

Processes of Conflict De-escalation in Madagascar (1947-1996)

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Abstract

Episodes of conflict ranging from situations of political tension to high intensity conflicts have been occurring in Madagascar since the colonial period to the present day. This paper argues a) configurations of conditions are building up de-escalation processes in Madagascar, each element in the configurations in which conflict de-escalation occurs interact, co-construct and influence each other, b) peace and conflict co-exist throughout de-escalation processes, reminding us about the multi-levelled nature of peace, and c) conflict transformation is the key explaining conflict de-escalation given that building peace requires a long process, especially when external and internal forces are in constant friction. QCA allows the analyses of the contexts and parts of the mechanism behind de-escalation: a) conflict dimensions (cultural, socio-demographic and economic, political and global external), b) the degree of influence of the opposing parties as well as factions within each party and their repertoires of action, c) the framing of the conflicts by these parties, d) the boundary construction of the self/the other, e) accommodation policies. Metanarratives and local narratives influence/ are influenced by these contexts and parts of the mechanism.

Keywords: conflict de-escalation, conflict transformation, QCA, configuration

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Who do you say are in conflict? ... There has never been a conflict in Madagascar” (Ramananarivo, personal communication, June 2014). “It was really terrible ... they took arms and fought against each other” (Raveloson, personal communication, March 2016). These perceptions of the actors, especially the politicians, have continuously masked the story of peace and conflict processes of Madagascar. It is said that a single death is a tragedy; a million deaths is a statistic. For those who remember the effects of these events, these casualties are significant and symbolic; hence the interpretation of these as conflicts. This paper is part of a larger project studying conflict recurrence in Madagascar but geared towards the study of the dynamics behind de-escalation of conflict stages. In the following, we will present the literature review, the units of analysis, the methodology and the methods we used, the results and we will discuss our findings as well as present avenues for future research.

To put de-escalation of conflict stages in Madagascar in context, it is necessary first to explore the concept of conflict recurrence given that we are working on multiple episodes of conflict, each of which has different stages. So far, there is no academic consensus conceptualizing conflict recurrence as the field only started to flourish in the 90s. Nonetheless, there are various conceptual frameworks that can be used to unveil the phenomena. For example, conflict trap seen as a situation that “may manifest itself as a tendency for conflicts to be very long even in countries with no previous conflict, a high risk of recurrence after conflicts are terminated, or as spill-over from conflicts in neighboring countries, or a combination of all of these” (Hegre, Nygård, Strand, Gates & Flaten, 2011, p.3). Conflict relapse and the concept of frozen conflict/ latent conflict are also relevant frameworks. The latter for instance has various conceptualizations. Among these are the “no peace no war” situations (Lynch, 2004) in

International Relations or the concept of Protracted Social Conflict (Azar, 1990) in peace and conflict studies. PSC is seen as self-perpetuating, intractable as well as deep-rooted conflict (Kriesberg, Northrup & Thorson, 1989).

All of these can be used to understand some of the dynamics behind conflict recurrence. However, these various frameworks and the lack of academic consensus in the conceptualization of conflict recurrence point us towards a myriad of factors explaining its occurrence. First, much research looks specifically at factors creating conflicting situations. For instance, Hartzel & Hoddie (2003) contend that identity or ethnic conflicts would more likely recur. So are the conflicts involving natural resources because the actors involved, such as rebel groups, are motivated by the gains obtained from these resources, inciting them to continue the fighting (Collier, Hoeffler & Soderbom, 2004). It has also been proven that States depending on natural resources are more exposed to the risk of relapse (Doyle & Sambanis, 2000). Other research argues that what is considered to be a “conflict trap” (Collier et al, 2003) explains recurrence. Indeed, they suggest that a low level of economic development creates a trap locking the conflict into a cycle where that factor triggers conflict and the latter in turn creates an even more critical level of development. Other factors such as poverty or lack of democracy have also been used to explain recurrence.

Second, unfortunately, very little research in the field explores factors that are building up peace given that recurrence is generally understood as “symptomatic of unaddressed grievances” (Gates, Nygård & Trappeniers, 2017, p.4). Researchers study more situations creating conflicts than factors promoting peace. Such a strand of research is found in the study of UN Peacekeeping. Some argue these operations reduce the risk of relapse providing a framework for building economic growth, development and political inclusion. In other words,

peacekeeping promotes peacebuilding (Quinn, Mason & Gurses, 2007). Other research focuses on war weariness. Fortna (2004) argues weariness prevents rebels from continuing the fight. The same Author suggests military victories incite actors to keep peace because these address issues pertaining to information asymmetries while Mattes & Savun (2010) contend comprehensive agreements are the ones doing so, helping in creating peaceful situations.

Consequently, variables explaining conflict recurrence can be found anywhere in the cycle, they can be related to the initial conflict, to the way the conflicts have been managed or to post-conflict processes. Moreover, the literature demonstrates that peace and conflict have been studied separately and exclusively. First, the ideas we convey in this paper are based on the premises that peace and conflict co-exist and co-construct each other throughout de-escalation of conflict stages and that peace is multi-levelled (Féron, 2002; in psychology Christie, 2006 also argues for a multilevel view of peace and conflict). Therefore, we contend mainly that, in Madagascar, conflict transformation explains the dynamics behind the processes and parts of mechanism building up de-escalation, given that transformation may go in a positive way or in a negative way; it can converge into a constructive change or a destructive one. In Miall's concept (2004) the process of conflict transformation entails context transformation, structure transformations, actor transformations, issues transformations and personal/ elite transformations: "conflicts are transformed gradually, through a series of smaller or larger changes as well as specific steps" (p.4).

Given the multiplicity of factors explaining recurrence, we are specifically drawing from ones related to peace, conflicts, mediation and negotiation, conflict escalations and de-escalations. Each of the following factors may create a conflicting situation or one that is promoting peace depending on the situation.

First, it is necessary to classify conflict dimensions over time. Dimensions can be considered as the main causes of the conflicts and they are used to designate the salient aspects of the origins of the conflict. They are “sometimes defined as features of the conflicts, or as issues explaining their emergence or persistence, or even as causes” (Féron, 2005, p.45). The degrees of saliency of the issues that matter to the parties in question are central pieces of the puzzle because these contribute to the incompatibility of goals between the conflicting parties. Sometimes, the structural causes that are the origins of the claims of actors play important roles both during the conflict and after any signature of accords or conclusion of arrangements. Therefore, it is crucial to categorize all factors that are the origins of each conflict. Féron (2005) suggests the mapping of four main dimensions: 1) cultural¹, 2) socio-economic², 3) political³ and 4) external⁴. A given dimension is highly salient when it features in policy discourses and policies.

Second, the repertoires of actions these actors are using to advance and defend their causes also matter. These are collective actions that actors engage in (Moran, 2007). Our typology of repertoires of actions includes the elements in Appendix A: conventional institutional actions, conventional non-institutional actions, non-conventional actions with no violence against persons or non-conventional actions with violence against persons.

Third, actors also frame conflicts. Over time, and in accordance with other intervening variables such as policies implemented prior, during or after the conclusion of an agreement or arrangements, the dimensions of conflicts can change. So are the framings and these can be clashing. Another possibility is that there are frames which are more salient to some actors while

¹In religious conflicts, identity conflicts or cultural/ linguistic conflicts

²Deriving from Marxist theories, frustration/ aggression and relative deprivation theories

³Centre-periphery conflicts, see Rokkan (1983), security dilemma and access to political scene, conflicts among political leaders or top-down conflicts, and conflicts caused by citizenship denial

⁴Featuring issues related to decolonization, globalization, effects of the WWI and WWII

less important to the remainder (cultural, socio-economic, political or external dimensions). It is important to collect data based on the way the actors understand the conflict. Such a unit of analysis is called “paradigm change/ discordance”. These are crucial in the design of an outcome of a given peace initiative or a policy aimed at resolving the conflicts, and also because the interests or positions are negotiated, managed or re-framed during peace initiatives (i.e.: mediation). Instead of looking at all frames among all factions within each party, we only work on the dominant ones, those in the discourse of the most powerful faction in the party: the party leader.

Fourth, drawing from semiotics of ethnic conflict⁵, we also focus on the study of self/other allowing the analysis of the types of relation between two or more parties participating in a given episode. Vetik (2007) proposes a typology of boundary construction. First, there are cases in which a community (the self) perceives the other as “non-culture”. It means that for the self, the other does not symbolically exist. Vetik argues that “communication between culture and non-culture is neither possible nor needed. Potential ethnic conflict between culture and non-culture will either not be actualized or will be suppressed.” Secondly, a community can perceive the other as “alien-culture”⁶ in which “in-group centrism” or “ethno-centrism” prevails and that triggers confrontation. And finally, there are situations in which the relationship between the two communities is dominated by the “different culture” type. The latter means that the self considers the other as an existing entity and even goes further and sees it as a “partner”. These perceptions of self and other can be used to determine the situation in which conflict management is

⁵Note that according to Vetik “A semiotic approach to ethnic conflict tries to reveal the different ways of constructing the external ‘disorganization’ and the impact that these different boundary constructions have on the dynamics of ethnic conflict.”

⁶Vetik also states that “the ‘other’s’ behaviour is perceived as a violation of the values and norms of one’s ‘own culture’”

“problematic” and there are also situations in which there is a possibility of “cooperation” as well as, in his own words, “tolerance”. There are many combinations of relationships, Vetik's typology which categorises them can be found in Table 1:

(Insert Table 1 Here)

Fifth, as we saw earlier, most of the scholars argue the reason why conflicts recur is because the problems originate from the solutions the actors implemented or there have been unaddressed grievances. “Accommodation policies” play important roles in the cycle. We define accommodation policies as all interventions aiming at addressing incompatibilities between two or more parties. While most of the literature focuses on the role international actors play in conflict resumption through the study of peace agreements, the study of the case of Madagascar is an opportunity to go beyond this highly formal aspect of conflict management. We decided to have a look at initiatives implemented by external and local actors to resolve the incompatibilities and we do not exclude the initiatives of those who did not have a direct stake in the conflict.

And finally, human beings talk about their life experience through stories. These stories thus recount lived experiences but they are also based on imagined, fictive ones. Narratives can be among the missing pieces explaining why accommodation policies do not address the causes of the conflicts but are simply manifestations of how the conflicts are understood. We have chosen to work on metanarratives and local ones. Metanarratives are “abstract, intangible, non-figurative” Auerbach (2009, p.298) and they “legitimize specific action or beliefs under the guise of a universal truth” (Panuccio, 2012, p.2). Local narratives⁷ are everyday narratives, modest, small and internal to people (Panuccio, 2012, p.2). Narratives can be conflict-supportive,

⁷Liotard (1988) uses the term «petits récits »

creating fractures (Cobb, 1993) or they can be considered as peace narratives (Galtung, 1998)

Method

Two-step Approaches

Given the large number of factors within these units of analysis, we applied the principles behind two-step approaches. Schneider and Wagemann (2005) and Beach (2012) are advocates of two-step analyses. We categorized these factors under two groups: a) the contexts and b) the parts of the mechanism leading to the outcomes. The first triggers and/or allows causal mechanisms to operate. These are “remote factors ... they are also often referred to as *structural* factors, or simply the *context* ...” (Schneider & Wagemann, 2006, p.760). The conflict dimensions and the accommodation policies are contexts. The second are parts of mechanisms; they are entities engaging in activities. Beach (2012) argues the activities produce changes and are the ones transmitting causal forces to the outcome. These are the repertoires of action, the conflict framings and paradigms, and the construction of the image of the self and the other. We did not include the conflict and peace narratives in the factors to be tested in QCA model since, depending on the situation, they can influence or can be influenced by both types of factors.

A historical background of the episodes of conflict in Madagascar

First, there is only one conflict in Madagascar, but it involves multiple episodes and they are all related to one other. Each of these episodes is multidimensional in the sense that each one presents multiple underlying issues. Second, some elements characterizing these episodes display at least a certain form of continuity. Such continuity can be seen for example at the level of the conflicting parties: the State is always present (except during the colonization period). Continuity also means that some elements which can be found in one conflict reappear in another. The 1947 episode marked the climax of the struggle for independence when more than 1000 people died

and the two ethnic communities Merina and Côtiers opposed each other and the latter was said to be manipulated by France. In 1971, the State countered a rebellion led by the left-wing party MONIMA through a “pacification” triggering more than 1000 casualties. The opposition denounced the capitalist policies of the State, forgetting the Southern Farmers in its projects. In 1972, 40 people died and 140 were wounded. The intellectuals and the marginalized young people from poor neighborhoods rebelled against the State to denounce mainly the education policy, “the cultural imperialism” based on the treaties of cooperation Madagascar had with France after it gained independence (Althabe, 1980). Later, an episode with 22 deaths in 1975 was marked by the assassination of the new President Colonel Ratsimandrava who was only six days in office (Archer & Andriamirado, 1976). Ethnic claims as well as ideological clashes rooted in the Communism vs Capitalism debate were highly salient in that event. In 1984, a vigilante group of Kung-Fu was used as a scapegoat by the opposition to challenge the State as the latter used a group of young people to terrorize the population of the capital city and crush the opposition’s attempts to protest. The State’s strong military response to the affront led to more than 100 deaths. Later, the episode of 1991 recorded 50 deaths and 300 wounded. The opposition challenged the power of President Ratsiraka after almost 15 years of rule, demanding democracy (Raison-Jourde, 1991). Another crisis with neither deaths nor injuries arose in 1996 because of the concerns of the members of the national assembly over the encroachment by the President on their powers. It led to the impeachment of the President. As far as episode 2002 is concerned, more than 60 people died. The event was triggered by disagreement over the 2001 electoral results (Raharizatovo, 2008). And finally, in 2009, another episode occurred (Ralambomahay, 2011) where more than a hundred people died from 2009 until present day. The former Mayor of Antananarivo, Andry Rajoelina supported by many politicians including the

former Presidents Ratsiraka and Zafy Albert, toppled President Ravalomanana through a military coup.

Conceptualizing the cases

We define conflict as a situation in which there are incompatibilities between two or more parties. Féron (2005) identifies conflict stages in accordance with their levels of intensity and their characteristics as shown in the table in Appendix B: peaceful and stable situations, political tension situations, violent political conflict, low intensity conflict and high intensity conflict. Figure 1 shows a timeline representing the episodes of conflict we described earlier if transposed in this typology. There are various shifts of conflict stages in the dynamics of conflict recurrence in Madagascar. In this paper, we are interested in the cases of de-escalation within that dynamic: de-escalation a: from stage 4 to 3: 1971 to 1972, de-escalation b: from stage 5 to 3: 1985 to 1991 and de-escalation c: from stage 3 to 2: 1991 to 1996. If these are the units of analysis, the cases and the outcomes we are studying, how did we proceed in terms of data collection, processing and analysis?

QCA (Qualitative Comparative Analysis)

Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) has been used in small, medium and large N research designs and is increasingly applied at meso and micro levels (Berg-Schlosser, De Meur, Rihoux & Ragin, 2008, p.4). However, it has never been used on a research project focusing on conflict recurrence. First, it aims at bridging qualitative and quantitative methods (Rihoux & Ragin, 2009), which as we have seen in the literature review is a caveat. QCA has the ability to draw both from case-oriented (focus on depth) and variable-oriented approaches (focus on breadth). Second, we are arguing in this paper that peace and conflict interact, they co-construct each other throughout the process. QCA privileges the understanding of outcomes through the

existence of configurations of conditions (Rihoux & Lobe, 2009, p. 224). “1) Most often, it is a combination of conditions (independent or explanatory variables) that eventually produces phenomenon – the outcome (dependent variable- or phenomena to be explored), 2) several combinations of conditions may produce the same outcome; 3) depending on the context, a given condition may very well have a different impact on the outcome. Thus, different causal paths – each path being relevant, in a distinct way – may lead to the same outcome” (Rihoux & Lobe, 2009, p. 224).

Data collection and analyses

Regarding the data collection, at certain levels of the units of analyses, records of policies and discourses of the actors were important (i.e. when collecting data on conflict dimensions and the framings of the understandings of the conflicts and the self/other), while at a certain stage we conducted in-depth interviews (for example checking facts, mapping the perceptions of the actors against statistics or when identifying the narratives). Discourses of the actors were found in pamphlets, flyers, blogs and press releases, audio and video records of speeches during the episodes of conflict, movement songs, photographs, historical records, autobiographies, and television interviews as well as broadcasts. Even PhD Theses of key movement leaders gave valuable information. We also used statistics and organizational records (from the National Institute of Statistics INSTAT, International Organizations and NGOs).

Selecting and compiling these multiple materials could have taken a long period of time. QCA techniques not only allowed a reduction of the level of complexity featured in the existence of the “very complex, multi-layered, multi-faceted processes” (Rihoux, 2007) requiring collection of multiple information at various levels but also helped managing time. The casing, the definition of the conditions and the outcomes helped in building a selective, more targeted

sampling of data to be collected as well as the selection of the interviewees. We only collected significant material relevant to the cases (the episodes of conflict) and also crucial interviewees who played important roles within a limited time period pertaining to these events. Secondly, the Boolean logic (Rihoux & al, 2013, p.32) that is part of the analytical procedure in QCA greatly reduced the difficulty in the collection of data. We assigned values to a specific condition (explaining factor) and such a categorization has pointed us towards the information we were looking for. For example, we could collect data regarding conflict dimensions based on the categorization of whether its saliency was high or low by looking at policies or discourses of the actors, or we could identify which repertoires of actions or framings of conflict were present and absent during a given event. These categorizations were possible using crisp-set (csQCA)⁸. The tests were performed using the fsQCA software and R.

Triangulation (Peters, 1998, p. 21) is a guiding technique in this research. We used multiple theories and concepts in the identification of conditions and outcomes. We also considered multiple sources of data, which means that we have empirical materials reflecting diversity. Most importantly, we used methodological triangulation so as to be able to understand the whole dynamics. Indeed, we conducted different analyses of intertwining, interacting and interdependent multi-level units. QCA is a method that is complementary with other approaches. We mixed quantitative and qualitative techniques. Sometimes, we carried out conflict analyses. At other times, we carried out policy analyses. There are also levels at which we conducted discourse analyses. Most importantly, we conducted “systematic” comparative case analysis by doing both the cross-case and within-case studies of the episodes of conflict. It is the first time such an approach has been applied in the study of conflict recurrence.

⁸ Crisp-set QCA allows the dichotomization of the data.

Results

The causal configurations from the results of the QCA tests on which we base our analyses in this paper are in Appendix C. Note that each path leading to the outcome is unique. It is also worth reiterating that the elements within each path can be creating both situations of conflict and peaceful ones in accordance with the factors, building up the phenomena of the variants of de-escalation of conflict stages. Appendix D summarizes all the conditions in the solutions from that table and categorizes them based on whether they are building conflicting situations (high saliency of socio-economic and external dimension, presence of significant accommodation policies and change of framing) or peaceful ones (low saliency of cultural dimension, pacifying actors, no change of framing, presence of significant accommodation policies and construction of the image of the self and the other). It also provides details pertaining to each element. Due to lack of space, in the following we are not going to explain each path but will only take examples from these two tables to report and explain these results.

One feature of de-escalation of conflict stages in Madagascar is the existence of structural factors and parts of mechanism playing escalating roles although we are talking about de-escalation. For example, in de-escalation a, the shift between low intensity to violent political conflict, high saliency of external dimension and paradigm change played such a role. First, in terms of context, colonial heritage, imperialism and “unfinished business” of the cold war (Féron 2005, p.40) were at the centre of the demands of the actors. Those who were against the State denounced these. Conflict narratives played an important role in that process as historical narratives fed the resentment towards France. Indeed, the remembered chosen traumas about the dramatic killings the Malagasy experienced during colonization in 1947 stayed in memories, impacted national psychology and became nation-building narratives and collective trauma.

Thus, France was construed as the enemy of the Nation. These periods were also the times when metanarratives like communism, Marxism, Maoism and Socialism were belief systems anchored within the imagination of the population. Clashes of ideologies regarding which ones should be used to develop the country became the actors' excuses to engage in direct violence.

Second, in terms of parts of mechanism, between 1971 and 1972 a change of framing occurred: a shift in which there are additional framings of the conflict to the previous one (the previous main framing is still salient but other dimensions have a high saliency in the understanding of the nature of the conflict, Appendix E lists these framings). In episode 1971, both parties framed the conflict in terms of political dimension. The State interpreted the conflict as originating from the thirst of the Socialists to seize power while the other party thought it originated from a centre-periphery issue. Throughout the shift towards 1972, from the State side, the interpretation did not change. However, from the opposition's viewpoint, the shift saw the addition of multiple understandings of the origins of the conflict from socio-economic, cultural and external causes. This played an escalating role, increasing the level of complexity of issues that needed to be addressed.

Another feature of the dynamics behind the de-escalation of conflict stage is the existence of elements playing soothing and conciliatory factors contributing to the reduction of the intensity of the conflict. For instance, in the case of de-escalation b, from high intensity conflict to violent political conflict, the presence of a significant accommodation policy and the elements pertaining to the construction of the image of the self and the other were among these.

First, table 2 contains the list of the policies in situations of de-escalation. The accommodation policies implemented throughout these shifts were "indigenous initiatives". The episodes prior to 2000 saw incredible interventions of internal actors while the interventions

from external actors during these situations of de-escalation of conflict stages were most of the time informal. Negotiated outcomes aimed at managing and resolving the 1991 episode played a soothing factor. Although the secret and official mediation initiatives resulting in agreements were extremely political, they managed to address several issues at stake. The secret one “Accord de Mahambo” succeeded in calming down the zeal of the Federalists who were ready to secede in 1991 while the official one, the Panorama convention of 1991 created institutions setting up a transitional power-sharing arrangement based on democratic principles (note that multiparty democracy created conflicting situation in episode 1996).

(Insert Table 2 Here)

Second, one crucial local narrative shaping the perception of the self and the other in Madagascar is the Malagasy ideal called “fihavanana”. The term comes from “havana” (kin). It encompasses multiple values including goodwill, friendship, kinship, love, fraternity ... “Even if someone is walking on one’s head, that is OK, one needs to protect the fihavanana at any cost” (Pastor Razafindrabe, March 2016). If there is no fihavanana, the Malagasy believe they commit taboo: “manota fady”. It is a powerful cultural element regulating the functioning of the social structures. It can define boundaries regarding what can or cannot be done by the individual or the group. The fihavanana was used to convince the actors to come to the table, collaborate and preserve peace at any cost.

In view of these, a crucial observation related to the dynamics of conflict de-escalation in Madagascar based on these results is the existence of what we call ‘multiple ways’. These have been influencing the dynamics to a great extent: the ways of the East (socialism, communism ...), those of the West (democracy, liberalization) and the indigenous ways (e.g.: the local narratives pertaining to values, tradition). These ways co-existed; sometimes the one succeeded

in suppressing the other while the third lay there waiting to be activated. At other times, all were present, put into practice with both positive and negative results or they were incompatible or clashing. All have both merits and inglorious effects, sometimes bringing about stability and peace while at other times creating outbursts of violence or negative peace.

Indeed, indigenous unilateral intervention could bring stability for a short time in some contexts whilst in other cases it fuelled anger among the opposite side, creating outbursts of violence. The role of the powerful metanarratives (born from the ways of the East and the West) in fuelling contention and in creating violent clashes were also part of the process. Sometimes democracy proved to be a failure, for instance when multiparty democracy was the choice, as it is difficult to sustain. Yet, these metanarratives also brought stability. Transitional power-sharing arrangements allowed the conflicting parties to stay in the picture so that there would be political transformation. The same goes for the indigenous ways as infrastructures of peace but they can also be sources of tension. The concept of Fihavanana was a positive element favouring situations of peace while popular narratives about ethnicity and origin persisted within the collective imagination, creating conflict narratives.

Discussion

Peace is multi-levelled and conflict de-escalation is all about constructive transformation. It is about constructive change since the intensity of the conflict decreases and the situation is converging towards a more peaceful one. Building peace is all about transformation entailing multi-layered approaches. Accommodation policies aim at working on, improving and transforming multiple elements related to the conflict. Conflict transformation can be a long process and it can take time. The existence of the variants of de-escalation can be explained by the uneven, multiple transformations happening over a period of time and at multiple levels.

There is no perfect configuration leading to perfect peace. What exists is a conjunction of context triggering the interacting parts of mechanism, co-constructing each other and working in concord. Each element may have positive or negative effects on the processes.

In the episodes of conflict in this paper, there has never been an official external intervention of third parties. The context has been limited by the fact that the notion of peacebuilding only started to be integrated within the bigs' scheme of work framework in the 90s (e.g. the United Nations, the African Union, and the Southern African Development Community). Yet, peacebuilding presenting itself in another way already existed before as demonstrated by the cases of Madagascar. That disinterest could be explained by the fact that there has never been such a large number of deaths as often happen in civil wars to qualify what the Malagasy experienced as conflict. These did not give us the opportunity to study official involvement of external third parties in de-escalation processes.

What would also be interesting to explore is the way these processes and parts of mechanism can lead to changes of repertoires of action. According to theoretical expectation, de-escalation reflects a situation in which the repertoires of action the actors use converge towards more peaceful means. Direct violence against persons progressively faded away and actors engaged in conventional institutional actions. That is the case of de-escalation from stage 3 to 2. However, non-physical clashes do not mean there was no violence. Symbolic violence was in the discourse of the actors. Psychological violence can continue preventing social transformation.

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Table 1

Types of boundary construction of the self and the other

| | | GROUP B | | |
|-------------------|----|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| GROUP A | | non-culture | alien culture | different culture |
| | | B1 | B2 | B3 |
| non-culture | A1 | A1B1 | A1B2 | A1B3 |
| alien culture | A2 | A2B1 | A2B2 | A2B3 |
| different culture | A3 | A3B1 | A3B2 | A3B3 |

Note. A cell in the vertical column can be combined with a cell in the horizontal one, e.g.:

A1B3 is a relationship where Group A sees Group B as non-culture and Group B sees Group

A as different culture. Source: Vetik (2007).

Table 2

Accommodation policies in situations of de-escalation

| Shift of conflict stage | Accommodation policies |
|--|--|
| De-escalation a, from stage 4 to 3 (1971 to 1972) | Unilateral intervention by the State: pacification by the gendarmerie Mediation of internal third parties Transfer of power to a Merina Military Officer Referendum Forgotten accommodation policies implemented by the opposition Unilateral intervention: armed intervention by the army Insurrectional government |
| De-escalation b, from stage 5 to 3 (1985 to 1991) | Mediations and negotiations (of official internal third parties and external one which was unofficial) leading to the signing of Panorama Convention and Mahambo |

Convention

Government of transition, election and revision of the socialist constitution

De-escalation c, from stage 3 to 2
(1991 to 1996)

Constitutional: impeachment of the President
Government of Transition and appointment of the head of the High Constitutional Court as the new Prime Minister

Appendix A

Types of Repertoires of Action

| Repertoires of actions | Conventional institutional actions | Conventional non-institutional actions | Non-conventional actions with no violence against persons | Non-conventional actions with violence against persons |
|------------------------|--|--|---|---|
| Description | Actions within the institutional setting, abiding by the institutional rules | Actions outside the established institutions, not abiding by the legislation and generally accepted rules of | Actions outside the established institutions, not abiding by the legislation and generally accepted rules ... | Actions outside the established institutions, not abiding by the legislation and generally accepted rules , |

| | | | | |
|----------|--|---|---|--|
| | | the institutions | purely symbolic | and which involve violence against persons |
| Examples | Lobbying, interest group politics, formal negotiation ... | Petitions, displaying slogans ... | Boycott of products, peaceful unauthorized demonstrations ... involving some violence, and damage to public or private property ... sabotage of infrastructure, bombing aiming at material damage ... | Violent unauthorized demonstrations ... hostage taking, abduction, execution ... sexual abuse ... |

Note. Adapted from Rihoux (2007).

Appendix B

Types of Conflict Stages

| Stages of conflict | Labelling | Description |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Stage 1 | Peaceful and stable situation | “A high degree of political stability and regime legitimacy”: no casualties |

| | | |
|---------|------------------------------|--|
| Stage 2 | Political tension situations | There are “growing levels of systemic strain and increasing social and political cleavages” with one or two people killed |
| Stage 3 | Violent political conflict | “tension has escalated to political crisis inasmuch as there has been an erosion of political legitimacy of the national government and/ or a rising acceptance of violent factional politics with a number of people killed in any one calendar year up to 100” |

| | | |
|---------|-------------------------|---|
| Stage 4 | Low intensity conflict | Involving “open hostility ... with 100-999 people killed in one year” |
| Stage 5 | High intensity conflict | “With open warfare among rival groups and/or mass destruction and displacement of sectors of the civilian population, with 1000 or more people killed in any one year” |

Note. Adapted from Féron (2005).

Sufficient Solutions Leading to the Outcomes

| Variants of shift of conflict stage | Contexts | Parts of the mechanism |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| de-escalation a: from stage 4 to 3 (1971 to 1972) | acc*dimd1 acc*dimb | ~ppa*act*paac *parch |
| de-escalation b: from stage 5 to 3 (1985 to 1991) | acc*dimb | act*paac *pardac *parch |
| de-escalation c: from stage 3 to 2 (1991 to 1996) | dimd1*~dima | ~ppa*pardac*~parch |

Note. In the first row for example, the solution should be read as follows: for de-escalation b to occur (shift from stage 4 to 3), there are two possible paths in terms of contexts: the first configuration is when the presence of significant accommodation policies is combined with a high saliency of external dimension and the second is when the presence of significant accommodation policies is combined with a high saliency of socio-economic dimension. Four parts of the mechanism interact and influence each other for the occurrence of this shift: both camps do not perceive each other as alien, the actors engage in less frequent occurrence of non-conventional types of action (with no violence against persons), at least one major pacifying actor mobilizes as well as influences public opinion and at least one of the two camps changes the framing of the conflict.

Categorization of Contexts and Parts of Mechanism

| Conditions creating conflicting situations | Conditions creating peaceful situations |
|---|---|
| <p>High saliency of socio-economic dimension: institutional claims related to lack of access to jobs, educational discrimination, financial and socio-economic crisis triggered by socialist policies the State implemented, social exclusion (leading to relative deprivation and frustration of needs and internalization of feeling of oppression , subjugation , dehumanization)</p> | <p>Low saliency of cultural dimension: institutional design addressing the ethnic-related claims pertaining to the Merina vs Côtiers divide (representation of both groups within institutions)</p> |
| <p>High saliency of external dimension: colonization and decolonization issues, effects of the cold war (surge of nationalist feeling and resentment towards France: fight against "cultural imperialism"), clashes of ideologies: communism vs capitalism</p> | <p>Presence of pacifying actors: the Church and the army (ultimate bulwarks having convening power in Madagascar, having legitimacy, credential, prestige and perceived as trustworthy).The Church developed political projects and also was strategically part of the content of the projects (fusion with the institutions), the army used strategy of non-intervention and neutrality, thus gained the trust of the actors and the population</p> |

Presence of significant accommodation policies: State's policy implemented in a confrontational manner (heavy-handed and violent counterinsurgency to regulate conflicts, elimination creating negative peace)

No change of framing: framing remaining in terms of political dimension (creating stability)

Paradigm accordance: shared understanding of the origins of the conflict

Change of framing: additional framings of the conflict to the previous one (the previous main framing is still salient but other dimensions have a high saliency in the understanding of the nature of the conflict): issues to be addressed are more complex

Presence of significant accommodation policies: negotiated outcome (secret or official mediation initiatives resulting in official agreements and unofficial arrangements), forgotten accommodation policy implemented by the opposition to address social exclusion (not mainstreamed in hegemonic narratives of the winners)

Construction of the image of the self and the other: images framed under institutional rules (democracy), role of values such as primogeniture in establishing a collaborative environment, existence of tolerance thanks to the prevailing local narrative fihavanana (fihavanana encompasses multiple values including goodwill, friendship, kinship, love, fraternity : powerful cultural element regulating the functioning of the social structures. It can define boundaries regarding what can or cannot be committed by the individual or the group)

Appendix E

Mapping out of Framings in situations of De-escalation

| Episodes of conflict | Framing of the conflicts: Actor A (the State) | Framing of the conflicts: Actor B (the opposition) |
|----------------------|---|--|
| 1971 | External dimensions | Political dimensions |
| 1972 | External dimension Political dimensions Cultural dimensions | Socio-economic dimensions Cultural dimensions External dimensions |
| 1985 | Political dimensions | Socio-economic dimensions |

Political dimensions

1991 Political dimensions Political dimensions

1996 Political dimensions Political dimensions

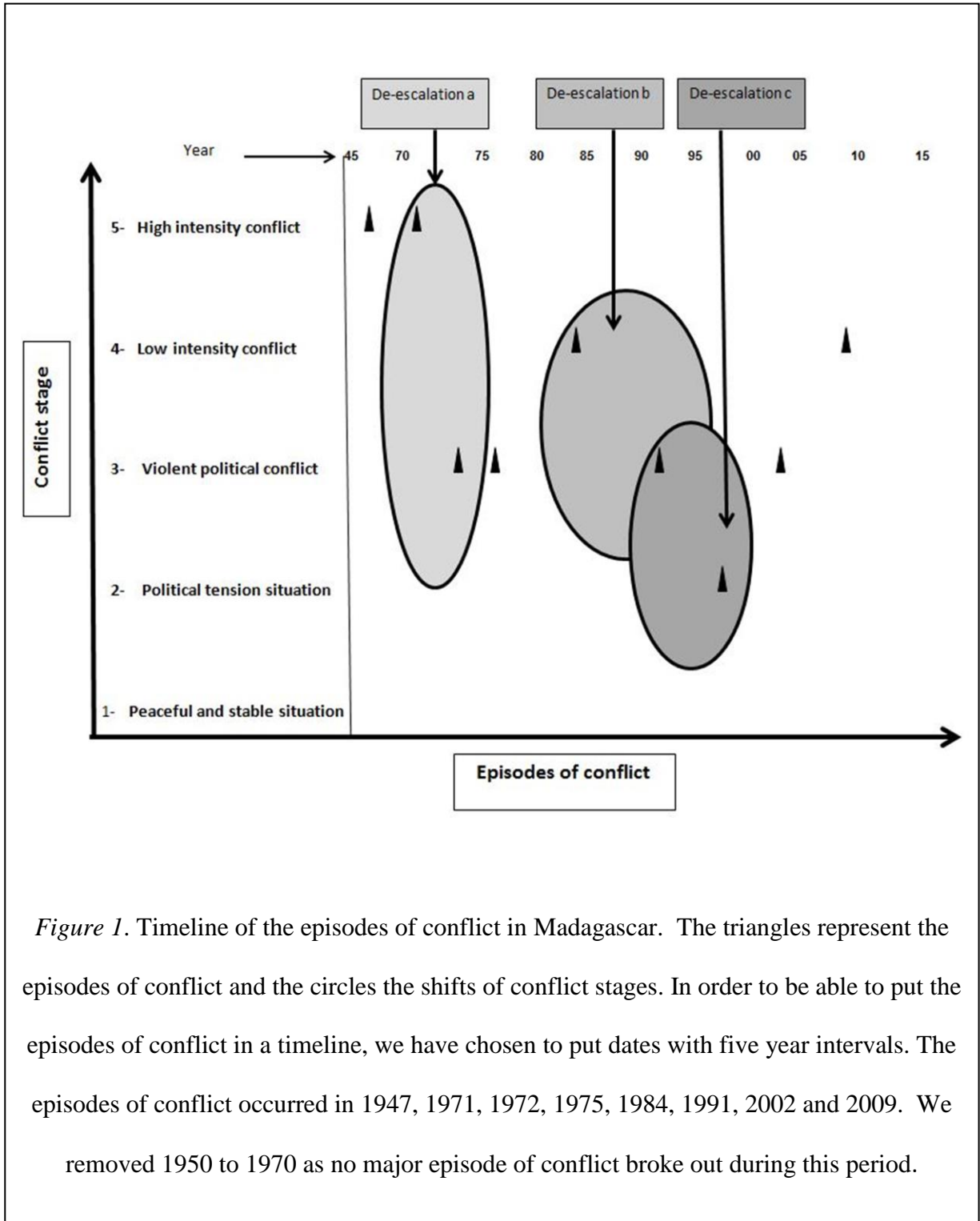


Figure 1. Timeline of the episodes of conflict in Madagascar. The triangles represent the episodes of conflict and the circles the shifts of conflict stages. In order to be able to put the episodes of conflict in a timeline, we have chosen to put dates with five year intervals. The episodes of conflict occurred in 1947, 1971, 1972, 1975, 1984, 1991, 2002 and 2009. We removed 1950 to 1970 as no major episode of conflict broke out during this period.