Netherlands. Prior to this, she received her Bachelor in Cultural and Social Anthropology from the University of Vienna.*

### **Hyun Gyung Kim (Berlin) - The Chronopolitics of the Representation of the Post-Memory Generation on “Comfort Women”**

This study explores temporalities of the representation of the post-memory generation on “comfort women”. “Comfort women” is the euphemistic term to refer victims from all over the Asia and the Netherlands who were forced to do sexual service for soldiers and civilians attached to the military in a battlefield, occupied territory and an army post from the first Shanghai Incident in 1932 to the defeat of Japan in 1945. After coming out of Kim, Hak Soon who was former “comfort women” in 1991 in Korea, it has become “transnational memory” such as Holocaust and Hiroshima. It means that the memory regarding these tragedies does not anymore limit to those who perpetrated or endured directly but belong to all who lived the world after the War.

Visual representation has been one of the most influential media to make this issue as transnational memory. In the 1990s and 2000s, it was documentary films based on victims’ oral statement that did a vital role to make this issue global. In the 2010s, visual representation on “comfort women” has become diversified. Several feature films were made, and documentary film focused on the current political situation surrounding the issue rather than victims’ experience was produced.

This study analyzed the chronopolitics of two films among recently made ones. One is a feature film titled *I Can Speak* (2017, Korea, Director: Kim, Hyun-Suk) and the other is a documentary titled *The Main Battleground* (2018, USA, Japan and Korea, Director: Miki Dezaki). Both of two films intriguingly dealt with the entanglement of colonialism and Cold-War regime over “comfort women” issue from the viewpoint of the generation who had not experienced sexual exploration during the war. The Cold-War regime still influences East Asia, unlike Europe, and it is the main reason why reconciliation over the past is still impossible in this region. This study will show how complex temporalities that have formed current “comfort women” issue are pictured and what implies regarding the chronopolitics in the representation of post-memory on “comfort women.”

*Hyun Gyung Kim is a research professor at the Institute of Korean Studies, Freie Universität Berlin. She served as postdoctoral fellow with the Graduate School of East Asian Studies of Freie Universität Berlin from 2017 to 2019. Currently, her primary research interests lie with the mobilisation of the female body and female sexuality in East Asia during the Cold War era. She published one monograph, three edited volumes and several research articles in the Korean language in the field of feministcultural studies as well as on issues such as the Korean entertainment industry, gender/sexuality politics of K-dramas in the neoliberal era, and the dynamics of affect surrounding Korean idols.*

## **Philipp Schultheiß (Marburg) - Material Objects as Facilitators for Time Travel: Aspects of Memorialization in the German Security Sector Reform after 1990**

As Germany reunified, the East German army Nationale Volksarmee (NVA) dissolved and surrendered all of its weapons, munitions, and real property to the West German Bundeswehr. Altogether, only 10,800 out of 175.000 former East German soldiers could continue as career soldiers in the Bundeswehr. At the same time, a structured process of demobilization started. In its development, the Bundeswehr categorized the military technology of the NVA and destroyed or disposed of 93% of it. Some former East German soldiers received short time contracts to help with this demobilization task.

In the interviews I conducted with former members of the NVA, they describe the liquidation of their military technology even 29 years later as sad and painful. Their voices often break or they stop talking in interview episodes that deal with this topic. Drawing on this strong emotional connection, the paper argues that these material artifacts of the past function as carriers of meaning and memory for the former soldiers on two levels.

We know from research on material culture that material objects can function as carriers of social knowledge, certain values or cultural meanings (Samida 2016: 513). With their special feature of being haptic, material objects can convey direct experiences and impressions of permanence. This special permanence of things can establish identity, orientation and a sense of stability (Bosch 2014: 70).

In this way, the military technology functioned on a first temporal level in the years of disorientation and insecurity after 1990 as an anchor of familiarity and identity. Because most of these objects had been actively used by the soldiers in the past, their physical presence in the 90s served as “perpetuation through materialization” (Köstlin 2006: 14) of life in the NVA. From now on, the interactions between the items and the soldiers changed into the mode of collecting and the military technology gained a role as a carrier of social memory. Moreover, these objects directly marked the difference between the old and the new army and state for the soldiers.

*Philipp Schultheiß studied political science and peace and conflict studies in Tübingen, Istanbul, and Marburg. He is a fellow of the Federal Foundation for the Reappraisal of the SED Dictatorship (Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED Diktatur), Berlin, as well as a lecturer and Ph.D. candidate at the Centre for Conflict Studies, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany. Here he forms part of Professor Susanne Buckley-Zistel's team. Since November 2019 functions as resident director in Germany for the German and Russian Department of the University of Notre Dame. His research interests are in politics of memory, transitional justice, veterans' culture, and grounded theory method.*

**11:00-11:30**      **Virtual Coffee Break**

**11:30-13:00**      **Closing Keynote – Annick Wibben (Stockholm):  
Feminist Narratives of Peace & War: Conceptualizing  
Violence as Continua**

Moderator: Thorsten Bonacker (Marburg)

*Annick T.R. Wibben is Anna Lindh Professor of Gender, Peace & Security at the Swedish Defence University. She received her Ph.D. in International Politics from the University of Wales/Aberystwyth in 2003 and worked at the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University from 2001-2005, thereafter (until 2019) she was professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of San Francisco. Her research straddles critical security and military studies, peace studies, and feminist international relations. She also has an interest in questions of methodology, representation, and writing. Her current research reflects these varied interests, though she is most frequently associated with Feminist Security Studies and Feminist Peace Research. In addition to numerous articles, she has published a monograph, *Feminist Security Studies: A Narrative Approach* (2011), and two edited volumes, *Researching War: Feminist Methods, Ethics & Politics* (2016) and *Teaching Peace & War: Pedagogy & Curricula* (with Amanda Donahoe, 2020).*

**13:00-13:30**      **Closing Remarks**

**13:30-14:00**      **Time for Exchange**

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