Kappa (working title)

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Abstract

***Keywords*—**

1 Introduction

In North West Indonesia 1976, GAM (Gerkan Aceh Merdeka: Free Aceh Movement) declared independence for the province of Aceh, under the leadership of Hasan di Tiro, a descendent of the last Sultan of the Aceh region. Initially the movement consisted of the remnants of an old religious network, with its roots in the old Sultanate and armed struggle against the Dutch. The resulting conflict lasted until 2005 and resulted in an estimated 3402 combat related fatalities after 1989 (Aspinall 2009, Pettersson & Eck 2018, Sundberg & Melander 2013).

In Ethiopia 1975, the Dirge regime tried to arrest the Sultan of Aussa. However, anticipating the move, the Sultan's son had already sent men to neighboring Somalia to train in guerilla warfare (Shehim 1985). The Sultan evaded arrest and launched the Afar Liberation Front (ALF) organized around the men trained in Somalia. The heavy handed response of the Ethiopian military left over a thousand civilian casualties (https://ucdp.uu.se/conflict/363).

In 1960, in the newly formed Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville) (current Democratic Republic of the Congo) South Kasai declares unilaterally to have seceded from the nascent Republic under the leadership of traditional chief Albert Kalonji (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002). He then preceded to have his father declared the new Mulopwe, thus resurrecting the royal title of the Luba kingdom (1585-1889). His father promptly abdicated handing the title to Kalonji (now styling himself Albert Ditunga, 'homeland'). South Kasai fought for independence for just over two years, provoking a campaign by the Congolese armed forces that at the time was characterized by UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld as an act of genocide (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2002).

There is no shortage of examples where previously independent states are involved in outbreaks of organized violence. Yet, both in the media and in the academic literature these examples are referred to as ethnic conflicts, and surprisingly little attention has been given to their connection to past statehood. On the other hand, there are also examples of old state institutions working for peace, mediation and reconciliation. For example [that guy in Burkina Faso]. [Another example of peace inducing]. The nascent academic literature on organized violence and the legacies of past statehood reflects these diverging sets of examples. While

some, in line with the examples given above, find a conflict inducing effect of past states (Englebert et al. 2002, Paine 2019), others argue that past experience of statehood provides experience and institutions that are peace inducing (Wig 2016, Wig & Kromrey 2018, Depetris-Chauvin 2016). Yet, all but one of these articles conceptualize states in terms of currently (politically relevant) ethnic groups and to what degree these groups have connections to past states. This risk excluding states that are not readily tied to a current politically relevant ethnic group. It further risks discrediting experiences of statehood of groups who have lived as part of states for hundreds of years, without being the dominant ethnic group. Additionally, this literature has been almost exclusively limited to Africa. The diverging conclusions in the literature could in part be a result of the paucity of quantitative data on past statehood. The literature has been limited to using either the Murdoch map, which codes "jurisdictional hierarchy" of ethnic groups, or the State Antiquities Index, which measures country level experience of statehood (including from foreign rule). In summary, there is a need for more and better data, in order to answer the puzzle of whether there is a positive or negative association between state histories and organized violence. Potentially, both statements are true, but vary according to circumstances. In which case, what determines when and where past statehood is conflict inducing or peace inducing?

How is organized violence shaped by the underlying topography of historical statehood? This thesis seeks to answering this overarching research question, adding to our general understanding of organized violence. While increasing the general understanding of key concepts is a goal in itself for any academic discipline, this understanding will hopefully contribute to the vital goals of conflict prevention and de-escalation, however small and indirect this contribution may be.

The thesis addresses this research question across four individual articles and contribute to the literature through substantial data collection[?], and novel theory building, which breaks new ground on a so far "under-researched" part of the larger peace- and conflict research. The thesis has contributed to two data projects. The Anatomy of Resistance Campaigns (ARC) and the Geo-International Systems Data (Geo-ISD). The ARC project collected yearly data on 1,426 organizations engaging in maximalist dissent (non-violent and violent) in Africa from 1990 to

2015. The Geo-ISD geocodes the borders of independent states in Africa from 1800 to 1900, which are used to generate a measure of their respective historical presence per 0.5 X 0.5 degrees grid cell.

When historical state legacies are located far from the capital, they provide *symbols of sovereignty* that can be use to mobilize for violence, and *local elite networks* are often left behind and can mobilize their networks if their interests are threatened by the government. While on the other hand, when located near the capital, historical state legacies provide a *foundation* on which modern states could be built. Both in terms of institutions and legitimacy.

The number of historical state legacies within a country matters because the more of these there are, the more likely that one or more of them will be located in a remote part of the country (and thus be conflict inducing). Furthermore, increasing the number of potential claims making actors incentivises the government to punish (engage in conflict) groups it would otherwise accommodate in order to prevent other groups to make similar demands.

Whereas local elite networks might have incentives to violently oppose the government, they also have incentives to minimize the amount of violence between local groups and communities. Just as the state does on a country level, and just as historical states did in their time. Therefore, historical state legacies provide local institutions and traditions of conflict resolution, as well as build up trust between communities, which prevent outbreaks and escalation of communal violence. Where little or no historical state legacies exist, and the modern state is weak or absent, groups are limited to less effective mechanisms (such as intra group policing) to keep the peace. In other words, when it comes to *communal violence* there is an inverse relationship between historical state legacies and organized violence.

In summary, the thesis finds that the historical legacies of statehood's relation to organized violence varies according to:

1) Where in the modern state the historical state legacies are located. More historical state legacies being conflict inducing far from modern capitals, and conflict reducing when close.

2) How many distinct historical state legacies there are within a country's boundaries. More distinct historical state legacies leading to more conflict.

3) Type of organized violence. While there is more state-based violence in areas with historical more historical state legacies, there is less communal violence.

2 Concepts

2.1 Statehood and historical legacies

2.1.1 Historical state entities and Pre-colonial states

2.1.2 Artificial states

2.2 Collective dissent and organized violence

2.2.1 Maximalist dissent

2.2.2 Civil Conflict

State based

Non-state

Communal violence

3 Theoretical/conceptual framework

Looking for the connection(s) between the two overarching concepts. What links has been found? What has not been done? What is this thesis adding to this literature?

4 Analytical approach

Data narrative (inductive/deductive). Empirical tradition.

Discussion of maps to uncover the state?

Discussion of "state presence"?

5 Article summaries

6 Concluding remarks

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