Kappa (working title)

24th June 2022

1 Introduction

In North West Indonesia, 1976, GAM (Gerkan Aceh Merdeka: Free Aceh Movement) declared the independence of the province of Aceh under the leadership of Hasan di Tiro, a descendent of the last Sultan of the Aceh region. Initially the movement consisted of the remnants of an old religious network, with its roots in the old Sultanate and armed struggle against the Dutch. The resulting conflict lasted until 2005 and resulted in an estimated 3,402 combat related fatalities after 1989 (Aspinall, 2009; Pettersson and Eck, 2018; Sundberg and Melander, 2013).

In Ethiopia in 1975, the Dirge regime tried to arrest the Sultan of Aussa. However, anticipating the move, the Sultan's son had already sent men to neighboring Somalia to train in guerilla warfare (Shehim, 1985). The Sultan evaded arrest and launched the Afar Liberation Front (ALF) organized around the men trained in Somalia. The heavy handed response of the Ethiopian military left over a thousand civilian casualties (UCDP/PRIO, 2021).

In 1960, in the newly formed Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville) (current Democratic Republic of the Congo) South Kasai declared unilaterally to have seceded from the nascent Republic under the leadership of traditional chief Albert Kalonji (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002). He then preceded to have his father declared the new Mulopwe, thus resurrecting the royal title of the Luba kingdom (1585-1889). His father promptly abdicated, handing the title to Kalonji (now styling himself Albert Ditunga, 'homeland'). South Kasai fought for independence for just over two years, provoking a campaign by the

Congolese armed forces that at the time was characterized by UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld as an act of genocide (Nzongola-Ntalaja, 2002).

There is no shortage of examples where previously independent states are involved in outbreaks of organized violence. Yet, both in the media and in the academic literature these examples are referred to as ethnic conflicts, and surprisingly little attention has been given to their connections to past statehood. On the other hand, there are also examples of old state institutions working for peace, mediation and reconciliation. For example, in Burkina Faso the Mogho Naba of the Mossi kingdom of Ouagadougou served as a mediator following a coup, and apparently was instrumental in preserving the peace (BBC). [Another example of peace inducing].

The nascent academic literature on organized violence and the legacies of past statehood reflects these diverging sets of examples. While some, in line with the examples given above, find a conflict inducing effect of past states (Englebert, Tarango and Carter, 2002; Paine, 2019), others argue that past experience of statehood provides experience and institutions that are peace inducing (Wig, 2016; Wig and Kromrey, 2018; Depetris-Chauvin, 2016). Yet, all but one of these articles conceptualize states in terms of currently (politically relevant) ethnic groups and the degree to which these groups have connections to past states. This risks excluding states that are not readily tied to a current politically relevant ethnic group. It further risks discounting experiences of statehood of groups who have lived as a part of states for hundreds of years, without being the dominant ethnic group. Additionally, this literature has been almost exclusively limited to Africa. The diverging conclusions in the literature could in part be a result of the paucity of quantitative data on past statehood. The literature has been limited to using either the Murdoch map, which codes 'jurisdictional hierarchy' of ethnic groups, or the State Antiquities Index, which measures country level experience of statehood (including from foreign rule). In summary, there is a need for more and better data, in order to answer the puzzle of whether there is a positive or negative association between state histories and organized violence. Potentially, both statements are true, but vary according to circumstances. In which case, what determines when and where past statehood is conflict inducing or peace inducing?

How is organized violence shaped by the underlying topography of historical statehood? This thesis seeks to answer this overarching research question, adding to our general understanding of organized violence. Increasing the general understanding of concepts that matter to society, and attaining

knowledge in general, is an intrinsic goal of social science as a whole. The hope that better understanding organized violence will contribute to conflict prevention and de-escalation, is a further motivating factor for this thesis. However small or insignificant the real world impact on these processes may be.

The main argument of the thesis is that historical states can have both conflict inducing and conflict reducing effects depending on the type of conflict in question[1], the number of historical state entities contained within the boundaries of modern countries, and the distance between where the pre-colonial state was present and the post-independence capital[1]. Specifically, when historical state legacies are located far from the capital, they provide *symbols of sovereignty* that can be use to mobilize for violence, and *local elite networks* are often left behind and can mobilize their networks if their interests are threatened by the government. While on the other hand, when located near the capital, historical state legacies provide a foundation on which modern states could be built. By providing legitimacy and institutions such as an experienced security apparatus, pre-colonial states can significantly limit violence when it breaks out in the capital.

The number of historical state legacies within a country matters because the more of these there are, the more likely that one or more of them will be located in a remote part of the country (and thus be conflict inducing). Furthermore, increasing the number of potential claims making actors incentivises the government to punish (engage in conflict) groups it would otherwise accommodate in order to prevent other groups to make similar demands.

Just like the modern state has incentives to prevent its citizens from killing each other and destroying each others property (such activities represent a dead loss to tax income), historical states had the same incentives. As a consequence, historical state legacies provide local institutions and traditions of conflict resolution, as well as build up trust between communities, which prevent outbreaks and escalation of communal violence. Where little or no historical state legacies exist, and the modern state is weak or absent, groups are limited to less effective mechanisms (such as intra group policing) to keep the peace. In other words, when it comes to *communal violence* there is an inverse relationship between historical state legacies and organized violence.

The thesis addresses the research question across four individual articles

[1] African sample.

and contribute to the literature through substantial data collection, and novel theory building, which breaks new ground on a so far 'under-researched' part of the larger peace- and conflict research. The thesis has contributed to two data projects. The Anatomy of Resistance Campaigns (ARC) and the Geo-International Systems Data (Geo-ISD). The ARC project collected yearly data on 1,426 organizations engaging in maximalist dissent (non-violent and violent) in Africa from 1990 to 2015. The Geo-ISD geocodes the borders of independent states in Africa from 1800 to 1900, which are used to generate a measure of their respective historical presence per 0.5 X 0.5 degrees grid cell.

In summary, the thesis finds that the historical legacies of statehood's relation to organized violence depends on:

1) Distance to capital. In paper 3 I find that more pre-colonial state presence is conflict inducing far from modern capitals, but conflict reducing when close.

2) The number of historical states within modern a modern states. In paper 2 we find that having more distinct historical state legacies is conflict inducing on the state level.

3) Type of organized violence. While both paper 2 and 3 find conflict inducing effects of historical state legacies on civil conflict, paper 4 finds that the relationship to communal violence is the other way around. Paper 4 finds that the stronger the presence of pre-colonial states, the less communal violence an area experienced in the post-cold war period.

2 Existing literature

2.1 Correlates of civil war and non-state conflicts

Studies of civil conflict have found a number of correlates,[2] some more robust than others. While democratization itself may be a violent process, intermediate regimes are most prone to civil conflict of all regime types, stable democracies are the least prone to such violence (Hegre et al., 2001; Goldstone et al., 2010). Oil and natural resource wealth, has been found to increase the likelihood of conflict onset and on the duration of conflict (Lujala, 2010;

[2] As opposed to *causes*, which will be discussed in Section 4.1.

Lujala, Gleditsch and Gilmore, 2005; Lujala, 2008; Ross, 2006). As opposed to various measures of ethnic diversity, such as fractionalization, excluding ethnic groups from power reliably predicts conflict (Cederman, 2013). As does rough and mountainous terrain (Buhaug, 2010; Hegre and Sambanis, 2006).

Although the causal mechanisms underlying the relationship remains hotly debated, the negative association between economic development and civil conflict is the most consistent finding of all in civil conflict studies. Poverty itself (Hegre and Sambanis, 2006), slow growth (Hegre and Sambanis, 2006) and negative income shocks have all been linked to increased risk of conflict.

Relative to the civil conflict literature the literature on non-state violence is still in its infancy. Nevertheless, works have examined subjects ranging from electoral violence (Fjelde, 2020; Salehyan and Linebarger, 2014; Burchard, 2015), to rebel on rebel violence (Fjelde and Nilsson, 2012; Lilja and Hultman, 2011; Cunningham, Bakke and Seymour, 2012; Nygård and Weintraub, 2014) and refugees (Böhmelt, Bove and Gleditsch, 2018). More closely relate to this thesis is the literature that has examined communal violence.

The quantitative literature on communal conflicts has focused on structural causes that makes conflict more likely to trigger. In particular climate and environmental factors have been shown to increase rates of communal violence (Turner et al., 2011). Both negative (Detges, 2017; Fjelde and von Uexkull, 2012; van Weezel, 2019; Petrova, 2022) and positive (Theisen, 2012; Witsenburg and Zaal, 2012) shocks to precipitation, have been shown to trigger communal violence. Others have pointed to socioeconomic inequality (Fjelde and Østby, 2014; Peters, 2004), mixed legal systems (Eck, 2014), marginalisation and corruption (Benjaminsen and Ba, 2009) or state-building on pastoral lands (Hagmann and Mulugeta, 2008).

2.2 Historical legacies

The literature on the long term effects of past statehood can broadly be separated into the economic, political, and conflict outcomes, which I will briefly summarise below.

2.2.1 Economic legacies

There is a growing literature demonstrating how historical states and institutions still have lasting legacies today. Most of this literature has examined the effects of past statehood (Bockstette, Chanda and Putterman, 2002; Borcan, Olsson and Putterman, 2018) and institutions related to statehood (Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2013, 2018; Englebert, 2000) and largely agree on a positive effect of statehood and institutions (Nunn, 2020; Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2016) on long term economic development. However, Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002) argues that European colonialism lead to a 'reversal of fortunes' for the areas it affected. Poorer areas with less population density (areas less likely to be at the center of states), were less likely to be colonised early, 'deeply', and with European settlers (in part because of states more effectively resisting colonization). This lead to a larger transfer of European institutional innovations, and consequently a reversal of economic development (Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson, 2002).

2.2.2 Political legacies

A different branch of research has examined political implications of state legacies. Building on Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2002) , Hariri (2012) test parts of the proposed mechanism and finds that more pre-colonial experience of statehood decreased the likelihood of being colonised, while it increased the likelihood of only being *indirectly* colonised. Furthermore, not being colonised, or being so indirectly, depresses post-colonial democracy (Hariri, 2012). On the other hand, through a number of case studies Wilfahrt 2018; 2021 has documented how areas and groups with pre-colonial experiences of statehood are better at distributing public goods equitably and efficiently, and are generally more likely to adopt non-group based legislation and politics. The actors themselves ascribe this to their history of cooperation (under the umbrella of pre-colonial states). This is even true in Senegal, the poster child of French direct rule and dismantling of pre-existing institutions (Wilfahrt, 2021).

2.2.3 Legacies of violence and contention

Living up to the second part of the quote attributed to Charles Tilly, 'War made the state, and the state made war.', past states can leave legacies of

conflict. Historical levels conflict in Africa have been found to positively affect modern levels of conflict (Besley and Reynal-Querol, 2014), although the direction of the relationship is does not hold in a global sample, and depends on colonial experiences and wars of colonial liberation (Fearon and Laitin, 2014).

Similar to Clapham (1996)'s notion of limited statehood, another branch of literature has emphasized how African boundaries reflected colonial competition between European powers, rather than the local ethnic, geographic or political situation. For example, Alesina, Easterly and Matuszeski (2011) uses 'squigglyness' of international boundaries as a measure/instrument for whether the boundaries were drawn with local knowledge (endogenously), or not (exogenously). They find that straightness of international boundaries, what they term artificial borders, are linked with lower levels of economic development. The presumed mechanism (which is not tested) is that artificial borders, borders drawn by an exogenous process, group together multiple ethnic groups and split others. These ethnic constellations then make it difficult for the state to create a sense of nationhood and get people to work toward common goals. Englebert, Tarango and Carter (2002) tests this more explicitly and find that states whose borders split ethnic groups more, are more often involved in international disputes. They also find that countries whose boundaries group together ethnic groups with more different forms pre-colonial political organization[3], are more susceptible to civil wars, political instability and secession attempts. Following Englebert, Tarango and Carter (2002) the conflict-literature has also uncovered links between ethnic partitioning and civil conflict (Ito, 2020; Michalopoulos and Papaioannou, 2016), as well as links between resulting trans-border ethnic kin relations and conflict (Cederman et al., 2013; Salehyan, 2009; Weidmann, 2015).

A handful of recent studies have examined how legacies of statehood can shape violence and contention even to this day. Wig (2016) finds that African ethnic groups with more centralized pre-colonial institutions are less likely to be involved in ethnic conflicts. He argues that many of these institutions are persistent, and that institutions reduce commitment problems by reducing uncertainty and imposing constraints on leaders (Wig, 2016). Similarly, Depetris-Chauvin (2016) finds that areas with more long run exposure to statehood have experienced fewer years of post-cold war conflict (of any type

[3]As measured by the standard deviation of Murdock (1967)'s jurisdictional hierarchy index.

coded by the GED). He attributes this to better equipped with mechanisms to establish and preserve order, and supports this by showing that individuals in countries with more state history are more favorable to state institutions and traditional leaders, and that such ares are more resistant to the conflict inducing effect of negative economic shocks (Depetris-Chauvin, 2016).

On the other hand, Paine (2019) examined ethnic groups in Africa organized as pre-colonial states (PCS-groups), and how relate to non-PCS-Groups. He finds that PCS-groups are likely to be in power, and that while in power they tend to exclude other ethnic groups, increasing the risk of internal coups and civil conflict from other groups (Paine, 2019). Overall, he finds that non-PCS groups in countries with a PCS-group participated in major civil wars 4.9 times more frequently than non-PSC-groups in countries without a PCS-group. Indeed, of the thirty-two ethnic group-level major civil war onsets after 1989, thirty occurred in countries with a PCS-group.

Studying communal conflicts Wig and Kromrey (2018) employ bargaining theory from state based conflict studies to demonstrate that institutions (like ones stemming form former statehood) can provide credible non-violent bargains between groups. They find that the more institutions an ethnic group has, the better it is able to avoid conflict. They also find a conflict reducing effect of more inclusive, democracy-like, institutions (Wig and Kromrey, 2018).

2.3 Moving beyond the literature

3 Concepts

3.1 States

At the core of the thesis lies the concept of 'the state'. However, the term is ambiguous. Three of the four individual articles in the thesis use a specific operationalisation, derived from Butcher and Griffiths (2019) and Butcher and Griffiths (2017), but the concept merits further discussion than what the article format allows. The subject of the thesis requires a definition that is broad enough to include African and Asian states in the nineteenth century and modern European states. It needs to be flexible to the changes in how we think of the state across time (even in Europe, states were very different from today), as well as across space. While at the same time it needs to draw the line at some point to say what is not a state. To this end the thesis

employs Clapham (1996)'s three aspect of the state, which allows assessing degrees of statehood along three axes.

The first aspect of the state is the *administrative*. The ideal of which is an organization (government) which exercises sovereign jurisdiction (the final legal arbiter) over a given population and territory. To exercise this sovereignty the government controls a coercive apparatus (military and police forces), which is usually financed by taxing the population. In return, modern states are usually expected to ensure the welfare of its citizens/population (externalities, health, security, education etc.). A state in this sense may be more or less able to control its population, and more or less able/willing to provide welfare.

The second aspect of the state is the 'idea of the state', as constructed in the minds of at least those who run it, but usually also a portion of the population living within a state. This construction provides legitimacy for its institutions and its use of coercive force (governmental legitimacy), and for who, or where it should rule (territorial legitimacy). Today most states draw their governmental legitimacy, their right to rule, from claiming (more or less truthfully) to rule on behalf its citizens through democratic principles.[4] Historically, various forms of religious justification has been the norm (divine right of kings in Europe, the mandate of Heaven in China, or rulers claiming to be gods or dependents of gods themselves [what's the legitimation for caliphs and amirs?]). Claims to territorial legitimacy (or lack thereof) usually rests on a mix of historical precedence and the principle of national self determination. Past claims include, rights to inheritance, religiously based rights to world conquest, or the infamous 'white mans burden'. The 'idea of the state' and legitimacy is key to ensuring compliance with minimal use (or threat) of coercion. [Reference Buzan and others in this section]

The third aspect of the state is the system of international recognition. States recognising each other, and respecting (or even protecting) each others sovereign territories. In the current globalized world, international recognition has become essential to participate in international transactions. States that are lacking in the first and second aspects of statehood can lean more on the international system, through aid (both from other states but also non-state actors) and ideology. Prior to the twentieth century, multiple international state systems existed. Even as late as the nineteenth century what mattered to most Muslim rulers was recognition by the Caliph in Is-

[4]Even the most blatant autocracies make this claim. [cite Fukuyama?]

tanbul, not what the kings or queens of Europe considered had to say on the matter. Similarly in East Asia China (the Middle Kingdom) was at the center of its tributary-based international system, while South East Asia was organized in the Mandala state system [Northedge and others?].

States can conform to each of these three aspects to a greater or lesser extent. In other words, states have an overall degree of statehood, but also a qualitative variation in terms of the individual aspects. [Poor performance] in one aspect can be compensated, but only in part by strong performance in other. Taiwan for example, has a robust and well functioning state apparatus, and is de facto in undisputed control of its territory, enjoys a high degree of legitimacy and [compliance] from its citizens, but struggles with a lack of full international recognition. Israel has a [strong] administrative statehood, and enjoys recognition from the most relevant actors (the exception being several Muslim majority countries), but is viewed as largely illegitimate among many of its Palestinian population [fair assumption?] (roughly 20% of its population). Somalia (and other so-called 'failed states') [score] poorly across all three aspects of statehood. The Somali government barely functions in and around the capital, let alone the rest of its [purported] territory. Its government is viewed as corrupt and illegitimate. Its borders do not reflect the settlement of the Somali ethnic group, lacks any historic president, and are the product of exogenous factors (external diplomatic negotiations). What little claim to statehood Somalia has rests almost exclusively on the international system. [Link to artificiality here?]

[Relevance of state creation/formation/building. Contrasting the 'natural' process with the artificial? Or is that going too deep?]

Because this thesis is concerned with differences between state composition relative to the local histories of statehood, I need to discuss how these compositions can come about. I separate between endogenous forms of state formation and exogenous forms of state formation. Relative to the three aspects of state endogenous state formation relies on administrative state capacity and the idea of the state, while exogenous forms of state formation relies almost exclusively on the international system of states.

Scott (2017) Against the grain - state formation - a look at how states first emerged

Vast majority were non-state until at least 1600. -Frontiers Most of the history of the state is about its interactions (trading and raiding) with the 'barbarians' beyond its frontiers. Stable, lasting states are rare outside, and prior to, the Westphalian state system (Egypt, China and Rome are notable

exceptions). The default is a perilous existence, where states rise, thrive and fall in rapid succession. Ending at the hand of other states, barbarian invasions, population exodus or any combination of the above. The arrival of gunpowder is the game changer. Led to a period of state 'building' or stating in Africa (and elsewhere?) prior to the arrival of European colonialists [Source on this?]. For many states, or parts of the world, this was still the reality in the nineteenth century. As described by Scott (2009). States ruling an agrarian core surrounded by a large, permeable frontier. State penetration into the frontier was in the from of relations with groups, ranging from tributary, through allied or hostile to extracting 'protection' payments from the state. The point of this discussion [which should be made clear earlier, or perhaps means that this belongs elsewhere] is that drawing a line on a map between what is and is not part of a state, or what areas belong to what state, prior to the globalisation of the Wesphalian model allowed for a great deal of variation in the frontier zone, based on what ones conceptualisation of statehood. A more accurate representation would be shade/gradient of statehood that fades into the frontier, for most of Africa and Asia in the nineteenth century. Boundaries between states, when they occurred, would usually be in the frontiers of each state, where neither would have full control.

The extent of states then, would vary according to their ability to project military power outside their alluvial/grain producing core(s). This, in turn rested on their administrative and 'idea of state' aspects of statehood, as the limited and often local systems of statehood had limited influence. Clapham (1996)'s argument is that post-independence Africa represents a new model of statehood, where statehood rested almost exclusively on the international system. They were in large part created by (large and important wars of liberation/de-colonization notwithstanding) and eventually sustained by the international system. At the very least their *extent* was. This amounted to a novel form of limited, or artificial statehood. I argue that this process is not unique to Africa. In Asia too, Europeans created colonial states, and left countries with limited degrees of administrative statehood and vague 'ideas of state'.

3.1.1 Historical state entities and pre-colonial states

At this point a further clarification of the terms 'past states', 'pre-colonial states', and 'historical state entities' (the term used in the second article of the thesis) is needed, as these terms are used more or less interchangeably in

this [introductory chapter/narrative]. The reason they are used interchangeably is that they do refer to the same *concept*. However, they [apply to/are used in] different *contexts*. Specifically, I use 'pre-colonial states' in the context of Africa, where the majority of states were at some point colonies. The other two terms are used in the global context and refers to states that now form parts of sovereign states. The latter refers is further restricted to the time period of the second article of the thesis (1816-1939).

3.2 Maximalist dissent and organized violence

Another key [aspect] of the thesis is collective action; people cooperating in a more or less organised fashion, to a achieve more or less common goals. Organizing in such a way is harder than it might seem. Olson (1965) and Tullock (1971) emphasise the difficulty of overcoming the barriers to collective violent action and the free rider problem. For example, organizing to overthrow a despised dictator involves substantial risks, while the benefit for successfully overthrowing him befalls equally to everyone, regardless of participation. In particular, this thesis is concerned with two partially overlapping forms of collective action, namely *maximalist dissent* and *organized violence*. Figure 1 illustrates how these forms of collective action relate to each other, and the following discussion will provide more details.

3.2.1 Maximalist dissent

Tarrow 1998, 'power in movement is cumulative'

A central concept in the first article of the thesis is maximalist dissent. The concept builds on Tilly (1978)'s definition of collective dissent as observable action involving multiple people, beyond normal institutional procedures for realizing political goals. This could include anything from strikes, sit-ins, shirking, large scale demonstrations and other non-violent tactics, to riots, terrorism or armed rebellion. It does not include acts of dissent executed in an individual capacity, acts that lack clear political goals and acts within institutional political bounds (regular functioning of political parties, lobbying, electoral participation etc.). The second part of the concept, maximalist, refers to the political goals of the act (event). The definition builds on the criteria used by the NAVCO 1 data set, which only includes resistance campaigns where the objective was maximalist (i.e. regime change, secession, or self-determination) as opposed to limited (i.e. greater civil liberties or eco-

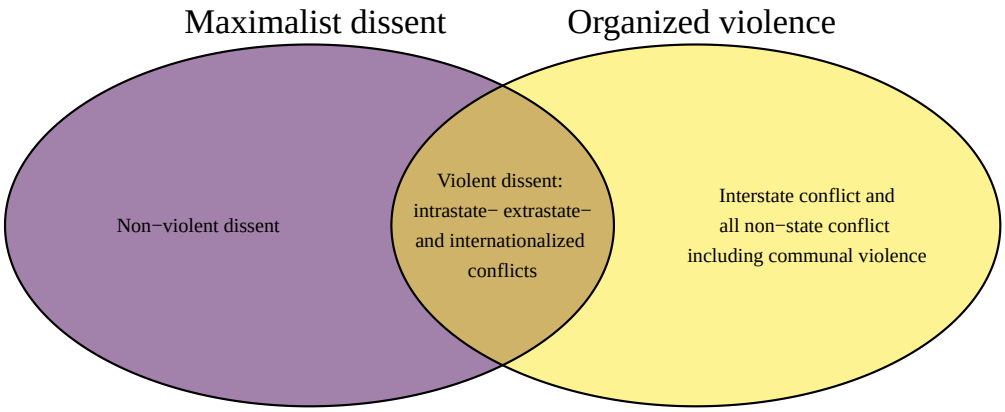

Figure 1: Categories of violence and dissent

nomic rights) [cite online appendix of NAVCO]. The ARC data (presented in article 1) clarifies this further as demands that calls for changes in the political structure that would significantly alter the executive's access to state power, the rules with which executives are selected, or the policy or geographic areas for which the executive has the right to make laws (Butcher et al., 2022).

While the remaining articles of the thesis are concerned with organized violence, most of which represent the violent specter of maximalist dissent (more on this below), the literature on the non-violent form of dissent has [informed] the thesis in a number of ways as well. Understanding how, and when, nonviolent forms of dissent work and when they do not can help us understand when and why people choose to pick up arms and use violence. There is general agreement in the literature that nonviolent dissent (or resistance) is the most effective of achieving maximalist political goals (Chenoweth, Stephan and Stephan, 2011; Stephan and Chenoweth, 2008) such as regime change and democratization (Celestino and Gleditsch, 2013; Bethke and Pinckney, 2019). Why then do some actors still chose violence? Part of the answer could be the size of the target audience (Gleditsch

et al., 2021). Groups whose goals appeal to a large part of the population (such as overthrowing an unpopular autocratic regime) find the mass mobilization that is necessary for nonviolence to be successful easier that groups who appeal to more narrow bases (such as self determination for minorities)(Gleditsch et al., 2021). Economic structures could matter as well (Butcher and Svensson, 2014). A substantial literature is also arguing that repression of nonviolent campaigns or protests, can cause escalations to violence, although there is conflicting evidence (Chenoweth, Perkoski and Kang, 2017; Lichbach, 1987).

Furthermore, a key reason for employing the term maximalist dissent is that there is no sharp dividing line between violent and nonviolent forms of dissent. In her study of the civil war in El Salvador Wood (2003) highlights how rebel groups cooperate and work closely with civil society, and how individual rebels shift between violent and nonviolent forms of dissent. Many predominantly nonviolent movements have violent wings, who increase the likelihood of violent escalation – especially if the nonviolent campaign fails to make progress (Ryckman, 2019).

3.2.2 Organized violence

There are many forms of organized violence, most of which are captured by maximalist dissent. I follow the UCDP and Melander, Pettersson and Themnér (2016) in treating organized violence as the aggregation of the mutually exclusive typologies of one-sided, non-state and state-based violence. One-sided violence is violence committed by formally organised non-state groups or governments against unarmed civilians. State based is what one usually thinks of as armed conflict, or simply war. More accurately, it is armed conflict where at least one side is a government (and the other is not unarmed civilians). This includes inter state conflicts (conflict between states), extrastate conflict (decolonization-conflicts), intrastate conflicts (conflicts within states, i.e. civil conflicts) and internationalised internal conflicts (intrastate conflicts in which at least one party receives troops from another state). Non-state violence is violence perpetrated by named organizations (criminal organizations, political parties, rebel groups etc.) or identity groups (ethnic or religious groups), against one another (without the involvement of government). Non-state violence therefore is seldom driven maximalist dissent, although clashes between political parties or politicised ethnic groups could be potential borderline cases.

This thesis focuses on three forms of organized violence: intrastate, internationalised internal conflict (hereafter referred to collectively as civil conflict) and communal violence.[5]

Communal violence is organized lethal violence between identity groups. These groups can identify along tribal, national, clan, religious, ethnic lines, or any other source of identity, but are not permanently organized for combat, in other words not rebel groups, formally organized militias or state coercive apparatus. A key difference between communal conflicts and civil conflicts is that both parties are, at least nominally/in a de jure sense[6], subject to the higher authority of the government. For further discussion of the concept of communal conflict see Brosché and Elfversson (2012). While events that trigger such conflicts can be often be relatively minor (theft, trespassing, illegal grazing etc.) this type of violence tends to quickly spiral through reprisals and counter reprisals and can rack up large death tolls and often far larger displacement (Horowitz, 2001).

4 Theoretical/conceptual framework

4.1 Models

4.1.1 Grievance

There is a substantial literature explaining the occurrence (and re-occurrence) of civil conflict. This literature can be traced back to a handful of classic studies in the 1960s and 1970s. Gurr (1970)'s theory of relative deprivation and the related 'revolution of rising expectations' (Davies, 1962) focused on how widespread individual discontent laid the ground for revolution. This grievance and deprivation focus was later applied to structural inequalities as well (Muller, 1985; Muller and Seligson, 1987; Scott, 1977).

[5]Historical state entities could matter for interstate conflict. For instance in cases where the borders of historical state entities cross international boundaries, old borders could form the basis of claims making and disputes, such as with the borders of the former empire of Bornu (Hariri, 2012). However, as in the case of Bornu, such disputes can be solved peacefully in international courts. Additionally, three of the four papers rely on an African sample and the continent have seen only one interstate conflict and no extrastate conflicts in the time period covered in the papers.

[6]Gray areas include areas outside de facto state control, or cases where one side acts with government impunity or backing.

The response to this criticism was to shift to meso/group level mechanisms, moving away from strict Marxist/materialist explanations at class or country level. For example, Hechter (1978) argued there was a cultural division of labor, and that civil conflict occurred when cultural and economic groups coincide. Others emphasized competition between ethnic groups for scarce resources (Barth, 1969). Horowitz (1985)'s case studies demonstrated how ethnic groups can garner intense feelings of belonging, collective self-esteem and group worth, and that ethnic conflict was not just competition for scares resources, but *also* for political influence. He anticipated the literature on horizontal inequality by stressing the role of cognitive comparisons between groups as a mechanism for ethnic conflict. Despite the scale of Horowitz's study, there was still a lack systematic empirical support for the idea that grievances (group level or not) could lead to civil conflict. The drive to address this gap was lead by Gurr and the minorities at risk (MAR) project Gurr (1993*a*). In response to Tilly's earlier critique he also added some opportunity to the general argument of grievance in the resulting work (Gurr, 1993*b*).

Responding to this Kalyvas (2006) and others turned to radical disaggregation in an effort to tighten the logic of causal inference. Examining the role of interpersonal grudges and local score settling in civil violence (Kalyvas, 2006, 2008), moral outrage at government injustice and a sense of doing the right thing (Wood, 2003). Reflecting earlier work by Barth (1969), others expressed scepticism of the [use of] ethnic identities in civil conflict research. They argued that ethnic defection is more common than previously assumed (Kalyvas, 2008; Staniland, 2012), and that ethnic identities are essentially undetectable and or too fluid (Gilley, 2004; Chandra, 2006). Commonly used measures in the quantitative literature on ethnicity and civil conflict like ethnic fractionalization (Alesina et al., 2003; Posner, 2004) and polarisation (Montalvo and Reynal-Querol, 2005) also had the issue that blind. The state is not ethnically neutral (Cederman, 2013). Using data from the Ethnic Power Relations (EPR hereafter) project Cederman (2013) and building on previous quantitative efforts (Gurr, 1993*b*; Goldstone et al., 2010) were finally able to put grievances on a solid empirical footing. They found that horizontal ethnic grievances increases the likelihood of conflict (Cederman, 2013). [a bit more]

[The role of climate and environmental factors (Detges, 2017; von Uexkull and Buhaug, 2021)]

4.1.2 Opportunities

The emphasis placed on grievances was not without critics. Charles Tilly and others questioned the lack of empirical support of grievance based arguments (Oberschall, 1978; Brush, 1996). Specifically there seemed to be a discrepancy between the proliferation of grievances and relative rare events of civil conflict (Snyder and Tilly, 1972; Tilly, 1978; Skocpol, 1979).

Seemingly unaware of the existing critiques Collier and Hoeffler (2004) explicitly frame their paper around the 'Greed versus grievance' debate, and forcefully reiterate the previous argument that if grievances caused civil war, then there would be civil war everywhere. Instead they painted a picture of civil conflict being driven by cynical and greedy conflict entrepreneurs, backed by a solid, albeit over simplified (see below), systematic empirical investigation. By the time they revisited their initial article the picture had become more nuanced, using the term opportunities in the place of greed (Collier, Hoeffler and Rohner, 2009). Yet, the fundamental argument and criticism of the grievance motivated literature remained largely unchanged. Also [taking the side of] opportunities Fearon and Laitin (2003) emphasized how fighting in peripheries, rough terrain, state weakness and corruption due to oil evened the odds in favor of rebel groups. Like Collier, Hoeffler and Rohner (2009) Fearon (2004) nuanced their initial stance in their follow up work on civil conflict duration, echoing Weiner (1978) 'Sons of the soil', they argued that concentrated peripheral ethnic groups react violently to perceived incursions.

Weinstein (2005) natural resources provide opportunities for short term rewards, while in poor surroundings rebel leaders must make credible promises of future rewards based on political reform.

4.1.3 Bargaining

The likes of Fearon (1995) and Powell (2006) introduced bargaining theory to international relations. Walter (2002, 2006, 2009) and Cunningham (2006, 2013*a*,*b*) brought it to civil conflict.

(Buhaug, Gates and Lujala, 2009; Cunningham, 2006, 2013*a*,*b*; Walter, 2006, 2009)

Denny and Walter (2014) Unifies all! Ethnic groups are likely to have grievances, are better able to organize (opportunity) and are more likely to face bargaining issues.

		Low levels of state presence	High levels of state presence
State based violence	Near capital	Conflict	Peace
	Far from capital	Peace	Conflict
Communal violence		Conflict	Peace

Table 1: The conditional effects of historical statehood

4.2 The conditional [effects] of historical statehood

The theoretical goal of this thesis is to examine connection(s) between the two overarching concepts of past states and organized violence. To this end, I turn no to the question of what links have already been found between the two, and what is this thesis adding to this literature?

Main 'thrust' is that 'it depends'. Expand on the answer to the puzzle in the introduction. It depends on the relationship between the modern state and old state(s), and on the type of violence.

Some more prior literature: Griffiths (2016) Ahram (2019)

5 Analytical approach

5.1 Data on historical states

Repeat (to some extent) what has been done previously.

ISD -¿ EJIR article

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