

THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
POL124 POLITICAL VIOLENCE (2022-23)

LEVEL: 1	Credit Value: 20
SEMESTER TAUGHT: Two/Spring	EMAIL: j.greenburg@sheffield.ac.uk
MODULE LEADER: Dr. Jennifer Greenburg	OFFICE: G52

Course Description

This module provides an introduction to the concept of political violence, broadly understood. It begins by engaging with debates over the conceptualisation of violence, and when violence should be understood as “political.” It will then introduce students to debates over the causes and consequences of violence through an examination of specific topics, including histories of violence and terrorism, settler-colonial violence, anticolonial violence, racial violence, gendered violence, violent ecologies, violent resistance, and the role of the state in relation to violent practices. We will explore these themes by asking how violence is refracted through race, gender, ethnicity, and other forms of social difference. We also take a historical and geographical approach, asking how colonial and Cold War histories shape violent geographies and are lived in the present. Students will have the opportunity to explore these topics through specific examples and develop the necessary skills to apply them in practice.

Course Objectives

By the end of this module, students will be able to:

- Demonstrate an understanding of the key theories, concepts, issues and themes in the study of political violence
- Demonstrate an understanding of the debates on the conceptualisation of “violence” and what makes violence “political”
- Develop skills in critical analysis, writing, and presentation
- Develop the ability to apply theories and issues to specific cases of political violence

Organization

Ten, one-hour weekly lectures to be held Thursdays 15:00-16:00 (Arts Tower: LT06 (153))

Ten, two-hour weekly seminars. See your on-line timetable for details

Requirements

- Attendance at all lectures and seminars
- Completion of weekly reading assignments and digital content
- Participation and engagement in seminars, including contributing to discussions
- Completion and submission of two written assessments

Assessment

This module comprises two assessments:

1. Mid-term essay (1000 words), 30%
2. End of term essay (2000 words), 70%

Mid Term Essay Assessment (1000 words)

For your first assignment, you are asked to write a short essay answering the questions: “*What is violence? When is violence political?*” This essay requires you to draw on course readings in order to develop a compelling case for your definition and interpretation of political violence. You are expected to

use readings from Week 1 and 2 to make an *argument* as to *how these authors define violence, when violence may be understood as political, and why*. You may also use course readings from any other week to illustrate your argument about what makes violence political by using specific historical examples, but be warned this is a relatively short assignment and the focus should be on defining violence/political violence and that the initial course readings are most directed toward this aim. You will have the opportunity to choose a case study from later weeks in the final assignment. **The 1000-word essay must be submitted electronically via Blackboard by 12:00 20/03/2023.**

End of Term Essay Assignment (2000 words)

Students must submit a 2000-word (maximum) essay electronically via Blackboard by 12:00 18/05/2023

The essay prompt will be released to students after the mid-term. It will involve analysing a case study.

Module Organisation

Week of	Lecture topic	Seminar topic
6-2	Introduction: What is Violence?	<i>*No seminar*</i>
13-2	What Makes Violence Political	Introduction: What is Violence?
20-2	The State of Violence	What Makes Violence Political
27-2	Colonial Violence	The State of Violence
6-3	Anticolonial Violence	Colonial Violence
13-3	Racial Violence	Anticolonial Violence
20-3	Cold War Terror	Racial Violence
27-3	Violent Ecologies	Cold War Terror
SPRING BREAK		
24-4	Gendered Violence	Violent Ecologies
1-5	White Supremacy; Course Recap	Gendered Violence
8-5	<i>*No lecture*</i>	White Supremacy; module recap and essay prep

General Regulations

Students should refer to the current Department of Politics and International Relations Taught Student Handbook for guidance on essay writing and other academic skills, for details of marking criteria, and for rules governing submission of assessed work and attendance.

Seminar Attendance

Attendance at seminars is compulsory and all unauthorised absences are recorded. Students who miss seminars are required to provide either medical evidence or a satisfactory explanation to politics_attendance@sheffield.ac.uk.

Feedback, advice and module evaluation

You can receive feedback advice on your assessed work throughout the module. All essays are returned with detailed comments three weeks after the submission deadline. Tutors have dedicated feedback and advice hours each week and can provide support and information concerning the preparation of assessed work and feedback on completed coursework. Specifically, module tutors can read and offer feedback on a one-page plan of your coursework.

General, core and recommended reading

All required course reading is available electronically via Blackboard. In order to prepare for your seminars, you should read all core reading in advance.

Alongside the core reading is a range of **recommended or wider reading**. These texts are intended to provide further insights into the area of study, and you are encouraged you to read additional sources from these lists as part of your seminar preparation. They are especially useful to read more deeply for a case study you will focus on in the final paper.

Reading questions

The questions provided for each seminar are to guide you in your reading. These will inform seminar discussions but other questions will also be introduced, so try to read with key concepts from the reading in mind, as well as attending to connection between readings.

Respect

Everyone has the right to be addressed by the name and personal pronouns that correspond to their gender identity, including non-binary pronouns, for example: they/them/theirs, ze/zir/zirs, etc. We will provide opportunities in seminar for you to introduce yourself using your preferred name and pronoun *if* you wish. Students can update their pronouns in their university Google profile user settings. If you have not yet updated your pronouns, you can do so at the beginning of the term so that we can make sure to refer to you using the correct pronouns. If your pronoun set is not available, please let your tutor know. We recognize that preferred names and pronouns may change, if at any point during the quarter you would like to be addressed differently, please let us know.

As part of our commitment to inclusion in this course, it is important that all students in this class respect the preferred names and pronouns of their peers. Mistakes in addressing one another may happen. If you make a mistake or are corrected, please briefly apologize, correct yourself, and move on. To learn more about personal pronouns and why they are important please visit mypronouns.org.

Seminars and lecture will be an inclusive learning environment in which diversity and differences are understood, respected, and appreciated. We believe that all students benefit from training and experiences that will help them to learn, lead, and serve in an increasingly diverse society. All members of our campus community must accept the responsibility to demonstrate civility and respect for the dignity of

others. Expressions or actions that disparage a person's or group's race, ethnicity, nationality, culture, gender, gender identity / expression, religion, sexual orientation, age, veteran status, or disability are contrary to the mission of the University. We expect that students, faculty, and staff will promote an atmosphere of respect for all members of our community. When seminars first meet, tutors will facilitate developing discussion guidelines to help us meet these ideals.

Accessibility and Accommodations Statement

UoS is committed to full inclusion of all students. Please inform me early in the term if you have a disability or other conditions that might require accommodations or modifications of any of these course procedures. You are under no obligation to tell me what your disability is, but you may be required to submit university paperwork granting you accommodations to support your learning. You may speak with me after class or during office hours. For more information, please contact the Student Disability Office.

Introduction: What is Violence?

Lecture 9 Feb (seminar w/o 13-2)

Summary

We will first introduce and provide an overview of the arc of this module. The first lecture and seminar will then centre on the question of what we consider to be “violence” and why this question is important to our enquiry. We will use Hannah Arendt’s classic essay, *On Violence*, to ask this question, in conversation with anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois’s introduction to an edited volume of work that seeks to “make sense” of violence as a problem in the world.

Reading Questions

- How do Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois define violence? Has this changed the way you think about and define violence as compared to before reading this piece?
- What does Arendt argue is the relationship between power and violence?
- After listening to the podcast and reading Arendt, how do you think her biography and life experiences with violence affected her political philosophy?

Core reading

- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy, and Philippe Bourgois. 2004. “Introduction: Making Sense of Violence.” In *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*, edited by Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Philippe Bourgois, pp. 1-31. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1969. *On Violence*. Pp. 35-56. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company.

Digital Resource:

- Podcast: BBC In Our Time on the life and political philosophy of Hannah Arendt
 - <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b08c2ljg>

Additional reading

- Walter Benjamin, *Critique of Violence*, in *Reflections*, Harvest Books, 1979.
- Michel Foucault, *Society must be Defended*, Lecture 11, Picador, 2003 (and sections from *Discipline and Punish*, Vintage, 1995, chapter 2).
- Philippe Bourgois, *Recognizing Invisible Violence* in Barbara Rylko-Bauer, Linda Whiteford, and Paul Farmer, eds. 2009 *Global Health in Times of Violence*. Santa Fe, NM: School of Advanced Research Press. Pages 18-40.
- Randall Collins, *Violence: A Micro-sociological theory*, Chapter 1, Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Vittorio Bufacchi, *Two Concepts of Violence*, *Political Studies Review*, 3 (2005), 193-204.
- Charles King, *The Micropolitics of Social Violence*, *World Politics* 56:3 (2004), 431-455.
- Antonio Gramsci, selections from *The Prison Notebooks and The Antonio Gramsci Reader*. New York University Press, 2000
- Slavoj Žižek, *Violence*. Picador, 2008.
- John Keane, *Reflections on Violence*, Chapter 1, Verso, 1996.

What Makes Violence Political?

Lecture 16 Feb (Seminar w/o 20-2)

Summary

This week we turn to the question of what makes violence political. Political violence can include state actors but also go far beyond them, encompassing non-state armed groups, inter-communal conflicts, criminal organizations, rebellions, local struggles, acts of terror, and piracy. How do we draw boundaries around this term enough to define it and make it meaningful? Toward this aim, Stathis Kalyvas and Charles Tilly provide us with an ontology and history of political violence as a concept, and a definition of when violence *becomes* politics.

Reading Questions ^[1]_[SEP]

- When does violence become politics, according to Tilly?
- What does Kalyvas mean by “ontology” of political violence?
- What does a historical method of looking at different civil wars allow Kalyvas to argue or say? Do you think his method is effective, drawing on both the reading and digital resource?

Core reading

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. “The Ontology of ‘Political Violence’: Action and Identity in Civil Wars.” *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (3): 475-494.
- Tilly, Charles. 2003. “Violence as Politics.” In *The Politics of Collective Violence*, pp. 26-54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Digital Resource:

- Stathis Kalyvas gives an overview of his research on civil wars at UC Dublin Centre for War Studies
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JXr2QOMY4Us>

Additional reading

- Apter, David E. 1997. “Political Violence in Analytical Perspective.” In *The Legitimization of Violence*, edited by David E. Apter, pp. 1-32. New York: New York University Press.
- Coady, C.A. 2007. *Morality and Political Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- de Haan, Willem. 2010. “Violence as an Essentially Contested Concept.” In *Violence in Europe*, edited by Sophie Body-Gendrot and Pieter Spierenburg, pp. 27-40. Rotterdam: Erasmus University.
- Kilby, Jane and Larry Ray. 2014. “Violence and Society: Toward and a New Sociology: Introduction.” *The Sociological Review* 62 (1): 1-12.
- Jackman, Mary R. 2002. “Violence in Social Life.” *Annual Review of Sociology*. 28: 387- 415.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, pp. 19-31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Valentino, Benjamin A. 2014. “Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 89-103.

The State of Violence

Lecture 23 Feb (seminar w/o 27-2)

Summary

This week we ask about the role of the state in producing, managing, making or controlling violence. While definitions of state violence are fairly robust in international relations, somewhat less well-understood is the role of the state in political violence. Again, we will return to the question of what makes violence political, paying particular attention to the role of the state in making this definition meaningful. Drawing on Melissa Wright's work on the US-Mexico border, we will consider questions of gender in producing border and state-sanctioned political violence.

Reading Questions

- What argument do Skurski and Coronil make about the role of the state in relation to violence?
- How does considering the role of the state help us to define political violence?
- Wright makes a particular argument about gender and the role of the state. What does she say about gender-based violence in relation to state violence?

Core reading

- Skurski, Julie, and Fernando Coronil. 2009. "Introduction: States of Violence and the Violence of States." In *States of Violence*, edited by Fernando Coronil and Julie Skurski, pp. 1-31. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Wright, Melissa. 2011. "Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide: Gendered Violence on the Mexico-U.S. Border." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 36(3): 707-731.

Digital Resource:

- Melissa Wright's public lecture at the LSE on "Gendered Violence and Drug Wars: The Mexico-US Border"
 - <https://www.lse.ac.uk/lse-player?id=1210>

Additional readings

- Benjamin, Walter. 2007. "Critique of Violence (Reflections)." In *On Violence: A Reader*, edited by Bruce B. Lawrence, and Aisha Karim, pp. 268-285. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Giddens, Anthony. 1985. *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hagmann, Tobias, and Benedikt Korf. 2012. "Agamben in the Ogaden: Violence and Sovereignty in the Ethiopian-Somali Frontier." *Political Geography* 31(4): 205-214.
- Nagengast, Carole. 1999. "Violence, Terror, and the Crisis of the State." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23: 109-36.
- Mazower, Mark. 2002. "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century." *American Historical Review* 107(4): 1158-1178.
- Weber, M. (1986). "Politics as a Vocation." In *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, edited by H. H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills, pp. 77-128. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Colonial Violence

Lecture 2 March (seminar w/o 6-3)

Summary

This week we consider questions of colonial violence. What forms of violence has colonialism depended upon and been productive of? Why are these forms of violence important to understand in the study of political violence. How have these forms of colonial violence continued to inform the shape of political violence after formal colonialism ended? To ask these questions, we will focus on Martinican author Aimé Césaire's writings on colonialism and historian David Anderson's account of colonial violence in British colonial Kenya. We will consider the material events and meanings of these histories as well as how they have been erased, remembered, and used to make the postcolonial present.

Questions for consideration

- How are colonial relations productive of violence?
- What is the geography of colonial violence? How have violent colonial technologies travelled and why is this important to understand in a study of political violence?
- How does the history Anderson unearths in Kenya change how you think about public displays of nationalism and military pride such as Poppy Day?

Core reading

- Césaire, Aimé. 2000 [1972]. *Discourse on Colonialism*, pp.29-78. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Anderson, David. 2005. *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*, pp.1-8 and 289-327. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Digital Resource:

- Oxford Podcasts Series, "Interviews on Great Writers," Episode on Aime Cesaire and Derek Walcott
 - <https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/aime-cesaire-and-derek-walcott>

Additional readings

- Bailkin. "The Boot and the Spleen: When Was Murder Possible in Colonial India?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48(2).
- Forth, Aidan. 2017. *Barbed-Wire Imperialism: Britain's Empire of Camps 1876-1903*. Oakland, CA: UC Press.
- Jones, Claudia. "Colour Bar Act Emboldens Fascists," *West Indian Gazette*, July 1962.
- Kelly, Jennifer Lynn. 2023. *Invited to Witness: Solidarity Tourism across Occupied Palestine*. Durham, NC: Durham University Press.
- Kramer, Paul. 2006. *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Patel, Dinyar. "[Viewpoint: How the British Let One Million Indians Die in Famine](#)," BBC News, June 11, 2016
- Wolf, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8(4).

Anticolonial Violence

Lecture March 9 (seminar w/o 13-3)

Overview

This week we continue the discussion of colonial violence by examining questions of violent anticolonial resistance. Using Fanon's classic writings on violence, we will examine Fanon and other postcolonial authors' arguments regarding the role violence plays in the decolonization process. We will consider anticolonial violence as a form of political violence, its role in relation to political violence, and how it is productive of forms of social difference such as race, class, caste, and gender.

Questions for consideration

- What is Fanon's argument regarding the role of violence in the decolonization process?
- What is violence, according to Fanon, and how is this different than other definitions we have read?
- How is Fanon's "spectre" (to use Abraham's language) visible today?

Core reading

- Fanon, Frantz. 2007. "Concerning Violence." In *On Violence: A Reader*, edited by Bruce B. Lawrence, and Aisha Karim, pp. 79-100. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Abraham, Matthew. 2013. "The Fanonian Specter in Palestine: Suicide Bombing and the Final Colonial War." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 112(1): 99-114.

Digital Resource:

- New Books Network: A Discussion with Manan Ahmed on Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*
 - <https://newbooksnetwork.com/on-frantz-fanons-the-wretched-of-the-earth>

Additional reading

- Fanon, Frantz. 2001 [1963]. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Gopal, Priyamvada. 2019. *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent*. New York: Verso.
- Hawthorne, Camilla. 2022. *Contesting Race and Citizenship: Youth Politics in the Black Mediterranean*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Man, Simeon. 2020. "Anti-Asian Violence and US Imperialism," *Race and Class* 62(2).
- Perry, Kennetta Hammond and Kira Thurman. "Black Europe: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *Black Perspectives*, December 20, 2016.
- Soumahoro, Maboula. "Black Citizenship Forum: On Identity and Empire: France and the Colonial Roots of Black Citizenship." *Black Perspectives*, March 17, 2021.

Racial Violence

Lecture March 16 (seminar w/o 20-3)

Overview

The Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) embodies many of the themes we have discussed thus far in our examination of political, racial, colonial, and anticolonial violence. Haiti was the only nation to be established directly out of a revolt by formerly enslaved Black people. Using this extraordinary historical example as our guide (and one which many other postcolonial thinkers have been inspired by), we will examine the question of racial violence.

Questions for consideration

- What does Dubois argue about the specific role violence played in the Haitian revolution?
- How does Ferrer define “freedom” in her examination of the revolutionary Atlantic?
- Putting these texts in conversation with one another, how would you define racial violence and its relation to the previous forms of violence we have discussed?

Core reading

- Dubois, Laurent. 2009. “Avenging America: The Politics of Violence in the Haitian Revolution.” In *The World of the Haitian Revolution*, pp. 111-124. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ferrer, Ada. "Haiti, Free Soil, and Antislavery in the Revolutionary Atlantic" *American Historical Review* 117 (2012): 40-66.

Digital Resource:

- Digital Resource: Interview with filmmaker Raoul Peck on “Exterminate All the Brutes”
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wNup2jIz-KE>

Additional readings

- Alexander, Leslie. 2022. *Fear of a Black Republic: Haiti and the Birth of Black Internationalism in the United States*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Society for Cultural Anthropology Editor’s Forum: Haiti Beyond Crisis (2022) <https://culanth.org/fieldsights/series/haiti-beyond-crisis>.
- Dubois, Laurent. 2004. *Avengers of the New World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Geggus, David Patrick. 2014. *The Haitian Revolution: A Documentary History*. Hackett.
- Hartman, Saidiya. 2008. “Venus in Two Acts.” *Small Axe* 12(2).
- James, CLR. 1963. *The Black Jacobins*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Johnson, Jessica Marie. 2020. *Wicked Flesh: Black Women, Intimacy, and Freedom in the Atlantic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lightfoot, Natasha. 2015. *Troubling Freedom: Antigua and the Aftermath of British Emancipation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Trouillot, M-R. 1995, pp.70-107. “An Unthinkable History: The Haitian Revolution as a Non-Event.” In *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Cold War Terror

Lecture March 23 seminar w/o 27-3

Summary

Geographically we remain in Haiti this week, but with an eye to the global Cold War. We consider how violence and terror were fomented by Cold War anticommunist politics and how this might inform our ongoing definition of political violence. We consider the specific forms of violence produced through Cold War terror and the ways they continue to shape global politics and its violent iterations today.

Reading Questions

- Our core readings this week come from first hand journalistic accounts of Cold War violence and its revolutionary ends. How is this mode of writing different than previous assigned readings?
- What does this journalistic model of writing enable or disable when you compare it to standard academic modes we have been mostly reading so far?
- How do you notice the themes from our discussion of colonial and anticolonial violence coming through into this week's focus on the Cold War?

Core reading

- Danner, Mark. 2009. *Stripping Bare the Body: Politics, Violence, War*. pp.3-46. New York: Nation Books.
- Wilentz, Amy. 1989. *The Rainy Season: Haiti—Then and Now*. pp.19-62. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Digital Resource:

- Terry Gross Interviews Mark Danner on US Intervention in Haiti (1994)
 - <https://freshairarchive.org/guests/mark-danner>

Additional reading

- Bourgois, Philippe. 2001. "The power of violence in war and peace: Post-Cold War lessons from El Salvador." *Ethnography* 2(1).
- Grandin, Greg and Gilbert Joseph, eds. 2010. *A Century of Revolutions*. Durham: Duke University Press. Introduction.
- Hajimu, Masuda. 2015. *Cold War Crucible: The Korean Conflict and the Postwar World*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- A. Sivanandan, A. 1989. "New Circuits of Imperialism," *Race and Class* 30(4).
- Westad, Odd Arne. 2005. *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Violent Ecologies

Lecture 30 March (seminar w/o 24-4)

Overview

This week we turn to questions of the environment. Using the work of political ecologist Philippe LeBillon, we will investigate the role of natural resources in armed conflict. We will also ask more subtle questions as to how violence can become encapsulated in the environment itself and how this affects the lives of poor people in particular. Here we will use Rob Nixon's concept of "slow violence" to explore this environmental violence and its role in everyday life. We will connect this discussion to questions of global climate change more generally as well as specifically to the question of political violence we are pursuing in this module.

Reading Questions

- What is "slow violence"? ^[1]_{SEP}
- What is the role of natural resources in this week's discussion of political violence?
- What are some ways you notice "violent environments" in everyday life here in the UK and/or where you consider home?

Core reading

- Nixon, Rob, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011. Chapter 1.
- Le Billon, Philippe. 2001. "The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts." *Political Geography* 20(5): 561-584.

Digital Resource:

- More-Than-Human-History: Bathsheba Demuth on "For the Wild" Podcast
 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EQIFtDkLWJk&feature=youtu.be>

Additional reading

- Demuth, Bathsheba. 2019. "The Walrus and the Bureaucrat: Energy, Ecology, and Making the State in the Russian and American Arctic, 1870–1950," *American Historical Review* 124 (2).
- Bonilla, Yarimar and Marisol LeBrón. 2019. *Aftershocks of Disaster: Puerto Rico before and after the Storm*. New York: Haymarket Books.
- Estes, Nick. 2019. *Our History is the Future: Standing Rock versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance*. New York: Verso.
- Johnson, Robert. Supply of Critical Minerals amid the Russia-Ukraine War and Possible Sanctions. Working Paper: Columbia University Center on Global Thought. April 2022.
- Petryna, Adriana. 2013. *Life Exposed: Biological Citizens after Chernobyl*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Gendered Violence

Lecture 27 April (seminar w/o 1-5)

Overview

This week we move to the question of gendered violence. We consider gender as a category of social difference that must be produced, as we have considered race and class in previous weeks. With this understanding of the production of social difference in mind, we consider how attention to gender changes our lens onto questions of political violence. Using Wood's and Greenburg's respective writings on sexual violence and war and gender, we will consider these forms of violence as fundamental to an understanding of political violence historically and materially.

Questions for consideration

- How does Das define "sexual violence" ^[L]_[SEP]?
- In Greenburg, how is gender constitutive of violence?
- How does attention to gender and sexual violence specifically change the definition of political violence we have been developing this term?

Core reading

- Greenburg, Jennifer. 2023. *At War with Women: Military Humanitarianism and Imperial Feminism in an Era of Permanent War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Introduction.
- Das, Veena. 2006. "Sexual Violence," in Fernando Coronil and Julie Skurski, eds., *States of Violence*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Digital Resource

- Veena Das on "Democracy and Disorder" (Geneva Graduate Institute, Public Talk)
 - <https://soundcloud.com/user-418969258/veena-das-on-sexual-violence-public-domain-and-disorders-of-democracy>

Additional reading

- Belkin, Aaron. 2012. *Bring Me Men: Military Masculinity and the Benign Façade of American Empire 1898-2001*. London: Hurst.
- Buss, Doris E. 2009. "Rethinking 'Rape as a Weapon of War.'" *Feminist Legal Studies* 17: 145-163.
- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War." *World Politics* 65(3): 383-415.
- Greenburg, Jennifer. 2023. *At War with Women: Military Humanitarianism and Imperial Feminism in an Era of Permanent War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2009. "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics & Society* 37(1): 131-161.
- Zaleski, Kristen. 2018. *Understanding and Treating Military Sexual Trauma*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

White Supremacy & Course Recap

Lecture 4 May (seminar w/o 8-5)

Overview

Before recapping the course, we will consider the rising tide of white supremacy in the UK, the US, and all around the world. We must consider how the different threads of political violence we have studied until this point are at work in an issue threatening democracy today. To do this, we will use the work of public historian of the present, Kathleen Belew to understand how some of the historical threads of war and violence we have studied to this point inform the moment of danger in which we now live. We will use this to open into a review of course themes to look toward preparation for the final assessment.

Core Reading

- Kathleen Belew. 2018. *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University. Introduction.
- Kathleen Belew, “The Long Game of White-Power Activists Isn’t Just About Violence.” *New York Times*, May 17, 2022.

Reading Questions

- Where does Belew argue white supremacy (or what she calls “white power”) comes from?
- Do you agree with her definition of “white power” over the more commonly used “white supremacy”? Why or why not?
- How do you see the major themes of this module reflected in the history Belew discusses?

Digital Resource:

- Kathleen Belew, “How America’s White Power Movement Coalesced After the Vietnam War,” *Fresh Air*, April 25, 2018.
 - <https://www.npr.org/2018/04/25/605661710/how-americas-white-power-movement-coalesced-after-the-vietnam-war>