

Poli-416: REVOLUTION & POLITICAL VIOLENCE

DÉDIE
AU GOUVERNEMENT
de la
CONFÉDÉRATION GRENAÏNE
HOMMAGE de L'AUTEUR

TODAY'S AGENDA

- 1 What is “identity” and when is it salient?
- 2 Colonial legacies
- 3 Cockburn in Iraq

The Conflict in Northern Ireland

English have weak control of Ireland for centuries

1600s: Dispossess Irish (Catholics) and give land to English/Scottish Protestants in **Ulster**, violence follows

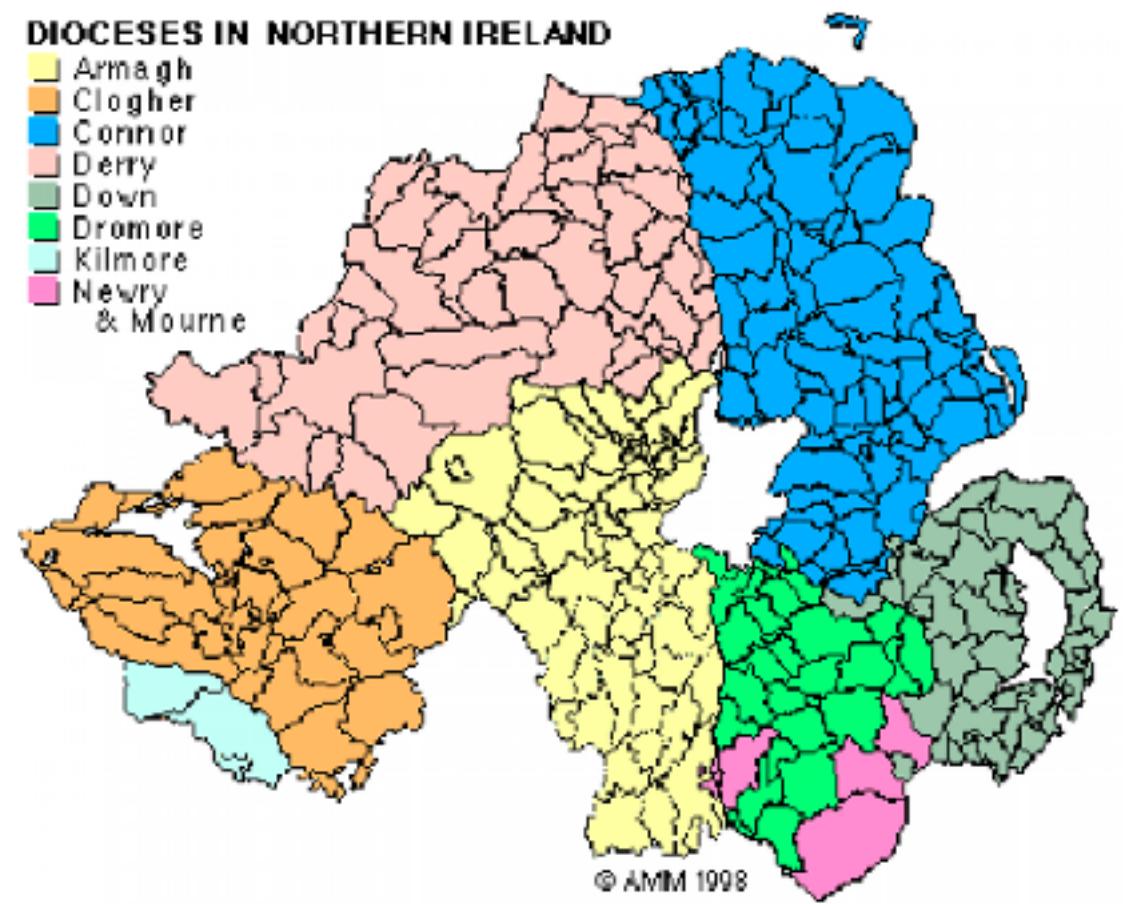
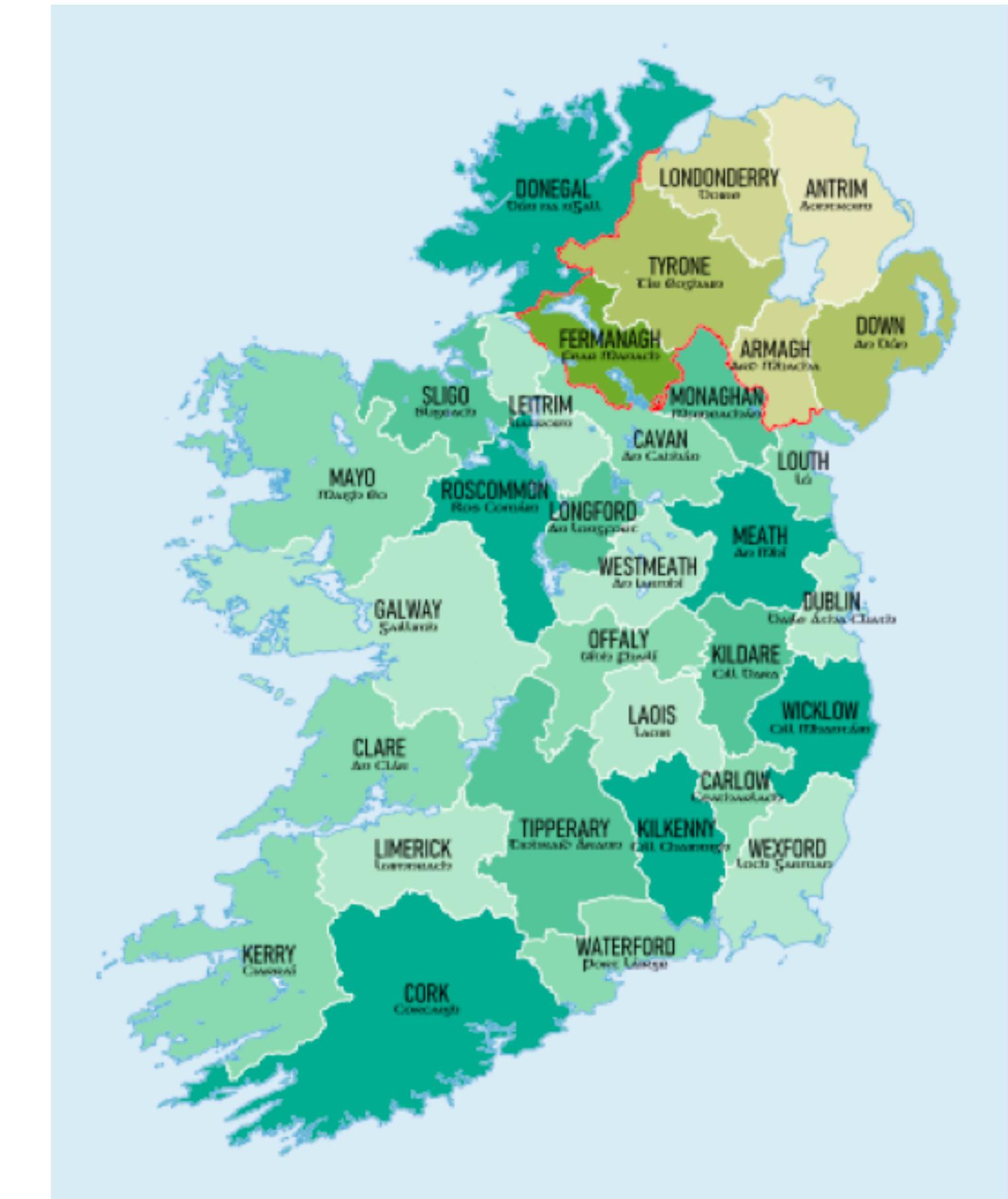
1916: Easter Rising, Irish Republicans seeking independence



Partition

1920s: Ireland gains independence

But **Ulster** to remain with England, and thus Northern Ireland is born



Life in Northern Ireland for Catholics

Catholics in Northern Ireland face discrimination:

- Housing
- Jobs
- Voting
- Police

Organize movement modeled after African-American civil rights movement (1960s)



The Troubles

Series of shootings, riots, bombings in Northern Ireland

Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA)

Ulster Defense Force and Ulster Volunteer Force

3,500 people died



Good Friday Agreement

1998 agreement brings end to conflict

Changes to government,
civil rights legislation



Peace walls in Northern Ireland

End of conflict (?)



'IRA' claims responsibility for Derry car bomb

Updated / Tuesday, 29 Jan 2019 13:28



Bomb detonated outside the courthouse in Derry on 19 January

Brexit isn't helping

Identity and its salience

We all have identities that link us to **broader communities**

The extent to which one (or more) is particularly important to us is its **salience**

How do identities become more/less **salient**?

Identity Salience and Grievances

Is being a **minority** in a multi-group country enough?



Political and economic **exclusion or discrimination**

Not just the poor

But also when there's benefits to making **group-level** demands



Catalonia
wealthiest part of Spain



Santa Cruz department in Bolivia
~30% of National GDP

In General

*“Competition for resources can heighten ethnic tensions for both more prosperous groups, who may desire to **secede to insulate themselves from the redistributive demands by others**, and less prosperous groups, who **may prefer [redistribution]**”*

Lake (2017)

Identity salience and competition In Nigeria

Herders: mobile cattle-ranchers,
need to graze

Farmers: stationary, need land for crops

Laws banning **grazing** in the North, violence, & bad climate have pushed herders South



Land Conflicts and Violence

Herder accidentally (or maybe not?) **grazing** on farmer land

Sporadic fights, murders as herders graze on farmer's land
But today we see **planned** attacks and **militias**

Land conflicts have turned into a **Christian vs. Muslim** thing, why?

Herders tend to be **Muslim**
Farmers tend to be **Christian**



REPORT N° 262 / AFRICA 26 JULY 2018

Stopping Nigeria's Spiralling Farmer-Herder Violence

Rising conflict between herders and farmers in Nigeria is already six times deadlier in 2018 than Boko Haram's insurgency. To stop the bloodshed, the federal government should improve security; end impunity for assailants; and hasten livestock sector reform. State governments should freeze open grazing bans.

The Security Dilemma in Nigeria

Rumors of scattered cases of **herders**, from **the North**, killing farmers

Government absent

How do farmers respond?

Organize, arm for **self-defense** with other **Southern** farmers

How is this **perceived** by herders?

Outcome: mobilized and armed groups along ethnic lines

Barry Posen on The Security Dilemma & Ethnic Conflict

Under state of anarchy (no state),
groups have to provide their own security

Groups take steps to protect themselves

This is perceived as threatening to other groups;
no way to signal defensive intentions

The security dilemma

What you do to improve your security creates reactions that, in the end,
Make you less secure

Why groups? And why ethnic groups?

Proposal

end of semester I rescale pop-quizzes so top student gets 10/10
Example: in December, top student has 8/10 —> +2 for everyone

What is your optimal strategy here?

Barriers to optimal strategy?

Alternative: I rescale **within** frat/sorority

Which is easier? Why?

What do groups get you?

Households = want to rent
landlords = rent homes, pick price
chiefs = adjudicate disputes

Finding

When household and landlord belong to
different tribes

Household pays **higher** rent

Why not discriminate against “own kind”?

Figure II: Distribution of Household Tribes in Kibera

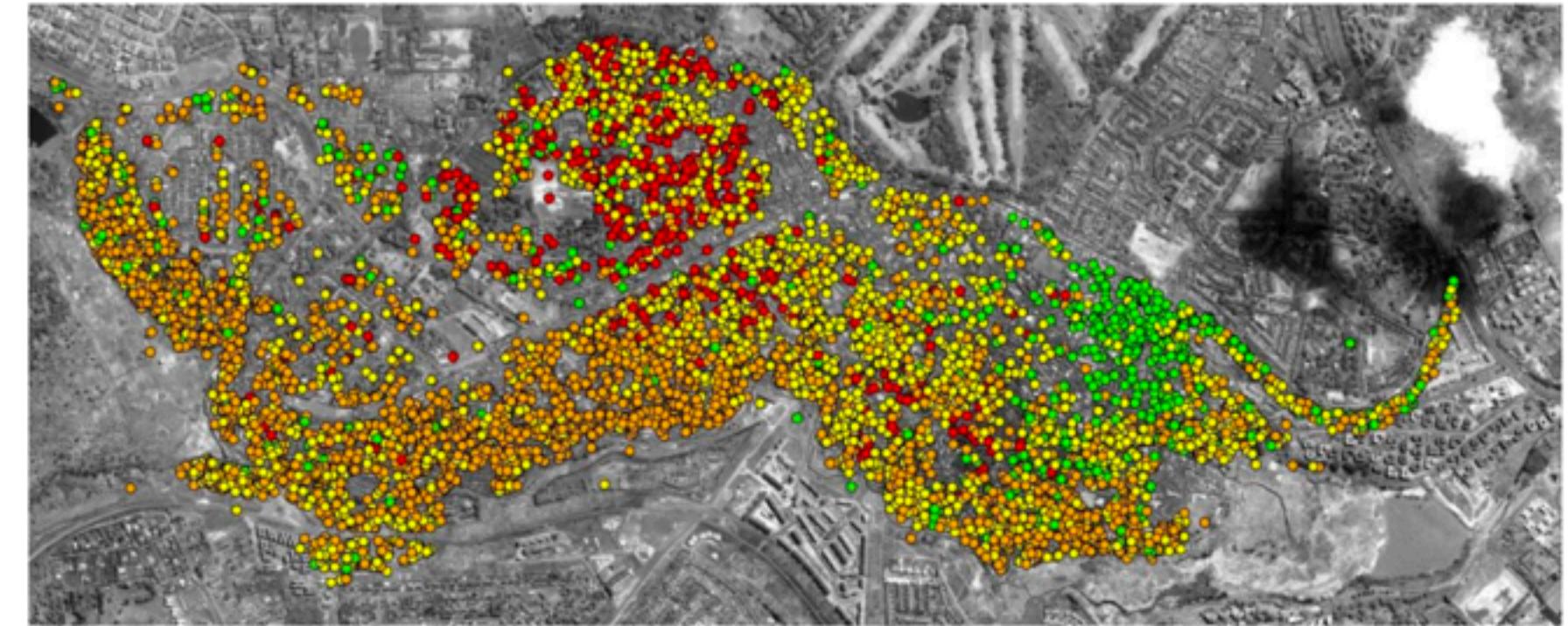
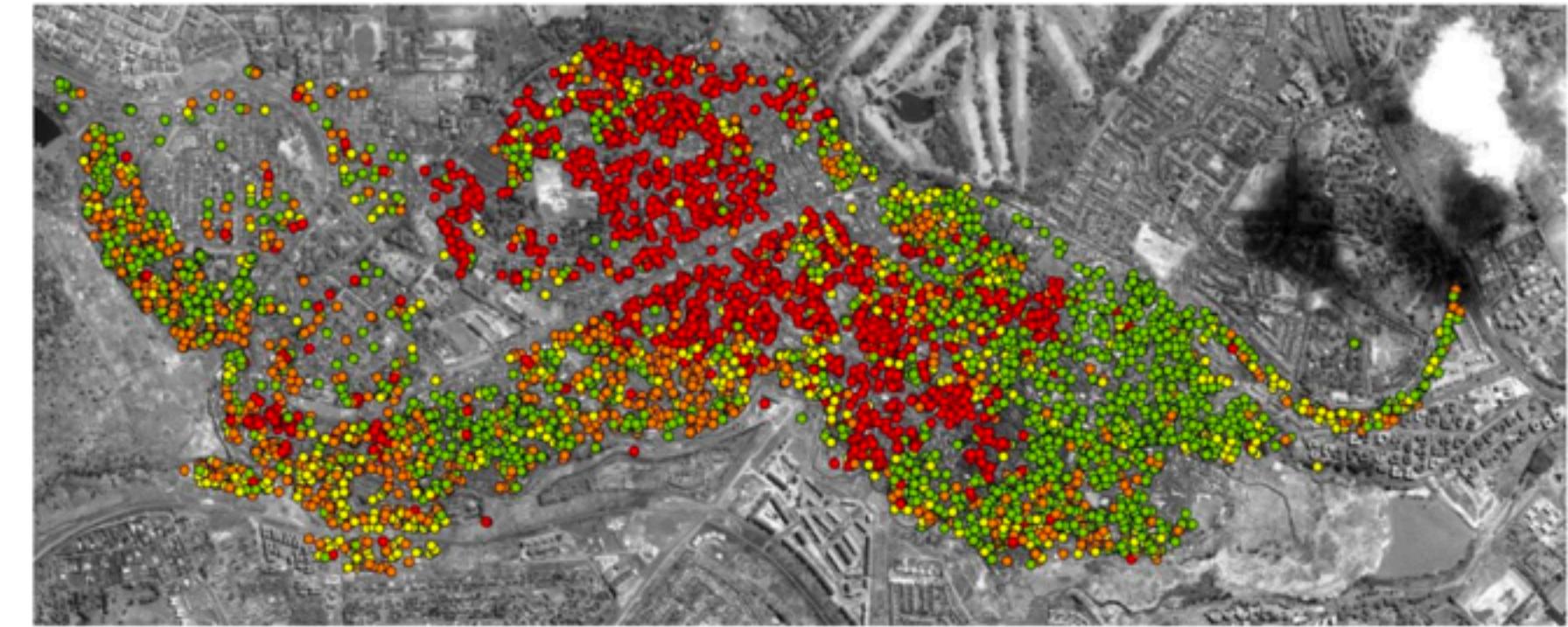


Figure III: Distribution of Landlord Tribes in Kibera



Satellite imagery of Kenyan slum
Stoker et al (2014)

Why groups? Information

Ethnic categories provide basis for commonality, social networks

Reciprocity of good behavior and **sanctioning** of “shirkers” easier *within* groups

Ease of **identification**, harder to hide or mimic
(but notable exceptions)

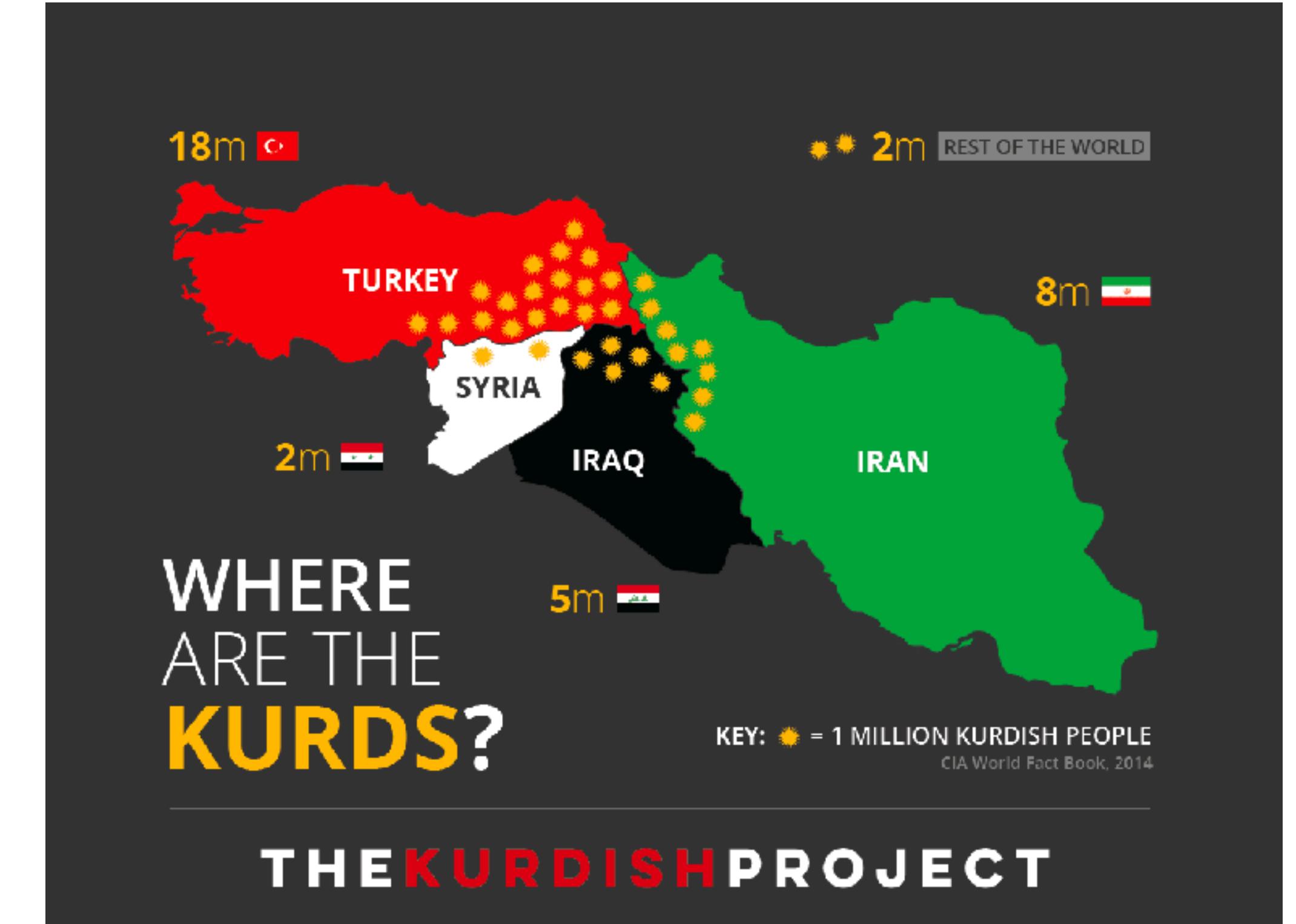
Lower barriers to collective action



Fueling Tensions: Colonialism



Scramble for Africa
Yinka Shonibare

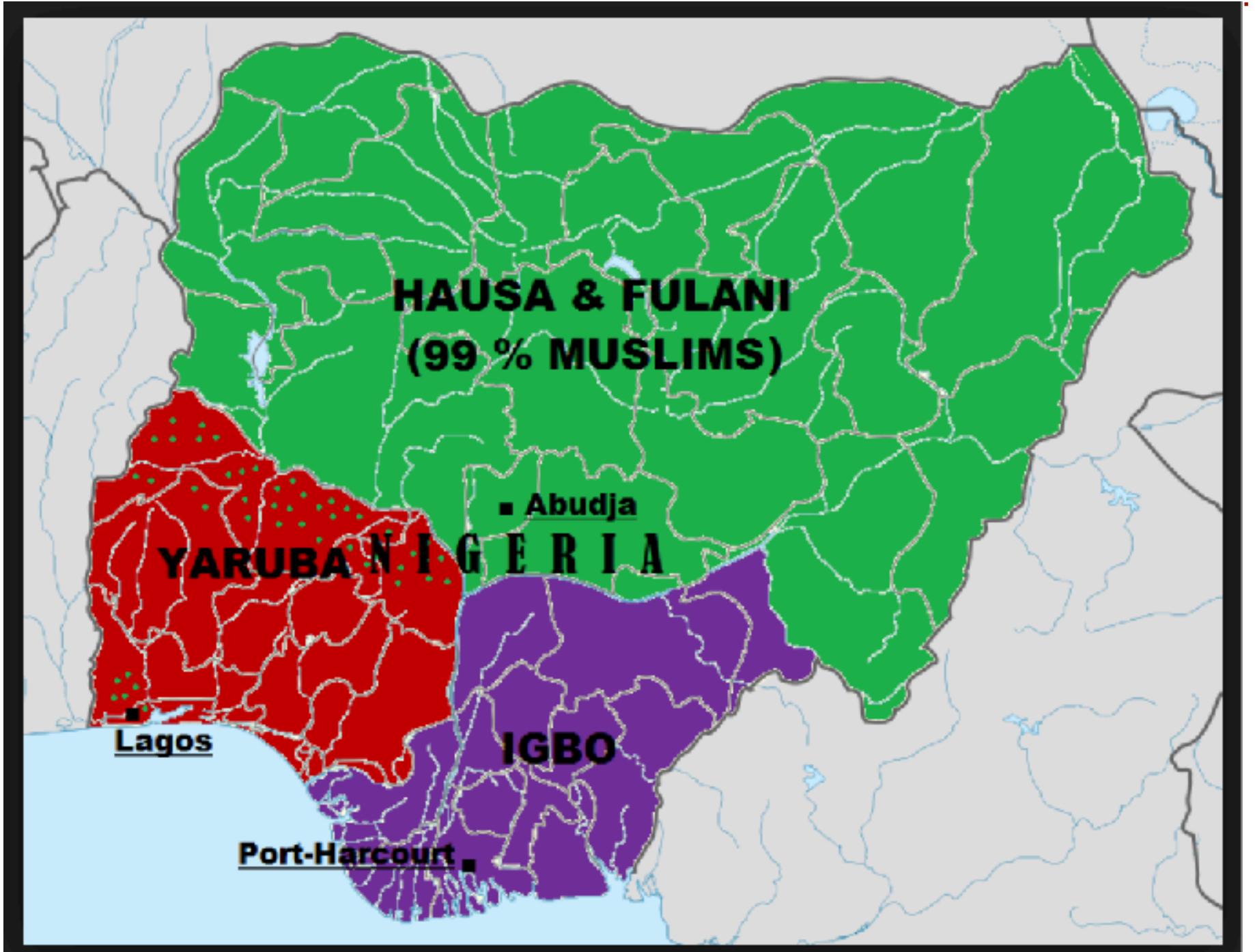


Nigeria

British empower **Hausa** at expense of
Yaruba and Igbo

Biafra War: Igbo pursue
independence

Dramatized in *Half of a Yellow Sun*

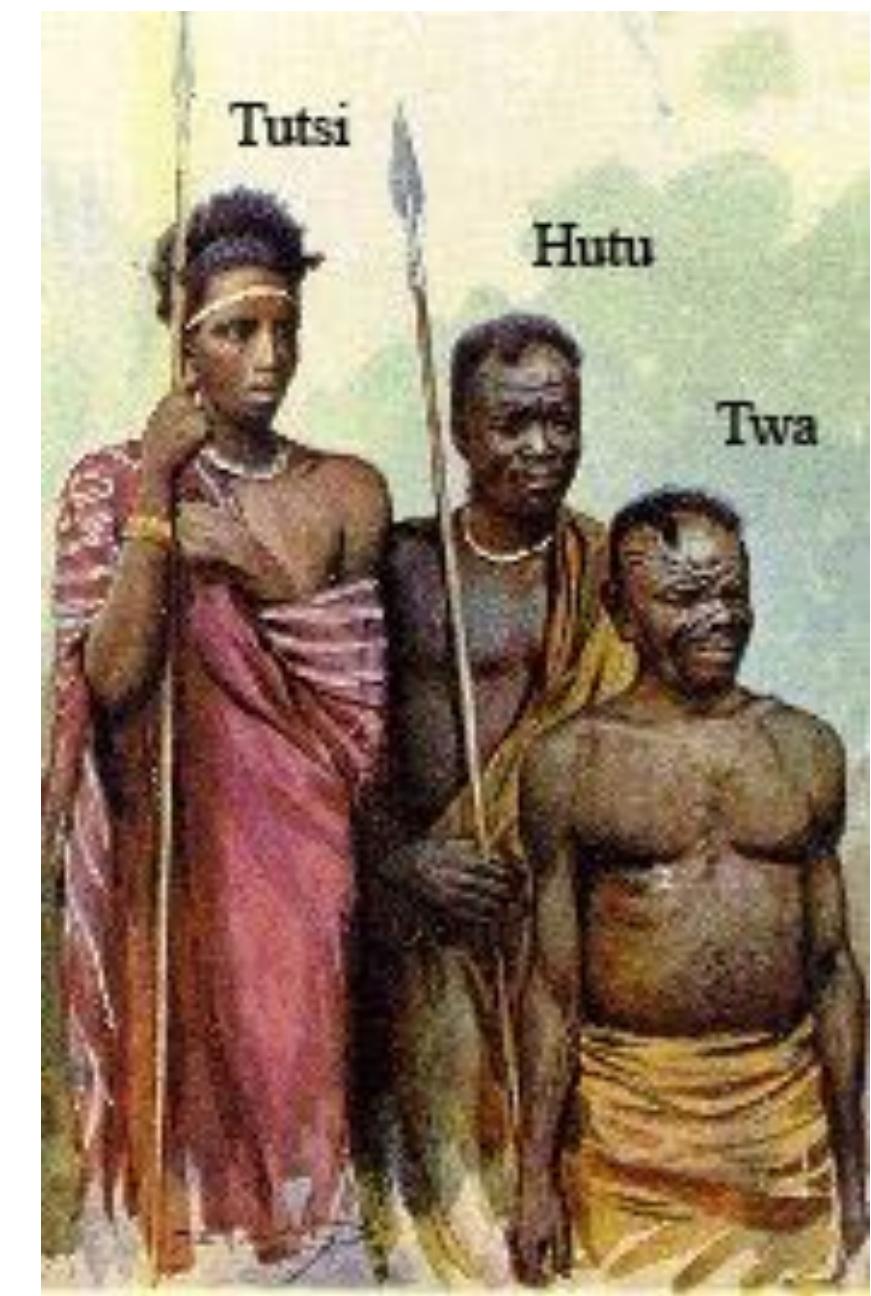


Belgians in Rwanda

Germans and Belgians empower
Tutsi at expense of Hutu based
bizarre “race science”

Brutal independence war in 1960s

Genocide of **Tutsi**, **Twa** by (mostly)
Hutu group in control of army



Colonial legacies

Why empower **one** group? Why so often a **minority** group?

Prevent coordination and enhance divisions

“Divide and conquer”

The effects of colonial rule

The French

Cultural assimilation
(French taught in school, French history)

Centralization of authority
(Disempower local elites, replace with French
bureaucrats)

The English

Cultural assimilation
(Not really,
Only elites)

Decentralized rule
(allowed local elites to remain,
Serve as intermediary between state and subject)

Which countries experienced more
conflict after independence? Why?

Colonial style

Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict
in Africa*

ROBERT BLANTON, T. DAVID MASON & BRIAN
ATHOW

Department of Political Science, University of Memphis

Ex-English colonies **more** likely to
experience conflict and have **worse**
conflict than ex-French colonies

English colonies: old elites retain power, able to mobilize for war
after independence

French colonies: old elites gone, groups unable to mobilize

Cockburn on Regime Change in Iraq

Journalist who lived in and reported
from Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, post-
invasion

Age of Jihad
Diary from his time there, great book

Angry, sarcastic old man

Regime Change in Iraq

How did colonial rule impact Sunni-Shi'a relations? Who did the British put in charge? Why?

How did Saddam manage these tensions?

Sunni, Shi'a relations: always bad?

What would happen if elections held?
Why didn't the US want this?

How did US occupation exacerbate tensions?

Stoking the flame

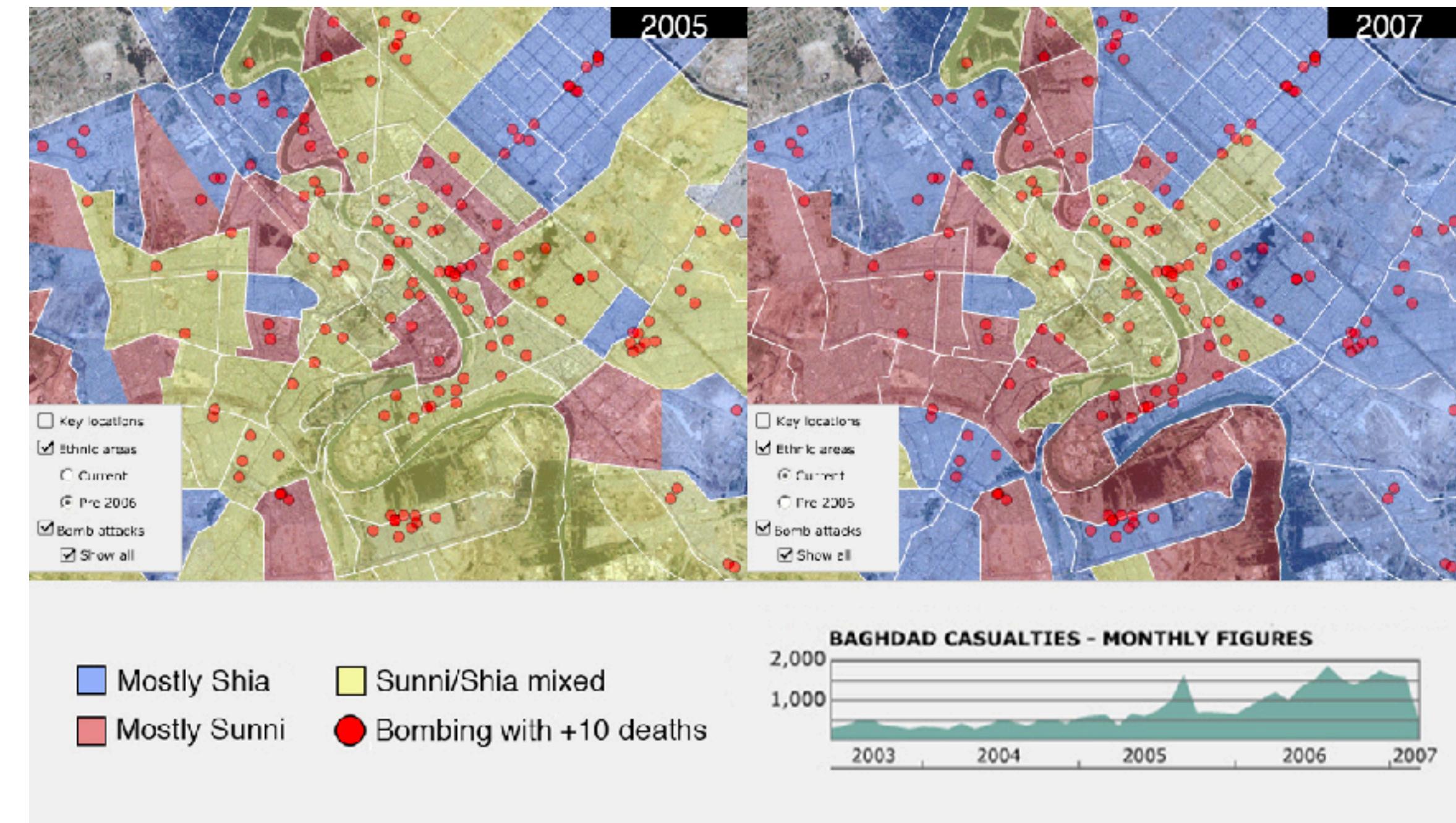
Strategic actors actively inflame ethnic tensions

Anti-occupation insurgents largely
Sunni

Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) actively targets
Shi'a

Shi'a militias form, reprisals

Massacres, torture, executions,
VBIEDs



Ethnic cleansing in Baghdad

Next week

No class Tuesday
But there's reading