

ERC Independent Reading Course on Political Violence

Conflict is a central aspect of politics. Conflict can be managed politically so that any disputes are resolved peacefully, but it can also break out into the open and turn violent. This course first studies analytically how conflict is linked with politics and whether and how different institutional devices, in particular democracy and the holding of elections, help contain and resolve conflict or fail to do so. We then discuss different types of conflict that do involve violence. We begin with repression, i.e. violence initiated by the state, and proceed to violent challenges against the state by nonstate actors, ranging from riots to criminal violence to civil war. We then analyze why political violence breaks out. These explanations are grouped thematically, but arguments and findings operate at the individual, group, subnational, and macro level. We proceed to discussing the consequences of political violence for a range of political outcomes, including group cohesion, political attitudes, political behavior, and long-run effects. The final section focuses on the practice of doing research on sensitive topics such as political violence. Empirically, course readings regularly focus on India and Nigeria, but also many other countries and regions in the world. Methodologically, the course reflects the diversity of research on political violence, ranging from ethnography and interviews to statistical analyses, surveys, and experiments.

This course will take a place as a seminar in which we discuss the readings for each week. Required readings for each session are listed below. We meet on Fridays from 15-17:00 (except on Oct 2 and Oct 9) at the Roeterseiland Campus, room REC B9.22, but if necessary also on zoom using the following link: <https://uva-live.zoom.us/j/98578002567>

CONCEPTS

What do we mean by political violence? Where does violence start and end? Are democracies somehow insulated from violence? Do elections help or hurt?

Friday, October 2, 12-14:00 (Meet on zoom)

1. What is political violence?

Gutiérrez-Sanín, Francisco, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2017. "What Should We Mean by 'Pattern of Political Violence'?" *Repertoire, Targeting, Frequency, and Technique.* <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592716004114>.

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2019. "The Landscape of Political Violence." In *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*, 11–33.

Tilly, Charles. 2012. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. In: *Collective Violence, Contentious Politics, and Social Change: A Charles Tilly Reader*, pp. 275-293. Available at UvA library.

Friday, October 9, 12-14:00 (Still meet on zoom)

2. Democracy, elections and violence

Przeworski, Adam. 2011. "Divided We Stand? Democracy as a Method of Processing Conflicts¹." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 34 (2): 168–82. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2011.00265.x>.

Birch, S., U. Daxecker, and K. Höglund. 2020. "Electoral Violence: An Introduction." *Journal of Peace Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319889657>.

Laakso, Liisa. 2019. "Electoral Violence and Political Competition in Africa," April. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ACREFORE/9780190228637.013.1344>.

Recommended:

Harish, S. P., and Andrew T. Little. 2017. "The Political Violence Cycle." *American Political Science Review* 111 (2): 237–55. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055416000733>.

TYPES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

What are the most prominent forms of violence, including violence that takes place around elections? Who engages in violence against whom, when, and where?

Friday, October 16, 15:00-17:00 (Readings for 1&2, still meet on zoom)

1. Repression

Earl, Jennifer. 2011. "Political Repression: Iron Fists, Velvet Gloves, and Diffuse Control." *Annual Review of Sociology* 37: 261–284.

<http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.soc.012809.102609>.

DeMeritt, Jacqueline H. R. 2016. "The Strategic Use of State Repression and Political Violence," October. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ACREFORE/9780190228637.013.32>.

Recommended:

Marx, Anthony W. 1996. "Race-making and the nation-state." *World Politics*, pp.180-208.

2. Civil war

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (3): 475–94.

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592703000355>.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. "The Logic of Violence In Civil War." Cambridge University Press. Chapter 7, pp. 173-208. Available in course folder.

Recommended:

Sambanis, Nicholas, and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl. 2019. "Sovereignty Rupture as a Central Concept in Quantitative Measures of Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63 (6): 1542–78. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719842657>.

Friday, October 23, 15:00-17:00 (Readings for 3&4, meet in REC B9.22 if possible)

3. Riots and communal conflict

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2009. "Riots." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (1): 329–43.

<https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.12.041307.075517>.

Krause, J. 2018. *Resilient Communities: Non-Violence and Civilian Agency in Communal War*. Chapter 1. Available at UvA library.

Recommended:

Brass, P. R. (2011). *The production of Hindu-Muslim violence in contemporary India*. University of Washington Press. Available at UvA library.

4. Terrorism and criminal violence

De la Calle, Luis de, and Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca. 2011. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Terrorism." *Politics & Society* 39 (3): 451–72.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329211415506>.

Barnes, Nicholas. 2017. "Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of

Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence.” *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (4): 967–87.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717002110>.

CAUSES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Why do we see political violence at different levels of aggregation, ranging from individual mobilization to movement formation to the onset of large-scale violence?

Friday, October, 30, 15-17:00

1. Poverty

- Ray, Debraj, and Joan Esteban. 2017. “Conflict and Development.” *Annual Review of Economics* 9 (1): 263–93. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-economics-061109-080205>.
- Bohlken, Anjali Thomas, and Ernest John Sergenti. 2010. “Economic Growth and Ethnic Violence: An Empirical Investigation of Hindu-Muslim Riots in India.” 47 (5): 589–600. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343310373032>.
- Scacco, Alexandra. 2016. “Anatomy of a Riot: Participation in Ethnic Violence in Nigeria.” Chapter 2. Available in course folder.

Friday, November 6, 15-17:00 (Readings for 2&3)

2. Resources and land

- Boone, Catherine. (2011). Politically allocated land rights and the geography of electoral violence: The case of Kenya in the 1990s. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(10), 1311-1342. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0010414011407465>
- Basedau, Matthias, Annegret Mähler, and Miriam Shabafrouz. 2014. “Drilling Deeper: A Systematic, Context-Sensitive Investigation of Causal Mechanisms in the Oil-Conflict Link.” *Journal of Development Studies* 50 (1): 51–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2013.849338>.

Recommended:

- Boone, Catherine. 2014. *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics*. Available at UvA library.
- Klaus, Kathleen, and Matthew I Mitchell. 2015. “Land Grievances and the Mobilization of Electoral Violence: Evidence from Côte d’Ivoire and Kenya.” *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (5): 622–35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343315580145>.

3. Inequality and exclusion

- Lichbach, Mark Irving. 1989. “An Evaluation of ‘Does Economic Inequality Breed Political Conflict?’ Studies.” *World Politics* 41 (4): 431–70. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2010526>.
- Mitra, Anirban, and Debraj Ray. 2014. “Implications of an Economic Theory of Conflict: Hindu-Muslim Violence in India.” *Journal of Political Economy* 122 (4): 719–65. <https://doi.org/10.1086/676316>.

Recommended:

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Available at UvA library.

Friday, November 13, 15-17:00

4. Ethnicity and religion

Horowitz, Donald L. 2001. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of California Press. Chapters 2-4. Available at UvA library.

Vergheese, Ajay. 2020. "Ethnic Violence in India." In: *Race and Ethnicity in Asia*. Routledge, forthcoming.

LeBas, Adrienne. 2013. "Violence and Urban Order in Nairobi, Kenya and Lagos, Nigeria." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48 (3): 240–62. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12116-013-9134-y>.

Friday, November 20, 15-17:00 (Readings for 5&6)

5. Emotions

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

Green, Donald P, and Rachel L Seher. 2003. "What Role Does Prejudice Play in Ethnic Conflict?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 6 (1): 509–31. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.6.121901.085642>.

Pearlman, Wendy. 2013. "Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings." *Perspectives on Politics* 11 (2): 387–409. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592713001072>.

6. Ideology

Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2014. "Ideology in Civil War Instrumental Adoption and Beyond." *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (2): 213–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343313514073>.

Leader Maynard, Jonathan. 2019. "Ideology and Armed Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 56 (5): 635–49. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319826629>.

Staniland, P. (2020). Leftist Insurgency in Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies* <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343319826629>.

Friday, November 27, 10-12:00 (Readings for 7&8)

7. Elections

Wilkinson, Steven I. 2004. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2&6

Rauschenbach, Mascha, and Katrin Paula. 2019. "Intimidating Voters with Violence and Mobilizing Them with Clientelism." *Journal of Peace Research* 56 (5): 682–96. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343318822709>.

Steele, Abbey. 2011. "Electing Displacement: Political Cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (3): 423–45. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002711400975>.

Recommended:

Trejo, Guillermo, and Sandra Ley. 2018. "Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Party Alternation, the Breakdown of Criminal Protection, and the Onset of Large-Scale Violence." *Comparative Political Studies* 51 (7): 900–937. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414017720703>.

8. Political parties

Basedau, Matthias, Gero Erdmann, and Andreas Mehler. 2007. *Votes, Money and Violence Political Parties and Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa*. www.ukznpress.co.za. Read

chapter by Mehler on Political Parties.

Nellis, Gareth, Michael Weaver, Steven Rosenzweig. 2016. "Do Parties Matter for Ethnic Violence? Evidence from India." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1561/100.00015051>

Friday, December 4, 15-17:00

9. Networks

Berenschot, Ward. 2011. "The Spatial Distribution of Riots: Patronage and the Instigation of Communal Violence in Gujarat, India." *World Development* 39 (2): 221–30.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2009.11.029>.

Larson, Jennifer M and Janet I Lewis. 2018. "Rumors, Kinship Networks, and Rebel Group Formation." *International Organization* 6: 871–903.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818318000243>.

Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *American Political Science Review* 107 (03): 418–32. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055413000208>.

Recommended:

Staniland, P. (2014). *Networks of rebellion: Explaining insurgent cohesion and collapse*. Cornell University Press.

10. Local demography and settlement patterns

Kasara, Kimuli. 2017. "Does Local Ethnic Segregation Lead to Violence?: Evidence from Kenya." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*. Now Publishers Inc.
<https://doi.org/10.1561/100.00014115>.

Madueke, Kingsley L. 2018. "Routing Ethnic Violence in a Divided City: Walking in the Footsteps of Armed Mobs in Jos, Nigeria." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 56 (3): 443–70. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X18000320>.

McNamee, L., 2018. Mass Resettlement and Political Violence: Evidence from Rwanda. *World Politics*, 70(4), pp.595-644.

Recommended:

Bhavnani, Ravi, Karsten Donnay, Dan Miodownik, Maayan Mor, and Dirk Helbing. 2014. "Group Segregation and Urban Violence." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (1): 226–245. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12045>.

Dhattiwala, Raheel. 2019. *Keeping the Peace: Spatial Differences in Hindu-Muslim Violence*. Cambridge University Press.

CONSEQUENCES OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

How does being exposed to violence affect people's attitudes, preferences, and behavior?
 What are long-run effects that might persist across generations?

Friday, December 11, 15-17:00 (Readings for 1&2)

1. Varieties of post-violence effects

Davenport, Christian, Håvard Moksleiv Nygård, Hanne Fjelde, and David Armstrong. 2019. "The Consequences of Contention: Understanding the Aftereffects of Political Conflict

and Violence.” <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050317>.

2. Group cohesion

Mclaughlin, Theodore, and Wendy Pearlman. 2012. “Out-Group Conflict, In-Group Unity? Exploring the Effect of Repression on Intramovement Cooperation.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56 (1): 41–66. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002711429707>.

Hadzic, Dino, David Carlson, and Margit Tavits. 2020. “How Exposure to Violence Affects Ethnic Voting.” *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (1): 345–62. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123417000448>.

Mironova, Vera, and Sam Whitt. 2018. “Social Norms after Conflict Exposure and Victimization by Violence: Experimental Evidence from Kosovo.” *British Journal of Political Science* 48 (3): 749–65. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123416000028>.

Friday, December 11, 15-17:00 (Readings for 3&4)

3. Political attitudes and voting behavior

Bratton, Michael. 2008. “Vote Buying and Violence in Nigerian Election Campaigns.” *Electoral Studies* 27 (4): 621–32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2008.04.013>.

Daxecker, Ursula E, and Hanne Fjelde. 2020. “Electoral Violence, Partisanship and Perceptions of Electoral Integrity: A Survey Experiment in West Bengal.” Working paper.

Grosjean, Pauline. 2014. “Conflict and Social and Political Preferences: Evidence from World War II and Civil Conflict in 35 European Countries.” *Comparative Economic Studies* 56 (3): 424–51. <https://doi.org/10.1057/ces.2014.2>.

Recommended:

Borzyskowski, Inken von, Ursula E Daxecker, and Patrick M Kuhn. 2020. “Fear of Campaign Violence and Support for Autocracy and Democracy.” Working paper.

4. Long-run effects

Balcells, Laia. 2012. “The Consequences of Victimization on Political Identities: Evidence from Spain.” *Politics and Society* 40 (3): 311–47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329211424721>.

Lupu, Noam, and Leonid Peisakhin. 2017. The legacy of political violence across generations.” *American Journal of Political Science* 61(4): 836-851. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12327>

Recommended:

Rozenas, Arturas, and Yuri M Zhukov. 2019. “Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin’s ‘Terror by Hunger.’” *American Political Science Review* 113: 569–83. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000066>.

RESEARCHING POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN PRACTICE

Friday, December 18, 15-17:00 (Readings for 1-3)

1. Interviewing

Mosley, Layna. 2013. "Introduction. 'Just Talk to People'? Interviews in Contemporary Political Science." In Mosley, Layna (ed.). *Interview Research in Political Science*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, pp. 1-31.

Recommended:

Bleich, Erik, and Robert Pekkanen. 2013. "How to Report Interview Data." In Mosley, Layna (ed.). *Interview Research in Political Science*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, pp. 84-105.

2. Ethics

Fujii, Lee Ann. 2012. "Research Ethics 101: Dilemmas and Responsibilities." *PS - Political Science and Politics* 45 (4): 717–23. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096512000819>.

Cronin-Furman, Kate, and Milli Lake. 2018. "Ethics Abroad: Fieldwork in Fragile and Violent Contexts." *PS - Political Science and Politics* 51 (3): 607–14. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096518000379>.

3. Managing risk

Malejacq, Romain, and Dipali Mukhopadhyay. 2016. "The 'tribal Politics' of Field Research: A Reflection on Power and Partiality in 21st-Century Warzones." *Perspectives on Politics*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592716002899>.

Swenson, Geoffrey, and Kate Roll. 2020. "Theorizing Risk and Research: Methodological Constraints and Their Consequences." *PS - Political Science and Politics* 53 (2): 286–91. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S104909651900177X>.