



Politics and International Relations

**POLITICS 356:**  
*Comparative Perspectives on Ethno-Political  
Violence*

Semester One 2018

**Lecture:**

Thur 9 and 11am

ALR1/421W-201

**Discussion Hour:**

Fri 10am

BLT204/106-204

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## DESCRIPTION

This course offers a theoretical and practical introduction to the causes and prevention of violent conflict. It examines the leading explanations of five forms of collective violence – ‘deadly ethnic riots’, communal conflict, civil war, separatist insurgency and genocide. It examines why some places face these forms of conflict and mass killing and others don’t. It also considers how individuals can come to commit the most heinous acts against others. The course examines the role of religion, ethnonationalism, economic competition, political power, racism and privilege in motivating people to kill people from other ethnic groups and religions. We look at a number of historic and current cases of each form of conflict, explaining these events and testing the utility of the relevant theories. Cases examined include: religious riots and ethno-separatism in India, Indonesia, Myanmar and elsewhere; communal war in the Solomon Islands, Indonesia and Kenya; civil war in Syria separatist rebellion in Bougainville, Thailand and the Philippines; genocide in Rwanda, Indonesia and the Holocaust. A later module introduces some of the main concepts and policies of conflict prevention, including those currently used by international development agencies and national governments. A particular question we will examine in those later modules is should the international community intervene with force to protect people from atrocities and war crimes?

### Course Readings

Weekly and additional readings are provided on Canvas. It is important that you read as many of these readings as you can each week before the lectures so you can get the most out of the course, obtain diverse perspectives on an issue, make a substantial contribution to discussions (and of course be best placed to earn a high grade).

The lectures will present a number of cases of different forms of violent conflict. I encourage you to search for information about other cases not covered in the course and use these in your essays and other assignments. You are also welcome to use and test other theories not discussed in the lectures.

## ASSESSMENT

### Overview

Multiple Choice testI	10%
Multiple Choice testII	10%

Essay (1,500 words)	40%
Exam (2 hours)	40%

### ***Multiple Choice Test I (10%)***

Date           **Thursday 29 March** (in class)

This test will involve multiple choice questions on the main topics covered so far in the lectures.

### ***Multiple Choice Test II (10%)***

Date           **Friday 25 May** (in class)

This test will involve multiple choice questions on the main topics covered so far in the lectures.

### ***Essay (40%)***

Due:           **Monday 28 May** (via Canvas and in hardcopy)

Length:       1,500 words

See below

### ***Examination (40%)***

Date:           TBA

Duration:     Two hours

Students will need to write two essays which reflect the main themes of the course.

## **Essay Writing**

Your essays are to be written as formal pieces of scholarship. They should be analytical and go well beyond a summary of existing arguments. Because this is a Comparative Politics course your essays must incorporate both theory and a comparison between at least two case studies (ie countries, sub-national regions or conflicts).

Good advice on essay writing in the social sciences can be found at the following link:

<http://blogs.bu.edu/jgerring/files/2013/06/Adviceonessaywriting.pdf>

For an alternative structure, your essay might incorporate the following sections: an introduction; a theoretical section; two case studies; analytical section; and conclusion. Guidelines for each of these sections follow.

The **Introduction** should introduce the topic and your puzzle (for example, some countries experience civil war while others with such similar pasts and contemporary conditions do not). State the analytical question to be addressed in the essay (ie Why do some countries experience civil war and others do not?). The introduction should also summarise your argument, the structure of the essay and briefly state your conclusion.

The **Theoretical Section** discusses what the literature says about the question you are addressing, the different (sometimes competing) answers to that question, and which theoretical explanation you find most compelling or how all of them fail to do answer it satisfactorily. You should then formulate a hypothesis from the literature in the form of an answer to your question (ie “Civil war occurs when an economic crisis unites previously united elites and masses against a regime”).

The **Case Studies** should examine in some detail two cases of relevance to your question. For example, dealing with the current hypothetical study you might examine the civil wars in Syria and South Sudan. Give as much detail as is possible in a short essay section, particularly information related to your hypothesis (ie economic crisis uniting elites and masses).

The **Analytical Section** will then examine the two cases in comparative perspective, telling the reader what they tell us about the hypothesis (ie whether it was correct or failed to explain the wars). You can also argue that the hypothesis proved partially correct but that your comparative study demonstrated the importance of an additional factors (perhaps past atrocities between the ethnic group associated with the regime and another large ethnic group).

The **Conclusion** should restate your puzzle, question, how you approached it and summarise your argument and your conclusion.

You should cite *at least* ten (twenty is better) scholarly articles, chapters or reports for your essay. Please do not use Wikipedia, online sources, blogs or other non-academic sources. For the case studies you should try and use *at least* two different authors / sources for each case.

***Essay Assessment criteria:***

- Critical engagement with the relevant literature;
- Clear and logical statement of a research problem and question on an important topic in conflict;

- Comprehensive examination of the relevant theoretical and comparative literature;
- Logical and systematic argument which is developed through a comparison of two or more relevant cases;
- Clarity of your argument and language;
- Breadth and depth of coverage and analysis;
- Adequate referencing and bibliography.

*Please remember when submitting your work:*

- One and a half or double space all written work;
- Keep a copy of all work submitted;
- Late work will be penalised (see below);
- Submit a hard copy to Human / Social Sciences Building and a copy via Canvas.

The electronic copy passes through Turnitin, the anti-plagiarism application (see the below discussion on Turnitin). Please remember this, it is very unfortunate when students are found to have committed plagiarism.

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## **PLAGIARISM, TURNITIN AND ESSAY SUBMISSION**

### **UNIVERSITY POLICY ON CHEATING**

*“The University of Auckland will not tolerate cheating, or assisting others to cheat, and views cheating in coursework as a serious academic offence. The work that a student submits for grading must be the student’s own work, reflecting his or her learning. Where work from other sources is used, it must be properly acknowledged and referenced. This requirement also applies to sources on the world-wide web. A student’s assessed work may be reviewed against electronic source material using computerised detection mechanisms. Upon reasonable request, students may be required to provide an electronic version of their work for computerised review.”*

A political studies degree is designed to help instil the ability to develop independent thought and to teach you to think critically about a variety of issues in the world, as well as to teach you facts about political history or electoral systems. We are primarily interested in whether you can assess arguments put forward by others and then construct your own ideas and arguments, using the work of others to inform and support you. The assessments in this course reflects those goals, and that is one of the reasons that academic honesty is so important – in order to demonstrate that you are

learning these valuable skills, you need to hand in coursework that is written in your own words and that shows what research you have done. Copying and pasting or reproducing another person's work will lead to bad grades or worse, not just because it constitutes plagiarism, but also because it does not demonstrate that any learning has actually occurred.

## WHAT IS PLAGIARISM?

Plagiarism is taking another person's words or ideas (from any kind of source, including the internet) and making it appear as if they were your own. A variety of acts constitute plagiarism, some of which may not be immediately obvious. All of the situations below are considered plagiarism and will be dealt with accordingly:

- Direct copying word-for-word from another source without indicating that it is a quotation and without citation
- Copying word-for-word without quotation marks, even if a citation is included
- Changing a few words in a passage and then citing it as if it were paraphrased
- Rewording and paraphrasing another person's ideas without citing that work
- Resubmitting one of your own old assignments from another course, or using large portions of a previous assignment in a new assignment
- Buying an assignment online, paying someone to write one for you, or using all or part of another student's past or present assignment

## HELP AND ADVICE

If you are feeling confused about what plagiarism is or how to avoid it through proper referencing and writing, see your tutor in the first instance. You can also visit the Student Learning Centre, on Level 3 of the Information Commons. They offer a variety of courses to help you learn important skills for researching and writing, as well as one specifically on how to avoid plagiarism. You can also make an appointment for a one-on-one tutorial where you can discuss issues like referencing. The SLC is free so have a look at their programmes at <http://www.cad.auckland.ac.nz/index.php?p=slc>

## TURNITIN

**Turnitin** is an online plagiarism detection system that is standard for all essays submitted in our department. Turnitin compares submitted assignments to all electronically available material, including its database of all formerly submitted assignments. It then produces an originality report that gives as a percentage the amount of material matching to other sources, as well as links to those sources. You are required to use this system for the essays set in this course. **Remember: it is required, not optional.**

## HARD COPY ESSAY SUBMISSION PROCESS (But don't forget Canvas too)

All essays must be submitted to

## **Human Sciences / Social Sciences Building**

BEFORE 3PM On the due date.

Your essay must include an official Assignment Tracking Sheet properly completed and stapled to the back of your essay. Tracking Sheets **MUST** be downloaded from Canvas. Remember to attach the Turnitin receipt. At 3PM on the due date, essays will be collected and distributed to the marker. Any essays received after 3PM on the due date will be **marked as late**.

All students are expected to have read and understood the latest version of the Department's 2016 *Coursework Guide*. The 2016 Edition is available free-of-charge from the Department Office or via the Department website ([https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/arts/documents/PIR-coursework\\_guide-2016.pdf](https://cdn.auckland.ac.nz/assets/arts/documents/PIR-coursework_guide-2016.pdf)) (under 'Help and Advice'). As stated above, students are advised to consult the teaching assistant (Yadira) or lecturer at the earliest possible opportunity if, for any reason, they experience problems in completing an assessment.

### **Penalties for Late Coursework**

1. Essays submitted up to **two** days late will receive a 5 mark penalty.
2. Essays submitted **three to five days** late will receive a 10 mark penalty.
3. Essays submitted **six to ten days** late will receive a 25 mark penalty.
4. Essays submitted **more than ten days** past the due submission date will not be accepted and the student will be given a 0 mark for the essay.

**Note:** These regulations do not include approved extensions. Such extensions are limited to documented special consideration cases or those with medical certificates.

Plussage **DOES NOT** apply in this course.

## **LECTURE SCHEDULE**

There are no tutorials for POL356. In the Friday class we will have discussions in small group and other settings. It will also be your chance to ask any questions, raise any points you have from that week's lectures.

### **Introduction**

**Week 1 starting 26 Feb**

**Introduction**

Violent conflict between ethnic, religious and other groups within states is more common than often realised. The lecture in this introductory week provides an overview of the incidence and impact of civil conflict, discussing a number of examples from the Asia Pacific region and beyond. The second lecture discusses the structure, goals and main questions of the course.

*Readings:*

Mary Kaldor, *New & Old Wars: organized violence in a globalized era*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012 (3<sup>rd</sup> ed), "Introduction".

Stathis Kalyvas, "New and Old Wars: A Valid Distinction?", *World Politics*, Vol 54, No 1, October 2001, pp99-118.

Rogers Brubaker & David D Laitin, "Ethnic and nationalist violence", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 1998: pp 423-52.

## **Week 2 starting 5 March**

### **Debates in Conflict Study & the Comparative Method**

The lectures in Week 2 introduces the main theoretical perspectives in conflict study and discusses some central debates in conflict study. There remains no agreed consensus on the causes of collective violence, despite the centrality of conflict and its prevention to political thought. Debate continues over the relative importance of ethnic and religious identity, political and economic interest, religion and other factors in motivating conflict. The lecture also introduces the method of Structured Comparison used for testing and developing theory.

*Readings:*

Benjamin A. Valentino, *Final Solutions*, Chapter 2: Perpetrators and the Public.

Chaim Kaufmann, Rational Choice and Progress in the Study of Ethnic Conflict: A Review Essay, *Security Studies*, 14:1, (2005) pp 178-207.

Donald Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*, Chapter 2: Ethnic Boundaries, Riot Boundaries.

Roger D. Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence*, Chapter 2: An Emotion-Based Approach to Ethnic Conflict.

*Additional Readings:*

R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, Chapter 2: Religion's Violent Accomplices. (Not in the library, I will email).

## **The Deadly Ethnic Riot**

### **Week 3 starting 12 March**



The lectures this week examine the riot, a short but highly violent and destructive form of group violence surprisingly common in many developing nations. The 'Deadly Ethnic Riot' is most often a sudden attack by large mobs against the members of another ethnic or religious group and their homes, shops and possessions. The first lecture this week introduces the common features of the riot and some explanations of their occurrence. The second lecture conducts an examination of several case studies from Indonesia, India, and China.

*Readings:*

Donald Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*, Conclusion.

Paul Brass, *The Production of Hindu Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, Chapter 1: Explaining Communal Violence.

ICG, *Communal Violence in Indonesia: Lessons from Kalimantan* (I will email).

Ward Berenschot, "The Spatial Distribution of Riots: Patronage and the Instigation of Communal Violence in Gujarat, India", *World Development*, vol 39, no 2, pp 231 – 230.

Chris Wilson, *Ethno-Religious Violence in Indonesia*, Chapter 4: Escalation – Ternate and Tidore.

## **Communal Conflict**

### **Week 4 starting 19 March**

Week 4 examines the larger and more protracted form of collective violence between two ethnic and religious groups. Communal conflict can last up to several years, claim thousands of lives and be highly destructive to a sub-national region or an entire country. The first lecture provides definitions and leading casual explanations for this form of ethnic war. The second lecture examines cases of communal conflict in Indonesia, the Solomon Islands, and Kenya.

*Readings:*

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Chapter 4: Group Comparison and the Sources of Conflict.

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict", *Survival*, vol 35, 1 (1993) pp 27-47.

Monica Duffy Toft, "Indivisible territory, geographic concentration, and ethnic war", *Security Studies*, 12:2, (2002): pp 82 – 119.

John T. Sidel, *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad*, Chapter 6: From Lynchings to Communal Violence.

Sinclair Dinnen, "Winners and Losers: Politics and Disorder in the Solomon Islands 200 – 2002", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol 37, no 3, 2002, pp 285 – 298.

V. P. Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia", in *International Security*, 19, 3, (Winter 1994/95).

## **Rebellion and Civil War**

### **Week 5 starting 26 March**

Week 5 looks at Civil Wars and the Revolutions which often precede them. The first lecture looks at leading theories of revolution and civil war onset. The second lecture considers several cases including the Arab Spring and the Syrian Civil War

#### *Readings:*

Paul Collier & Anke Hoeffler, "On economic causes of civil war", *Oxford Economic Papers* 50, 1998, pp 563-573.

James Fearon & David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War", in *American Political Science Review*, vol 97, no 1, February 2003.

Mohammed M. Hafez, *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2003: "Introduction: The Challenge of Explaining Muslim Rebellions".

Robin Yassin-Kassab & Leila Al-Shami, *Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War*, Pluto Press, 2016: Chapter 3 "Revolution From Below" (Online in Library) – and the rest of the book if you are interested in Syria.

Brownlee et al, *The Arab Spring: pathways of repression and reform*. Start with "Theorizing the Arab Spring".

### **First Test 30 March**

### **Mid Semester Break (2 – 15 April)**

## **Separatist Insurgency**

### **Week 6 starting 16 April**

Many ethnic or religious minorities wage civil war in an attempt to break away and form their own independent state. Many such conflicts last for several decades and lead to substantial casualties and physical and economic damage. The lectures this week build on the previous week and discuss several leading explanations of separatist insurgency. The lectures also examine cases of separatist insurgency in Indonesia, Thailand, Papua New Guinea and Northern Ireland.

#### *Readings:*

Jerry Muller, "Us and them: the enduring power of ethnic nationalism", *Foreign Affairs*, 87, 2, (March – April 2008).

Duncan McCargo, *Tearing Apart the Land*, Introduction.

Anthony Regan, "The Bougainville conflict: Political and Economic Agendas" in Karen Ballentine & Jake Sherman (eds), *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed & Grievance*, Boulder & London: Lynne Reiner, 2003.

Edward Aspinall, "The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51, 6: pp 950-972.

## **Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide**

### **Week 7 starting 23 April**

Week 7 begins our study of ethnic cleansing – the forced expulsion of populations, and genocide – mass violence with the intent to exterminate a group in whole or in part. The lectures consider which forms of violence constitute ethnic cleansing and genocide and discuss the main explanations of genocidal killing. The lectures also examine numerous cases of mass killing, ethnic cleansing and genocide – colonial genocides, the Holocaust, Rwanda and Indonesia (1965/66) – and consider the differences and similarities between them. A key contemporary case study in our discussion will be the recent violence against the Rohingya in Myanmar. Does this case constitute counter insurgency campaign, ethnic cleansing or genocide? And among other issues, the lectures will also consider whether the intent to destroy a non-ethnic (ie class or ideology based) group should be considered genocide.

#### *Readings:*

Robert Gellately & Ben Kiernan (eds), *The Specter of Genocide: mass murder in historical perspective*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, Chapter 1: The study of Mass Murder and Genocide.

Scott Straus, "Second Generation Comparative Research on Genocide", in *World Politics*, vol 59, no 3, April 2007, pp476 - 501.

Benjamin Lieberman, "'Ethnic Cleansing' versus Genocide", in Donald Bloxham and A Dirk. Moses (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. If you wish to focus on genocide look through this volume online in the library.

Robert Cribb, "Political Genocides in Postcolonial Asia", in Donald Bloxham and A Dirk. Moses (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Genocide Studies*. (On Indonesia see also Robert Cribb, "Genocide in Indonesia, 1965-1966", *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3, 2, 2002: pp 219-239.)

### **Week 8 starting 30 April**

Week 8 continues our examination of genocide including a major debate in Holocaust Studies, the Goldhagen – Browning debate over the relative importance of anti-Semitism in motivating the mass killing of Jews during WWII. We will also consider whether the Holocaust should be considered unique among genocides.

*Readings:*

Scott Straus, *The Order of Genocide*, Chapter 8: Rwanda's Leviathan.

Yehuda Bauer, "Is the Holocaust Explicable?", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol 5, no 2, 1990: pp145-155.

Ben Kiernan, "Hitler, Pol Pot, and Hutu Power: Common Themes in Genocidal Ideologies", in Alan Rosenbaum, *Is the Holocaust Unique?: Perspectives on Comparative Genocide*.

Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York: Knopf, 1996, Chapter 15.

Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, New York: Harper Collins, 1992, Chapter 18.

## **Atrocities and Sexual Violence**

### **Week 9 starting 7 May**

Week 9 examines the terrible atrocities which occur during war, including torture, dismemberment and rape. Questions considered in the two lectures this week include: how and why do people commit such acts?; are they driven by irrational rage and sadism or do they hold a rational purpose?; could any of us commit atrocities given the right circumstances? In our focus on wartime rape and sexual violence during conflict we will consider the causes of the often high incidence of such violence and also why rates of offending vary from conflict to conflict.

*Readings:*

Valentino, B., Huth, P., & Balch-Lindsay, D. (2004). "Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare", *International Organization*, 58(02), 375–407.

Wood, Elisabeth Jean, "Sexual Violence During War: Toward an understanding of variation", in Stathis Kalyvas et al, *Order, Conflict and Violence*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Dara Cohen, "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross National Evidence (1980-2009)", *American Political Science Review*, vol 107, no 3, August 2013.

Macartan Humphreys, "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War", *American Political Science Review*, vol 100, no 3, August 2006.

## **Humanitarian Intervention and Conflict Prevention**

### **Week 10 starting 14 May**

In this two week module we examine how to bring fighting and mass killing to an end. The lectures this week examine the phenomenon of humanitarian intervention. We consider issues of sovereignty, power and other obstacles to intervention and how

the new concept of Responsibility to Protect has attempted to overcome these. A central question in this discussion is: do we have an obligation to use military force to halt mass killing, or does the use of force simply beget more violence? If we take the latter position, what alternatives exist when the next round of killing inevitably starts?

*Readings:*

Alex J. Bellamy, *The Responsibility to Protect, A Defense*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, Introduction.

Benjamin Valentino, "The True Costs of Humanitarian Intervention: The Hard Truth About a Noble Notion", *Foreign Affairs*, vol 90, no 6, 2011.

Luttwak, E. (1999). Give war a chance. *Foreign Affairs*, 78(4), 36–44.

**Week 11 starting 21 May**

Once the fighting has stopped, or as it slows down, international agencies and national governments expend a great deal of resources attempting to resolve and prevent conflict, unsurprisingly given the impact of violent conflict on human security and economic development. The lectures this week examine principles of peacebuilding, consider the best approaches to ending and preventing violent conflict and some of the difficulties involved in creating and implementing successful peace agreements. A central obstacle to successful peace agreements are actors known as 'spoilers', violent actors who attempt to undermine the peace and return to war. The lectures also discuss institutional and political reform designed to ameliorate conflict such as regional autonomy for rebellious groups, and electoral reform designed to prevent the inflammatory political rhetoric which so often leads to violence.

*Readings:*

Stephen Stedman, "Introduction." In Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens (eds), *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reiner, 2002. (Not in library)

Michelle Ann Miller, "Conclusion." In Michelle Ann Miller (ed), *Autonomy and Armed Separatism in South and Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012. Not in library. I will send.

Benjamin Reilly, "Institutional Designs for Diverse Democracies: Consociationalism, Centripetalism and Communalism Compared." *European Political Science* 11 (2012): 259-270.

Mats Berdal, Reflections on post-war violence and peacebuilding, in Astri Suhrke & Mats Berdal (eds), *The Peace In Between: Post-war violence and peacebuilding*.

**Essay Due 3pm Monday 28 May**

**In class test Friday 25 May**

## **Conclusion**

**Week 12 starting 28 May**

The final week returns to the main questions of the course. Why do people so often fight and kill along ethnic lines? What explains the terrible atrocities which occur during ethnic violence? What is the best way to explain the main forms of ethno-political violence? Does collective violence occur spontaneously or does it require coordination? Is the propensity for violence inherent in human nature and does this mean we are all capable of brutality?

The lectures also provide some guidance for exam preparation. There will be no Discussion Hour this week.

## **READING LIST**

This reading list is designed as an introduction to some of the leading literature on violent conflict. There are many sources on Talis / Canvas which are not listed here. In order to gain a very high grade for your essays and presentations you will be required to go beyond the essential weekly readings and use this reading list and other scholarly works. I have also added additional readings to Canvas. Good ways of finding additional sources on particular topics include searching on Google Scholar and checking the citations of these core readings for more recent scholarship. Also scroll through relevant journals.

Scott R Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Lorraine Aragon, Communal Violence in Poso, Central Sulawesi: Where People Eat Fish and Fish Eat People, *Indonesia*, vol 72, Oct 2001, pp45 – 80.

Marc Askew, *Conspiracy, politics, and a disorderly border: the struggle to comprehend insurgency in Thailand's deep south*, East West Center, 2007.

Edward Aspinall, Robin Jeffrey and Anthony J. Regan (eds), *Diminishing Conflicts in Asia and the Pacific; Why some subside and others don't*, London and New York: Routledge, 2013. (Good chapters on Aceh, Bougainville, Solomon Islands and more)

Edward Aspinall, "The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51, 6: pp 950-972.

- Karen Ballentine & Jake Sherman (eds), *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed & Grievance*, Boulder & London: Lynne Reiner, 2003.
- Robert Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late Century Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Yehuda Bauer, "Is the Holocaust Explicable?", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol 5, no 2, 1990: pp145-155.
- Judith Bennett, *Roots of Conflict in Solomon Islands: Though much is taken, much abides: Legacies of Tradition and Colonialism*, Canberra: State Society and Governance in Melanesia Discussion Paper 2002/5.
- Mats Berdal, *Reintegrating Groups After Conflict: Politics, Violence and Transition*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.
- Jacques Bertrand, "Legacies of the Authoritarian Past: religious Violence in Indonesia's Moluccan Islands", in *Pacific Affairs*, Spring 2002, pp57-85.
- Jacques Bertrand, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Indonesia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Gardner Bovington, *The Uyhgurs: strangers in their own land*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Paul Brass, *Theft of an Idol: Text and context in the study of collective violence*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Paul Brass, *The Production of Hindu Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*, New Delhi, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, New York: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Rogers Brubaker & David D Laitin, "Ethnic and nationalist violence", *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 1998: pp 423-52.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Paul Collier & Anke Hoeffler, "On economic causes of civil war", *Oxford Economic Papers* 50, 1998, pp563-573.
- Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About it*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Paul Collier & Nicholas Sambanis, *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*, vol 1: Africa, Washington DC, World Bank, 2005.
- Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler & Nicholas Sambanis, "The Collier-Hoeffler model of civil war onset and the case study project research design", in Paul Collier & Nicholas Sambanis, *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*, vol 1: Africa, Washington DC, World Bank, 2005.

- Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: the quest for understanding*, Princeton: Princeton University Press: 1994.
- Robert Cribb, "Genocide in Indonesia, 1965-1966", *Journal of Genocide Research*, 3, 2, 2002: pp 219-239.
- Kathleen Cunningham, *Inside the Politics of Self-Determination*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Sinclair Dinnen, "Winners and Losers: Politics and Disorder in the Solomon Islands 200 – 2002", *The Journal of Pacific History*, vol 37, no 3, 2002, pp 285 – 298.
- Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars: the merging of development and security*, New York: Zed Books, 2001.
- James Fearon & David Laitin, Explaining Interethnic Cooperation, *American Political Science Review*, vol 90 no 4, Dec 1996: 715-735.
- James Fearon & David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War", in *American Political Science Review*, vol 97, no 1, February 2003.
- Jonathon Fox, "Towards a dynamic theory of ethno-religious conflict", in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol 5, No 4, 1999, p433-444.
- Jonathon Fox, "Do Religious Institutions Support Violence or the Status Quo?", in *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol22, 1999.
- John Fraenkel, *The Manipulation of Custom: from uprising to intervention in the Solomon Islands*, Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2004.
- Greg Fry, "Political Legitimacy and the Post-colonial State in the Pacific: Reflections on Some Common Threads in the Fiji and Solomon Islands Coups", in *Pacifica Review*, vol 12, number 3, October 2000.
- V. P. Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia", in *International Security*, 19, 3, (Winter 1994/95).
- Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan (eds), *Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005.
- Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, New York: Knopf, 1996.
- Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Worse Than War: Genocide, Eliminationism and the Ongoing Assault on Humanity*, Abacus, 2009.
- Mohammed M. Hafez, *Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2003.
- A Heijmans, N Simmonds, and van de Veen, H (eds), *Searching for Peace in Asia Pacific: An overview of Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding Activities*, Boulder Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 2004 (Includes a lot of case studies of peacebuilding).



- Ben Hillman & Gray Tuttle (eds), *Ethnic Conflict & Protest in Tibet & Xinjiang: Unrest in China's West*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2016.
- Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Donald Horowitz, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Human Rights Watch, *Ballots to Bullets: Organized Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Governance*, vol 20, no 1, March 2008.
- Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?", *Foreign Affairs*, vol 72, no 3, Summer 1993: pp 22-49.
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## **GENERAL ELECTRONIC RESOURCES**

### Useful Journals

Articles on violent conflict appear in many academic journals. Some useful journals include:

*International Security*

*Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*

*Journal of Conflict Resolution*

*Contemporary Southeast Asia*

*African Affairs*

*Journal of Peace Research*

*Conflict, Security and Development*

*Journal of Genocide Research*

*Security Studies*

*Pacific Affairs*

### **Other Sources**

An excellent source of information on cases of violent conflict are the reports and briefings of human rights, crisis monitoring and development organisations. Useful organisations include but are not limited to: Human Rights Watch; Amnesty International; International Crisis Group; The International Association of Genocide Scholars and the World Bank. Reporting on conflict appears in all newspapers such as The New York Times, International Herald Tribune, the Guardian etc, and in current affairs magazines such as Time, Economist, and Newsweek.

### **Websites**

<https://cidcm.umd.edu/landing/Publications>

UN Office on Genocide Prevention and R2P: This is quite useful, particularly the definitions and other information under Atrocity Crimes.

<http://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/index.html#>

Global Terrorism Database: <http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>