

# PO3720: Political Violence

Department of Political Science

Convenor: Liam Kneafsey<sup>1</sup>

Michaelmas term: Tuesday 9–10am, Lloyd Building LB08; Tuesday 1–2pm, Arts 2037

Tutorials (fortnightly): Monday 11am, Tuesday 3pm, Wednesday 10am, Wednesday 11am

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## Overview

MONSTERS EXIST, BUT THEY ARE TOO FEW IN NUMBER TO BE TRULY DANGEROUS. MORE DANGEROUS ARE THE COMMON MEN, THE FUNCTIONARIES READY TO BELIEVE AND TO ACT WITHOUT ASKING QUESTIONS, LIKE EICHMANN.

PRIMO LEVI

If Levi's description of the killer's banality is accurate, it follows that ordinary people can – under certain circumstances – act in an inexplicably violent way. This evident contradiction in the nature of political violence exerted a tenacious grip on the observers of Eichmann's trial, who raised a set of question about the general nature of political violence. How, and to what end, is violence practiced? When do political actors resort to violence over a peaceful solution to conflict? Why are some societies prone to political violence, while others are not? Why do individuals participate in collective violence? How, if at all, do the perpetrators of political violence justify their actions? And how, and under what conditions, does violence end? In the first semester, we examine the theoretical response to these questions in the scholarship on civil wars. In the second semester, we apply this theoretical framework to an empirical examination of political violence in a range of periods and settings, including Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Syria, Ireland, Sierra Leone, and others.

## Course Content

The course is structured around a set of lectures (see above), and a set of tutorials that take place every fortnight (likely start Week 3; students should be automatically assigned to a group this year). The purpose of the lectures is not to provide a review of the literature of each week, but rather to invite students to think about the subject material from a variety of perspectives. It is imperative that students complete the assigned readings for each week (marked with an asterisk); the lectures are 'participatory', in the sense that the opinion of students is sought directly and consistently from the opening to end of the lecture.

## Course Assessment

The course is examined by a combination of continuous assessment (two essays that each count for 12.5%) and an end-of-year exam (75%). One-term visiting students must complete two essays (see below for guidelines). Two-term students visiting students must fulfill the same requirements as regular students.

## Essays

Students must write two essays each worth 12.5%. The first essay is due at 12pm on Friday, November 24, 2017. The second essay is due at 12pm on Friday, March 23, 2018. The cohort of 'one term' students – who, most commonly, are part of the Erasmus programme – must write two essays, which are due at 12pm on Friday, November 24, 2017 (Essay 1) and at 12pm on Friday, December 1 2017 (Essay 2), respectively. In Hilary term, one-term students must submit on at 12pm on Friday, March 23, 2017 (Essay

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<sup>1</sup> This course is inspired by and adapted from the previous Political Violence module developed by Dr. Shane Mac Giollabhuí. I am indebted to him for his help in putting this syllabus together.

1) and at 12pm on Friday, March 30 2017 (Essay 2). An essay should not exceed 2,000 words in length.<sup>2</sup> Any standard font is acceptable. Please use the standard citation procedures. If you are unsure of these, consult the Style Manual for Political Science, revised edition (1993), or The Chicago Manual of Style, 14th edition (1993). Alternatively, examine any major Political Science journal. On other matters of style, please consult

- Strunk, William Jr., and E.B. White. *The Elements of Style*. 4 ed. Boston; London: Allyn and Bacon, 2000.

If a student writes an essay that is more than 10% above the word limit, penalties will be applied. Please provide the word count at the beginning of each essay. All late work, unless excused in advance by the course lecturer, or justified by medical certificate or tutors note, will be penalized at a rate of five per cent per day. It is best to let the lecturer/TA know as soon as possible if there will be an issue in submitting the paper on time. It is much easier to resolve issues if they are brought up pre-submission date and often alternative arrangements can be made. Under no circumstances will work be accepted after the set work has been marked and handed back to other students, or after the end of Trinity term. Essays must be submitted through Turnitin.com.

Turnitin Submission:

Michaelmas Term, Essay 1 and 2; Class ID: 15891660; password, fosterplace.

Hilary Term, Essay 1 and 2: Class ID: 15891696; password, fosterplace.

Please also consult with Undergraduate Handbook to familiarize yourself with the marking scheme used and Trinity and what is expected to attain each grade. You might also want to look at the undergraduate handbook for advice on how to write your essay and what is expected: [http://www.tcd.ie/Political\\_Science/undergraduate/module-outlines/](http://www.tcd.ie/Political_Science/undergraduate/module-outlines/)

Plagiarism: when you write your essay, please take care to cite appropriately the source material of your work.

- All students are required to complete an online tutorial on online plagiarism called 'ready, steady, write' (<http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/ready-steady-write>)
- All students must sign a declaration that they have completed this course when submitting their essay.
- For a comprehensive guide about the different type of plagiarism, please read the University's plagiarism policy here (<http://tcd-ie.libguides.com/plagiarism/levels-and-consequences>)

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<sup>2</sup> These 2,000 words are inclusive of notes and appendices and exclusive of bibliography.

## W1: Course Introduction

### Morning:

- \*Valentino, Benjamin A. "Why we kill: The political science of political violence against civilians." *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 17, 2004.
- \*Tilly, Charles. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, Chapter 1.

### Afternoon:

- \*Bethany Lacina, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2005. "Monitoring Trends in Global Combat: A New Dataset of Battle Deaths." *European Journal of Population* 21 (2–3): 145–66.
- \*Blattman, Christopher and Edward Miguel. Civil War. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 49, 1 (2010). Section 1.

### General – Good Background Texts

- Beah, Ishmael, *A Long Way Gone*. New York: FSG. 2008.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara. 1997. *Blood Rites. Origins and history of the Passions of War*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Gurr, Ted R. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.
- Hardin, Russell. *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1995.
- Ignatieff, Michael. *Blood and Belonging*. New York: Viking, 1993.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Laitin, David. *Nations, States and Violence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2007.
- Sen, Amartya. *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006.
- Strauss, Scott. *Making and Unmaking Nations: The Origins and Dynamics of Genocide in Contemporary Africa*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2015.
- Tilly, Charles. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

## Week 2: Greed and Grievance in Civil War

### Morning: Greed

- \* Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War", in *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 56, No. 4, 2004.
- \*Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War", in *American Political Science Review*, 2003.

### Afternoon: Grievance

- \*Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min. "Why do ethnic groups rebel? New Data and analysis" in *World Politics*, Vol. 62, No. 1, 2010.

### General:

- Ross, Michael. What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War? *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2004.
- Blattman, Christopher and Edward Miguel. Civil War. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 49, 1 (2010). Section 2 and 3
- Jenne, Erin K. *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- Gurr, Ted. On Relative Deprivation
- Toft, Monica Duffy. *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests and the Indivisibility of Territory*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Scott, James. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Walter, Barbara. "Building reputation: why government fight some separatists but not others." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 2, 2006.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

### **Week 3: Why would Ethnic Groups Rebel?**

#### Morning: Primordialism

\*Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith (eds.) *Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press, 1996. Please read: Chapter 5 (Weber), Chapter 6 (Geertz), Chapter 12 (Barth), Chapter 7 (Eller and Coughlin) and Chapter 9 (Van den Berghe). Copies available on BlackBoard.

#### Afternoon: Questioning Primordialism

\*Posner, Daniel. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review*. 98 (4).

\*Posner, Daniel. 2004. "Measuring ethnic fractionalization in Africa", *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (4).

#### General:

APSA, "Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics." Symposium in APSA-CP, Winter 2001. Essays by Chandra, Wilkinson and Van Evera.

James D. Fearon. 1999. "What is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?" Unpublished, available online at the author's personal website.

Ignatieff, Michael. *Blood and Belonging*. New York: Viking, 1993. pp. 19–56.

Huntington, Samuel. 1993. "Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 72(3).

Kaplan, Robert D. 1993. *Balkan Ghosts*. New York: Vintage.

Horowitz 1985 *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*

Hale, Henry. "Explaining Ethnicity." *Comparative Political Studies*. 37.4 (2004): 458- 485.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. "The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland." In *The Invention of Tradition*. Eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983. (Available on BlackBoard)

Bates, Robert H. "Modernization, Ethnic Competition and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa." In *State versus Ethnic Claims: African Policy Dilemmas*. Eds. Donald Rothchild and Victor Olorunsola. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983. 152-171.

Posner, Daniel. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

### **Week 4: Why do Ethnic Groups Rebel?**

#### Morning: Constructivism

\* Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 1996. Explaining Interethnic Cooperation. *American Political Science Review*, 90, 4, 715-735. (Quite technical in the middle section but persist!)

\* Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the social construction of ethnic identity" *International Organization*, 54 (4).

#### Afternoon: Conditional Ethnic Conflict

\*Posen B. 1993. The security dilemma and ethnic conflict. *Survival* 35:27–47

\*Caselli, Francesco and Wilbur John Coleman II. 2006. "On the Theory of Ethnic Conflict."

#### General

Gurr, Ted. *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993.

Petersen, Roger D. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Snyder JL. 2000. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: Norton

Lake DA, Rothchild D. 1998. Spreading fear: the genesis of transnational ethnic conflict. In *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict*, ed. DA Lake, D Rothchild, pp. 3–32. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Fearon, James D. "Ethnic Mobilization and Ethnic Violence" in Donald A. Wittman and Barry R. Weingast (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2004

Fox, Jonathan. "The Rise of Religious Nationalism and Conflict: Ethnic Conflict and Revolutionary Wars, 1945-2011." *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (6): 715-31. 2004W8: The

### **Week 5: How do Perpetrators Organize an Insurgency?**

#### Morning: The Role of Civilians in Civil Conflict

\*Valentino. Why we kill: The political science of political violence against civilians. *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 17, 2004.

#### Afternoon: The Industrial Organisation of Violence

\*Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1, Chapter 6 (Ideally entire book)

#### General:

Bates, Robert H., Avner Greif and Smita Singh. "Organizing Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(5), October 2002, 599-628.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2006. "Handling and manhandling civilians in civil war." *American Political Science Review* 100 (3): 429-447.

Azam, Jean-Paul. 2006. On Thugs and Heroes: Why Warlords Victimize Their Own Civilians, *Economics and Governance*, 7, 53-73.

Stathis Kalyvas . 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wood, Elisabeth. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador and South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7.

Scott Gates. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (2002): 111-130.

Shils, Edward A. and Morris Janowitz. 1948. Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 12: 280-315.

Bates, Robert H., Avner Greif and Smita Singh. "Organizing Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(5), October 2002, 599-628.

Tarrow, Sidney. 2007. "Inside insurgencies: politics and violence in an age of civil war", *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 5, No. 3.

### **W6: The Etiology of Homicide in Civil War**

#### Morning:

\*Benjamin Valentino , Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "Draining the Sea: Mass Killing, Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* 58 (2): 375-407.

#### Afternoon:

\*Reed Wood 2010. "Rebel Capability and Strategic Violence against Civilians." *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (5): 601-14.

#### General:

Azam, JP and A. Hoeffler. Violence against civilians in civil wars: looting or terror. *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 39, No. 4, 2002.

Downes, AB. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 2008

Fjelde, H. and L. Hultman. 2013. Weakening the enemy: a disaggregated study of violence against civilians in Africa. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57(4).

Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Pape RA. 2005. *Dying to Win: the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House

Weinstein, Jeremy. "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (4): 598-624. 2005

## W8: The Etiology of Rape in Civil War

### Morning:

\*Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2006. "Variation in Sexual Violence during War." *Politics and Society* 34 (3): 307–42.

### Afternoon:

\*Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross National Evidence (1980–2009)", *American Political Science Review*, 107 (3).

### General:

Elisabeth Jean Wood . 2009. "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics and Society* 37 (1): 131–61.

Goldstein, Joshua. 2001. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Prugl, Elisabeth. 2003. "Gender and war: causes, constructions, and critique." 335-342.

Amir, Menachem. *Patterns in Forcible Rape*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1971.

Karen Franklin . 2004. "Enacting Masculinity: Antigay Violence and Group Rape as Participatory Theater." *Sexuality Research & Social Policy* 1 (2): 25–40.

Thomas Plümper, and Eric Neumayer. 2006. "The Unequal Burden of War: The Effect of Armed Conflict on the Gender Gap in Life Expectancy." *International Organization* 60 (3): 723–54.

MacKinnon, Catherine. "Rape, Genocide and Women's Human Rights", *Harvard Women's Law Journal*. 17, 5. 1994.

## Week 9: The Psychological Foundations of Violence – How and why do participants engage in, and justify violence?

### Morning:

\* Grossman, David. 1995. On Killing. Section IV: Anatomy of a Killing. p. 141-192. (Section I also recommended)

\* Bandura, Albert. 1999. "Moral disengagement in the perpetration of inhumanities." *Personality and social psychology review* 3(3): 193-209.

### Afternoon:

\*Oppenheimer, Joshua. 2013. *The Act of Killing*. Documentary.

\* Ginges, Jeremy, Scott Atran, Sonya Sachdeva, and Douglas Medin. 2011. "Psychology out of the laboratory: the challenge of violent extremism." *American Psychologist* 66 (6): 507.

### General:

Gurr, Ted. 1968. "Psychological factors in civil violence." *World Politics* 20 (2): 245-278.

Tajfel, Henri, and John C. Turner. 1979. "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict." *The social psychology of intergroup relations* 33-47.

Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches." *Journal of Conflict resolution* 49(1): 3-42.

Littman, Rebecca, and Elizabeth Levy Paluck. 2015. "The cycle of violence: understanding individual participation in collective violence." *Political Psychology* 36): 79-99.

McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko 2008. "Mechanisms of political radicalization: Pathways toward terrorism." *Terrorism and political violence* 20(3): 415-433.

LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte. 2009. "The impact of British counterterrorist strategies on political violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing deterrence and backlash models." *Criminology* 47 (1): 17-45.

Atran, Scott. 2003. "Genesis of suicide terrorism." *Science* : 1534-1539.

McDoom, Omar. 2012. "The psychology of threat in intergroup conflict: emotions, rationality, and opportunity in the Rwandan genocide." *International Security* 37(2).

Fanon, Frantz. 1965. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press. 83-95.

Arendt, Hannah. 1963. *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Viking Press.

Arendt, Hannah. 1969. A Special Supplement: Reflections on Violence. *The New York Review of Books*, 12 (4), February 27. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/11395>

## **Week 10: How, and under what (structural) conditions, does violence end?**

### Morning: Third Parties and Credible Commitments

\*Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51 (1997): 335-364.

### Afternoon: Partition as a Solution?

\*Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20(4):136-175.

### General:

Bercovitch, Jacob, Victor Kremenyuk, and I. William Zartman, eds. *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2009

Crenshaw, Martha. Democracy, Commitment Problems, and Managing Ethnic Violence: The Case of India and Sri Lanka. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 4, 2000.

Crenshaw, Martha.

Fearon, James. 1998. Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict. In David Lake and Donald Rothchild, Eds. 1998. *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Mayer, Bernard. *The dynamics of conflict resolution: a practitioner's guide*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2000.

World Bank. *Breaking the Conflict Trap*, 2003.

Fearon, James. "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2004.

## **W11: Do actors matter in the ending of violence?**

### Morning: Cohesion and Conflict Resolution

\*Bakke, Kristin M., Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee JM Seymour. 2012. "A plague of initials: Fragmentation, cohesion, and infighting in civil wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (2): 265-283.

### Afternoon: The Spoiler Problem

\*Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence", in *International Organization*, Vol 59, 2004, pps. 145-176. (Persevere – it's highly technical in the first section, but it provides an excellent framework.)

### General:

Andeweg, Rude. "Consociational democracy" in *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 3, 2000.

Cunningham, David E. 2006. "Veto players and civil war duration." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4): 875-892.

Cunningham, KG. *Inside the politics of self-determination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Cronin, AK. *How terrorism ends*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

De Nardo, James. *Power in numbers: the political strategy of protest and rebellion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Greenhill, KM and S. Major. "The perils of profiling: civil war spoilers and the collapse of intrastate peace accords" *International Security*, Vol 31, No. 3, 2007.

Walter, BF. *Committing to peace: the successful settlement of civil war*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Atran, Scott, Robert Axelrod, and Richard Davis. 2007. "Sacred barriers to conflict resolution." *Science* 317: 1039-1040.

## **Week 12: Course Overview**

Various authors/special issue “Is a General Theory of Violence Possible?” *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 2009.

Stathis Kalyvas, 2003. “The Ontology of ‘Political Violence’: Action and Identity in Civil Wars,” *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 475-494.

Harry Eckstein, 1965 “On the Etiology of Internal Wars”. *History and Theory* 4:133–163.