# **Political Violence**

#### **Title Course**

Political Violence

# Course Catalogue Number

7324C197IY

#### **Credits**

9 EC

# Entry requirements

Admission to the master Political Science, in International Relations, Comparative Politics, Conflict Resolution and Governance, and Political Economy.

# Instruction language

English

#### Time Period(s)

2021-2022, semester 1, period 2 & 3.

# Time and Location

See <a href="https://rooster.uva.nl/">https://rooster.uva.nl/</a> for most up to date information

#### **Format**

In-person, with hybrid option for absences related to illness and/or quarantine.

#### Lecturer

Dr. Jessica Soedirgo Room: B9.06

E-mail: i.soedirgo@uva.nl

# Course Objectives & Learning Outcomes:

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Identify and distinguish between different theoretical approaches to political violence, as well as understand the strengths and weaknesses of each approach.
- Analyze and critique works on political violence, including identifying research questions, arguments, methodology, and contributions.
- Research and analyze a specific case of political violence.
- Write more clearly and concisely.

# **Course Content**

This course provides a framework for understanding and analyzing cases of political violence. We will investigate different types of political violence, such as ethnic and racial violence; civil wars; and terrorism. Students will engage with different theoretical approaches to explaining why political violence occurs by reading books on cases of political violence. Cases studied will be from

different parts of the world, including Southeast Asia, South Asia, Africa, and Europe. Through these case studies, students will gain to the tools to identify the assumptions, logical inconsistencies, and biases that are present in analyses of violence. Assignments and class materials are designed to provide students with theoretical and applied research skills.

#### Teaching methods/learning formats

The course is taught in seminar format, and each class will be a mix of instructor-led discussions and student presentations. All students are required to read all **required readings** in advance of the lectures. Because it is a seminar, its quality will depend on everyone coming to class prepared.

Cell phone are not allowed in class – please silence them before entering, and refrain from checking them at all. If it is an emergency, please leave class to attend to it.

#### Covid-19

As of mid-October 2021, covid cases in the Netherlands have once again begun to rise. It is of critical importance that we continue to do our best to care for each other's well-being as the pandemic continues. This is necessary not only to ensure the health of all who take this class but also to ensure that the class can continue in person as much as possible and to avoid myself as the instructor getting sick.

To mitigate risks as much as possible, to make sure we can meet in person, and to respect the health needs of everyone I will be wearing an N95/FFP2 mask during all in person sessions (if you have access requirements that makes this problematic, please feel free to let me know if you feel comfortable). I am also fully vaccinated and will be taking a self-administered Covid test (available through the Zelftest Onderwijs <a href="https://www.zelftestonderwijs.nl/">https://www.zelftestonderwijs.nl/</a>) before each class. In the spirit of caring for each other, I hope that all who choose to take this class will also wear a mask (over mouth and nose) when in the classroom, will self-test before each class, and that everyone is fully vaccinated unless medically exempt.

If people have Covid symptoms or are otherwise ill, it is possible to join the class virtually. This option should only be exercised for reasons of illness, but please err on the side of caution. The Zoom link and password is located on the landing page of the course Canvas page. Please email me at <u>i.soedirgo@uva.nl</u> at least 2 hours prior to the start of class so that virtual attendance can be accommodated.

If you are interested in reading the latest evidence about the effectiveness of facemasks, please see the following working paper:

Abaluck *et al.* Innovations for Poverty Action Working Paper. "The Impact of Community Masking on Covid-19: A Cluster-Randomized Trial in Bangladesh." 2021. <a href="https://www.poverty-action.org/publication/impact-community-masking-covid-19-cluster-randomized-trial-bangladesh">https://www.poverty-action.org/publication/impact-community-masking-covid-19-cluster-randomized-trial-bangladesh</a>

### Manner & Form of Assessment

**Participation (15%):** As a seminar, this class will only succeed if every member of the class actively and meaningfully participates. Contributions will be assessed on quality, not quantity. Participation includes:

Answering and asking questions during the seminar portion of the class

- Demonstrating familiarity with the week's readings in classroom comments.
- Being the student zoom monitor when classmates are sick or quarantining.

Being able to articulate one's thoughts and respond to the comments of colleagues can be intimidating, but it is a skill that is worth cultivating. I will make it a priority to cultivate a supportive space for respectful classroom discussion.

In accordance to UvA guidelines and given the short semester (7 weeks), you are only allowed one absences for whatever reason (presence virtually for reasons of illness or quarantining does not count as an absence). If you miss more than two classes due to exceptional circumstances, you can apply for derogation to this rule with the Exam Committee. There are exceptional circumstances other than illness that may lead you to miss more than to classes. Should this be the case, then please inform me via email and inform the student advisor (studieadviseur-pol@uva.nl) to explain your circumstances and receive advice as to how to proceed with your case.

**Group Presentation (15%):** Each student will have to sign up for one group presentation scheduled for different weeks of the class. Sign-ups will happen via Canvas (see <a href="https://community.canvaslms.com/t5/Student-Guide/How-do-I-join-a-group-as-a-student/ta-p/468">https://community.canvaslms.com/t5/Student-Guide/How-do-I-join-a-group-as-a-student/ta-p/468</a> on how to sign up for a group). I will send a message when sign-ups are open.

Groups will consist of 4-5 people. Each group will give an oral presentation that is no longer than 20 minutes and submit a 1500 word summary of their presentation on Canvas. The memo should be uploaded onto Canvas before the beginning of class of the day of your presentation.

The presentation will involve a critique of the required readings and a supplementary reading of the group's choice. If you choose to read a book from the supplementary reading list, you just need to read the introduction and conclusion. The following are the requirements of the presentation. You may organize the memo using these subheadings:

- **Summaries:** A SHORT (1-2 minutes) summary of the required readings and a SHORT summary of the supplementary reading (3 minutes).
  - o For the summary, you should be able to identify the research question, the main argument of the reading, and the types of evidence used by the authors.
  - o Specifically focus on how the supplementary reading contributes to the discussion.
  - Note: Although you should incorporate textbook material into your presentation, you do not need to summarize the textbook material.
- **Scholarly debates and contributions:** Scholarly publications are involved in conversations with other scholars/works.
  - o What debate are these works engaged in?
  - O How do these readings speak to each other? On what points do the authors seem to agree? On what points do they disagree?
- **Critique:** Critically assess the set of readings.
  - o What are the strengths of the arguments being made by the scholars?
  - What did the author overlook or what could they have included to make the argument more convincing?
- **Discussion:** Come up with 2 discussion questions to pose to the class. Remember these questions should be designed to stimulate discussion and conversation.

If a student fails to attend or participate in their group presentation, they will receive a zero grade for this part of the evaluation. The other members of the group will not be affected by the non-

attendance of another member of the group if they successfully deliver their presentation. If you are sick or required to quarantine, you may present via Zoom as long as your group members are aware of the format change. All members of groups will be given the same mark. Rubrics for the group presentation will be made available on the first day of class.

Case Research Assignment (30%): Each student will prepare 1 short individual assignment over the course of the semester to analyze a case of political violence. It can be an historical or contemporary case. Students should select the case that most interests them to study more indepth. The assignment will be max 1500 words, not including references. It should assess the case study in light of the readings related to violence or governance, and any additional materials. Further details will be distributed separately.

Research Paper (40%): Students will write an analysis of about 4,000 words on a selected topic & case. The student will be expected to incorporate feedback on the previous short assignment into their final paper. Further details will be covered later in the course.

#### **Assessment Scheme**

Assessment form	Deadline	Weight (%)	Minimal grade (Yes/No)	Resit (Yes/No)
Participation	-	15%	No	No
Group Presentation	_	15%	No	No
Case Research Assignment	November 26	30%	No	No
Research Essay	January 21	40%	Yes	Yes

# Late Penalty

The late penalty is 2% per day, including weekends.

#### Inspection of exams/assignments, feedback

Students will receive feedback via a rubric, as well as personal feedback on the portfolio elements and essay assignment.

If marks for any of the assignment parts are insufficient (5,5 or lower), the other assignments can compensate so that it is still possible to pass the module. Only the research essay requires a passing grade and it is eligible for a resit. Re-submissions must be accompanied by a 1-page discussion outlining revisions and response to comments. Resits are due 10 working days after final grades are released.

# Rules regarding Fraud and Plagiarism

General rules concerning Fraud and Plagiarism apply in full. See: <a href="http://student.uva.nl/en/content/az/plagiarism-and-fraud/pla

According to the UvA rules, pplagiarism is taken to include:

a. making use of or reproducing another person's texts, data or ideas without complete and correct acknowledgement of the sources;

b. presenting the structure or central body of ideas taken from third-party sources as one's own work or ideas, even if a reference to other authors is included;

- c. failing to clearly indicate in the text for instance by means of quotation marks or a particular layout that literal or near-literal quotations have been included in the work, even if a correct reference to the sources has been included;
- d. paraphrasing the contents of another person's texts without sufficient reference to the sources; e. reproducing another person's audio, visual or test materials, or software or program codes without reference to the sources, and in doing so passing these off as one's own work;
- f. submitting a text that has previously been submitted, or is similar to a text that has previously been submitted, in the context of assignments for other courses;
- g. reproducing the work of fellow students and passing it off as one's own;
- h. submitting papers obtained from a commercial agency or written (whether or not for payment) by another person.

# Please familiarise yourself thoroughly with UvA General rules concerning Fraud and Plagiarism

# Specification workload

The time and effort students are expected to invest in the course comprises six main components:

- (1) Reading and reflecting on all core literature in advance of the lectures;
- (2) Attending lectures and engaging actively.
- (3) Preparing for and completing the case research assignment
- (4) Actively contribute to the group presentation
- (5) Working on the final research essay.

Taken together these activities amount to up to 20 hours a week of active studying and they enable students to learn and engage with the material in order to realize the learning outcomes of the course.

## Literature/materials

All of the *required* readings will be available electronically through Canvas.

A select number of supplementary readings will be made available on Canvas. For those that are not available, it is the student's responsibility to find materials either through the UvA library (<a href="http://uba.uva.nl/en/home">http://uba.uva.nl/en/home</a>) or via Google Scholar.

#### **Date Final Grade**

The final grade will be communicated within 15 working days after submission of the final assignment.

#### **Political Violence**

Program Overview 2021/2022

	Date	Theme	Assignments and deadlines		
1.	November 5	Course Overview and Introduction			
2.	November 12	Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism			
3.	November 19	Civil Wars			
4.	November 26	Genocide and Mass Killings	Research Case Assignment Due		
5.	December 3	Terrorism			
6.	December 10	Vigilantism			
7.	December 17	Afterlives and Legacies of Conflict/Wrap Up			
Final Research Paper due January 21st, 2022.					

# **Reading List**

# 1. Friday, November 5 – Course Overview and Introduction

# Required Readings:

Paul Staniland. 2017. "Armed Politics and the Study of Intrastate Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(4): 459-467.

Francisco Gutierrez-Sanin and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2017. "What Should We Mean by 'Pattern of Political Violence'? Repertoire, Targeting, Frequency, and Technique." *Perspectives on Politics* 15(1): 20-41.

Amelia Hoover Green (2013). "How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps." <a href="https://www.ameliahoovergreen.com/uploads/9/3/0/9/93091546/howtoread.pdf">https://www.ameliahoovergreen.com/uploads/9/3/0/9/93091546/howtoread.pdf</a>

# Supplementary Readings:

Stathis N Kalyvas. 2019. "The Landscape of Political Violence." In *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*. Eds. Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Therese Pettersson et al. 2021. Organized violence 1989–2020, with a special emphasis on Syria" *Journal of Peace Research* 58(4): 809–825.

Benjamin Valentino. 2014. "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 89-103.

# 2. Friday, November 12 – Ethnic Conflict and Nationalism

# Required Readings:

Ashutosh Varshney. 2009. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, eds. Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel?: New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62(1): 87–119.

Adria Lawrence. 2010. "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule." *International Security* 35(2): 88-122.

V.P. Gagnon. 2004. *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. <u>Chapter 1 (1-30) only.</u>

# Supplementary Readings:

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

Ashtoush Varshney. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." World Politics 53(3): 362-398

Dawn Brancati. 2006. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60(3): 651-685.

Steven Wilkinson. 2004. Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

# 3. Friday, November 19 – Civil Wars

# Required Readings:

Nicholas Sambanis. 2004. "What is civil war? Conceptual and empirical complexities of an operational definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6): 814-858.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Oxford Economic Papers 56: 563-595.

Francisco Gutierrez Sanin and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2014. "Ideology in civil war: Instrumental adoption and beyond." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 213-226.

Amelia Hoover Green. 2016. "The Commander's Dilemma: Creating and controlling armed group violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(5): 619-632.

#### Supplementary Readings:

Shivaji Mukherjee. 2018. "Colonial Origins of Maoist Insurgency in India: Historical Institutions and Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(10): 2232-2274.

Anastasia Shesterinina. 2016. "Collective Threat Framing and Mobilization in Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 110(3): 411-427.

Jeremy Weinstein. 2007. Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sarah Zukerman Daly. 2012. "Organizational legacies of violence: Conditions favoring insurgency onset in Colombia, 1964-1984." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(3): 473-491.

# 4. Friday, November 26 – Genocide and Mass Killings

#### Required Readings:

Scott Straus. 2012. "Destroy Them to Save Us: Theories of Genocide and the Logics of Political Violence." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(4): 544-560.

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

Lee Ann Fujii. 2009. *Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Introduction (1-22) and Chapter 3 (76-102).

#### Supplementary Readings:

Robert Braun. 2016. "Religious Minorities and Resistance to Genocide: The Collective Rescue of Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust." *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 127-147.

H. Zeynep Bulutgil. 2015. "Social cleavages, wartime experience, and ethnic cleansing in Europe." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(5): 577-590.

Barbara Harff. 2003. "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 57-73.

Stuart Kaufman. 2006. "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence." *International Security* 30(4): 45-86.

Scott Straus. 2015. Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

#### 5. Friday, December 3 - Terrorism

# Required Readings:

Ben Saul. 2019. "Defining Terrorism: A Conceptual Minefield." In *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*. Eds. Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Robert A Pape. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.

Assaf Moghadam. 2008/2009. "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks." *International Security* 33(3): 46-78.

Julie Chernov Hwang and Kirsten E. Schulze. 2018. "Why They Join: Pathways into Indonesian Jihadist Organizations." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30(6): 911-932.

# Supplementary Readings:

Erica Chenoweth. 2013. "Terrorism and Democracy." Annual Review of Political Science 16: 355-378.

Connor Huff and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2018. "How the Public Defines Terrorism." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31(1): 49-80.

Anna A Meier. 2020. "The Idea of Terror: Institutional Reproduction in Government Responses to Political Violence." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(3): 499-509.

# 6. Friday, December 10 – Vigilantism

#### Required Readings:

Regina Bateson. 2020. "The Politics of Vigilantism." Comparative Political Studies 54(6): 923-955.

Michael Gorup. 2020. "The Strange Fruit of the Tree of Liberty: Lynch Law and Popular Sovereignty in the United States." *Perspectives on Politics* 18(3): 819-834.

Sana Jaffrey. 2020. "In the state's stead? Vigilantism and policing of religious offence in Indonesia." In *From Stagnation to regression? Indonesian democracy after twenty years*, eds. Eve Warburton and Thomas Power. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies: 303-325.

Adrienne LeBas. 2013. "Violence and Urban Order in Nairobi, Kenya, and Lagos, Nigeria." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48: 240-262.

# Supplementary Readings:

David M. Anderson. 2002. "Vigilantes, Violence and the Politics of Public Order in Kenya." *African Affairs* 101(405): 531-556.

Amy Kate Bailey, Stewart E. Tolnay, E.M. Beck and Jennifer D. Laird. 2011. "Targeting Lynch Victims: Social Marginality or Status Transgressions?" *American Sociological Review* 76(3): 412-436.

Lee Ann Fujii. 2021. Showtime: The Logic and Power of Violent Display. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Danielle F. Jung and Dara Kay Cohen. 2020. Lynching and Local Justice: Legitimacy and Accountability in Weak States. Cambridge Elements in Political Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nicholas Rush Smith. 2015. "Rejective Rights: Vigilantism and Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *African Affairs* 114(456): 341-360.

# 7. Friday, December 17 – Afterlives and Legacies of Conflict

#### Required Readings:

Kate Cronin-Furman and Roxani Krystalli. 2020. "The Things They Carry: Victims' Documentation of Forced Disappearance in Colombia and Sri Lanka." *European Journal of International Relations* 27(1): 79-101.

Laia Balcells. 2011. "The Consequences of Victimization on Political Identities: Evidence from Spain." *Politics and Society* 40(3): 311-347.

Erin Lin. 2020. "How War Changes Land: Soil Fertility, Unexploded Bombs, and the Underdevelopment of Cambodia." *American Journal of Political Science* (Early View).

# Supplementary Readings:

Christian Davenport, Havard Mokleiv Nygard, Hanne Fjelde, and David Armstrong. 2019. "The Consequences of Contention: Understanding the Aftereffects of Political Conflict and Violence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22: 361-377.

Stefano Costalli and Andrea Ruggeri. 2019. "The Long-Term Electoral Legacies of Civil War in Young Democracies: Italy, 1946-1968." *Comparative Political Studies* 52 (6): 927–61.

Timothy Longman. 2017. Memory and Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dan Slater. 2010. Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.