Causes of Collective Violence: Terrorism, Genocide, War
Ohio Dominican University SOC/CRJ/POL 379c Fall 2009

How shall we live? “If you want peace, work for justice.” Pope Paul VI

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Email hartj@ohiodominican.edu Meets T-Th 4-6pm T-Th 9-12 or by appointment
Office Erskine 308C 4 credit hours

Course Description
This is an introduction to theories of conflict and war from the inter-group to the international level. Included are causes of terrorism, ethnic conflict and genocide, revolution, and interstate war. This includes an analysis of causes at four levels: individual, small group, the nation/state, and the international system. The course is interdisciplinary, drawing on theories from biology, psychology, sociology, economics and political science. Case studies of contemporary conflicts are utilized to explain and test various theoretical perspectives and to examine the consequences of war. These topics will serve as a vehicle for addressing the question of the seminar, how shall we live in the world in the light of divine and social justice?

Instructional Objectives: At the completion of the course the student will be able to:

Knowledge
1. Compare and contrast characteristics of various types of inter-group and international conflict.
2. Identify & describe the complex causes of collective violence including genocide, terrorism & interstate war.
3. Describe the relationships between human nature, the common good, and justice.
4. Identify the approach of the Catholic Dominican tradition & others to the question of the seminar.
5. Describe the distinctions and connections between justice on the individual, social and divine levels.
6. Evaluate evidence for and against the belief that some principles of justice are not culture-dependent.

Skills
7. Predict the consequences of collective violence both short and long-term.
8. Design strategies for the prevention of collective violence based on its complex causes.
10. Evaluate the costs and benefits of engaging in interstate war in various situations.
11. Lead seminar sessions, both cooperatively and individually.
12. Demonstrate strengths in critical thinking, oral and written communication, and scholarly research.
13. Employ various strategies for reading a variety of texts.

Dispositions
15. Connect personal views of justice on the individual, social, and divine levels.
16. Recognize the complexity of the self, its relation to others, and its place in the world.

Required Texts
The Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, reality & ways forward Edited by Tore Bjergo. Routledge 2005.
What Causes War: An Intro to Theories of International Conflict by Greg Cashman. Lexington Books 1993
Mere Christianity by C. S. Lewis Harper San Francisco 1952
War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning by Chris Hedges NY Anchor Books 2003
Evaluation and Grading
2 unit exams @ 20% each 40% total
1 Case Study 20%
Attendance & Participation 10%
Six Quizzes @ 5% each 30% total
Extra Credit : 2 page summary on recommended videos or speakers worth 1% of total semester points each or 3% total. This must draw comparisons between the video and theory covered in class on the type of violence.

Grading Scale for final grade and papers:
A =100-95%  B =86-84%  C =76-74%  D =66-64%
A+ =94-90  B+ =89-87  C+ =79-77  D+ =69-67  F <59%

Schedule of Readings and Exams
I. Unit on Genocide and Ethnic Conflict
8/25  Introduction to Course; Pretest; Video: The Ghosts of Rwanda 60 min.
     Extra Credit video Shindlers List or Killing Fields; See on your own time and write 2 page reflection
8/27  Origins & Theory of Genocide, Staub: Ch 1, 2
9/1   Individual & Cultural Characteristics, Staub Ch 3 & 4, Video Brown Eyes, Blue Eyes
9/3   Perpetrators & Progression, Staub Ch 5 & 6; Speaker?; Quiz 1; 6 resources for Lit Review due
9/8   Preconditions of the Holocaust Staub Ch 7 & 8, Video “Faces of the Enemy”
9/10  Nazi Rule & the SS Perpetrators Staub Ch 9 & 10; Video “Zimbardo Prison Exper.”
9/15  Bystanders & Victims, Staub Ch 11, Conclusions , Staub Ch. 15, 16, 17, 18
     Video “A Force More Powerful: World War II Denmark Resists Hitler”; Quiz 2
9/17  The role of justice in prevention of genocide & ethnic conflict, Lewis Book 3 p. 69-88
9/22  *Take Home Exam or Case Study due and Student Presentations on Genocide

II. Unit on Terrorism
9/24  Introduction to Causes of Terrorism, Bjergo Ch 1 & 2, Video International Terrorism
     Extra Credit Video: Mandela, Munich or American History X; See on your own time and write 2 page reflection relating DVD to a type of terrorism & it’s 3 primary causes.
9/29  Economic roots of terrorism, Bjergo Ch 3; Quiz 3; 6 resources for Lit Review due
10/1  Psychological & cultural roots Bjergo Ch 4, 5; Guest Speaker?
10/6  Suicide Bombers, Bjergo Ch 6 & 7, Video “God’s Warriors”
10/8  Middle East and Right Wing Terrorism Bjergo Ch 8, 11; Quiz 4
10/8  Latin American & State Sponsored Terrorism Bjergo Ch 12, 15; Video In the Company of Fear
10/13 Terrorism a Framework & Prevention Bjergo Ch 17, 18, 20; Take Home Exam available
10/15 The role of justice in the prevention of terrorism, Lewis Book 3 p 88-129
10/17  * Take Home Exam or Case Study due and Student Presentations on Terrorism
10/20  No class Fall Break

III. Unit on Interstate War
10/22  Causes of War: Empirical Theory, Cashman Chapt. 1; Video: Buying the War (in Iraq)
     Extra Credit Video: Charlie Wilson’s War (true story of US involvement in Afghanistan from 1980’s) or
     The Fog of War (Vietnam); See on own time and write 2 page reflection related to decision making,
     politics, leadership and causes of war.
Case Study Guidelines
Each student will do a case study of collective violence. The case chosen should vary in type among the following categories: genocide, ethnic conflict, terrorism, revolution, or interstate war. Examples include episodes of collective violence from 1990 to the present including:
Genocide and/or Ethnic/Identity Conflict: Bosnia/Serbia, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Somalia, Israel/Palestine current, Guatemala 1980’s, Kurds Iraq or Turkey 1980’s, Shiites/Sunnis in Middle East today.
Interstate or Revolutionary War: Iraq I & II, Colombia 1990-present, Georgia, Burma, Tibet, Democratic Republic of Congo.

The case chosen should be current in the last 20 years. Your analysis should explore particular theoretical causes as discussed in class and texts as they relate to the specifics of your case. The 8-12 page paper, using MLA guidelines (with endnotes to reference sources used), should include the following sections:

1. An Introduction and brief description of the case (1/4 of paper). This should include a clear one sentence thesis or original argument that you will prove in the paper. Do not include extensive historical detail about the act, genocide or war. One to two pages is adequate to outline the chronology of the event.

2. Hypothesis of the 8-10 primary causes of the case (1/2 of paper) based on the theories of causation outlined in the Causal Model in class. Use 2-3 causes from each column of model related to your case. This section should be given the heading Causes of the Genocide, Interstate War, Civil War, Ethnic Conflict or Terrorist Act. Then clearly discuss 5-10 major causes that you believe best explain this event using language, theory and citations from our text or other resources. For example, if you believe that a
country’s leader had a Dogmatic Personality based on the evidence in the literature, you would have a section by this title and cite the evidence you have found in the history of the conflict.

3. **Analysis of how the violence might have been prevented** based on each cause identified in the previous section (1/4 of the paper). So, if you believe a leader with a Dogmatic Personality was part of the cause, how might this leader’s power or misperceptions have been reduced or limited by the citizens of the country, by neighboring leaders, by his or her administrative team or by an organization like the United Nations. Draw on our discussion of preventative strategies from the text & class for this section. There should be a clear connection between each of your primary causes from section II and each of your strategies of prevention in section III.

4. **Works Cited** page with 5-7 academic texts, journal articles, or approved websites. See approved websites on Course Page and/or ANGEL site.

**Classroom Etiquette**
Learning requires the creation and maintenance of an open, receptive, and non-threatening environment where it is safe to ask questions and share perspectives without judgment or condemnation from others. To create a safe learning environment, I suggest the following guidelines:

1. Derogatory or offensive language or terms are unacceptable. We each take responsibility for politely calling each other on offensive language i.e. I feel uncomfortable when you refer to all Arabs or women in that way.
2. When discussing different perspectives, we speak with respect using “I” statements to own our own perspectives. We are mindful that some issues are beyond consensus or resolution. We believe that open discussion of a variety of perspectives actually sharpens and enriches us all in our search for truth.
3. We allow time and space for all to participate as they are comfortable and give everyone the right to say I “pass” when they are called on.
4. Turn all cell phones and other electronics off, put them away and be prepared to engage fully in class.
5. Please do not eat, dip tobacco, or use electronic devices of any kind during class. Beverages are OK.

**Class Participation, Absenteeism and Tardiness**
Class participation is extremely important. I value each of your perspectives and the opportunity to hear what you are thinking about our topics. I do not know everything there is to know about the causes of collective violence and your questions help me to learn and to become a better teacher! It is vital to the success of this class that you ask questions, offer informed perspectives, and engage in discussion. Class participation does not occur without regular attendance and engagement with the topics for each day. To this end, I suggest you come to class prepared by reading in advance. Fifteen percent of your final grade will be based on attendance and the quality of your participation. Chronically absent or tardy students will be asked to drop the class.

**Paper Guidelines:** Use MLA guidelines with 12 point font, one inch margins and double spacing.
Your grade is based on the following guidelines of good writing:
5% on a focused, purposeful thesis statement or argument that is supported by content
5% on sound organization that is logical and clear throughout
5% on supporting detail & development of ideas with complex examples or reasoning
5% on thorough and correct documentation of sources using endnotes and a reference page. Only academic resources from juried academic journals are appropriate. Only government or academic websites are appropriate. Other sites use information that has not been researched using a careful scientific process of study. Do not use Wikipedia as it is not a carefully monitored site for accuracy.
5% on grammar and mastery of the conventions of standard academic English including effective and graceful voice and tone, shaping of material for the purpose of the assignment, wording that is precise and clear
25% on critical thinking that evaluates ideas, sources, experience and other evidence and uses clear reasoning
25% on content and demonstration of in-depth understanding with appropriate use of quantitative data, and objectivity in writing while owning a particular perspective
25% on following directions from the syllabus with all sections present in the appropriate length

Environmental Stewardship: All students are encouraged to use paper already printed on one side for projects and papers in order to reduce our use of natural resources. For the same reason, I do not mind single spacing.

Approved Web Sites for Case Studies on Collective Violence that may be used to supplement academic journals and textbooks available through our library.
Albert Einstein Institute www.aeinstein.org
Amnesty International www.amnesty.org
British Broadcasting News www.news.bb.co.uk
Brookings Institute Progressive Think Tank www.brookings.edu
Carter Center www.cartercenter.org
CIA www.cia.gov
Center for Defense Information- X military hold Pentagon accountable www.cdi.org
Heritage Foundation Conservative Think Tank www.heritage.org
Hague Appeal for Peace- global effort to build culture of peace www.haguepeace.org
Human Rights Watch- monitors HR abuses globally www.hrw.org
International Monetary Fund- bank of last resort for nations www.imf.org
US State Department www.state.gov & www.usinfo.state.gov
US Congress News www.cspan.org
US Institute of Peace www.usip.org
World Bank- www.worldbank.org
NEED TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF QUESTIONS IN EACH SECTION

The Roots of Evil Objectives, Exam Questions Genocide. Write on 1 from each section for a total of 5 (except Ch 7,8,9).

Chapt. 2 The Origins of Genocide and Mass Killing: Core Concepts
1. Outline a general causal model that includes the cultural and environmental patterns which Staub theorizes are necessary for genocide to occur i.e. difficult life conditions, cultural conduciveness.
2. Discuss from the most to least constructive, how people cope in times of difficult life conditions. Include 5.
3. Describe the processes necessary for difficult life conditions to progress to violence against people i.e. the role of the desensitization and bystanders.
4. Identify environmental and cultural factors which impact individual motivation to commit genocide i.e. role of perpetrators, leaders, socialization, childhood experiences, dynamics of groups.
5. Compare Staub’s Personal Goal Theory with other prominent approaches to genocide i.e. compartmentalization, obedience to authority, authoritarian culture, psychological impact of losing WWI, anti-Semitism, Hitler’s personality, role of victims, political and economic relationships. Which theory or theories do you believe best explain genocide?

Chapt. 3 The Psychology of Hard Times: difficult life conditions & Chapt. 4 Cultural and Individual Characteristics
1. Describe at least 3 changes in motivation created by difficult life conditions. Why do motivations change? Of the many motivators for aggression, what 3 might be most operative during times of difficult life conditions?
2. Discuss at least 5 advantages to joining a group when experiencing difficult life conditions.
3. What evidence exits that culture has a profound affect on individual behavior related to aggression & genocide? Describe 3. Cite examples of at least 5 core values within a society that may decrease the chance of genocide.
4. Describe 5 ways a group comes to be excluded from another group’s moral orientation? Give examples.
5. What type of childrearing leads to greater empathy in adults? What role does empathy play in genocide?
6. Why do humans divide people into in-groups and out-groups? What is the importance of this in acts of genocide? Give 3 examples of modern day US in-groups and out-groups.
7. Differentiate between monolithic and pluralistic cultures. Which tends to stimulate moral development & why? What is the role of moral development in genocide?

Chapt. 5 The Psychology of Perpetrators &Chapt. 6 Steps Along a continuum of destruction: Perpetrators and Bystanders
1. Analyze the impact of role placement on the behavior of perpetrators. Cite 3 examples to support your views.
2. If you needed to choose persons to assist with a genocidal operation, what 6 characteristics would you look for & why?
3. What family characteristics are associated with Anti Social Personalities? Be specific and discuss 3. Differentiate between authoritarian and democratic parenting styles and their outcomes.
4. Define Just World Thinking and discuss its role in the perception of minority groups by majority groups.
5. What are the implications for the “learning by doing” phenomena in the road toward destruction? How does it work?
6. What role do authority figures play in the road to destruction? Give 3 examples from research.
7. Evaluate the power of bystanders in the road to genocide? How do bystanders respond? Why?

Chapter 7, 8, 9 The Holocaust
1. How did the political and economic conditions of 1930’s Germany prepare the people for Hitler’s plan?
2. Why is hope rather than despair so important to people? How do leaders provide hope? How is this related to genocide?
3. Outline 6 of the most important steps in the process of Jewish devaluation under Hitler.
4. How did German intellectuals influence German thought about Jews? Discuss at least 3 & how this aided the genocide.
5. Evaluate Staub’s hypothesis that Germany’s defeat in WWI, prepared German youth for the Holocaust. Discuss 4 factors.
6. Outline 4 primary environmental and cultural conditions in Germany that allowed Germans to participate in the march toward genocide. Give examples i.e. obedience to authority, dictatorship, economic situation.
7. If you were asked to design a propaganda package to prepare a population to participate in genocide, what 5 of Hitler’s strategies would you have adopted and why?

Chapt. 10, 11 The SS and the Psychology of Perpetrators
1. Within the criteria & development of the SS, what 4 were most important in the success of their campaign against Jews?
2. How alike or different is your circle of friends from the common characteristics of SS men? Were the SS normal people gone bad?
3. Cite 3 examples of how the SS utilized the “learning by doing” phenomena to help perpetrators overcome their natural revulsion toward hurting others. What 3 things could they have done more effectively based on theory & research?
4. Why do you think German bystanders were so passive in responding to the oppression of Jews? 3 reasons.
5. What evidence is there that resistance to Hitler may have been effective? Discuss 3 examples.
6. Jews were often cooperative or passive in their mistreatment. Give 4 prime examples. Explain why.
7. Design a character sketch of an individual who might be involved in helping Jews or other oppressed groups survive. Use 5 character.
Causes of War Take Home Exam Questions: Write on one question from each section for a total of 5 (omit Chapt. 1 & 2)
Chapt. 1 Empirical Theory and Causes of War and Chapt. 2 The Individual Level: Human Aggression
1. How does one best study the causes of war? Outline 5 characteristics important to a solid theory of war.
2. Compare and contrast Sociobiology and ethology then critique both as adequate in explaining war.
3. Outline 7 characteristics of peaceful societies studied by Fabbro and evaluate how these relate to war.
4. What can you conclude about the 3 primary origins of human aggression from this chapter?

Chapt. 3 The Individual Level: Psychological Explanations for War
1. Construct a worse case scenario for a national leader to rise above normal organizational constraints on the use of force. Use at least 5 factors.
2. Choose 2 personality types that you believe are most prone to use aggression in leadership positions. Briefly describe these types and explain why you have chosen them.
3. Physiologists describe the stress response as preparing the body to effectively fight or flee. What problems does this create for dealing with potential conflict situations?
4. Cognitively, humans base their on behavior operational codes. What do these include and how might they impact conflict decisions? Why would complex image structures be easier to change than simple? Is this good or bad in terms of conflict? What might help create more complex image structures?
5. If a national leader wished to change another nation's operational assumptions about his/her nation, what would be the best way to go about this?
6. Compare the traditional stimulus response model with the mediated stimulus response model. Which do you believe best describes human behavior? Why?

Chapt. 4 Governmental Decision-making and Chapt. 5 The State and International Conflict
1. Describe characteristics of the rational decision-making model that do not fit the reality of small group dynamics. Discuss strategies individuals and groups use for dealing with information overload.
2. When are each of the following decision-making models most likely to apply and why? BPM, incrementalism, Group Think.
3. Define group think and describe its major characteristics. Why does it occur? What specific conditions would increase the possibility of group think. Use historical examples. Describe 5 general strategies for reducing irrational decision-making that may lead to war.
4. Formulate an argument for the characteristics of states being the primary determinant of war.
5. Briefly describe the primary finding related to type of government and war and explain why this may be so.
6. Critique the argument that capitalism inevitably leads to war. Intuitively many point to bad economic times leading to war. What is the historical evidence for this?
7. Explain why large states, regardless of political or economic system, are more likely to be involved in war.

Chapt. 6, 7 Intern Interaction Stimulus Response Theory and Arms Races Game and Deterrence Theory
1. Draw 4 patterns of stimulus response that might help explain war. What patterns do Hawks and Doves assume? Which patterns are found empirically?
2. Differentiate between quantitative & qualitative arms races. What is the role of each in escalation to war?
4. Design a GRIT plan using economic, diplomatic, cultural and military action to de-escalate the ME conflict.
5. Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of Game Theory. What strategies have been found most effective?
6. Summarize the major contentions of Hawks and Doves regarding Deterrence Theory. What perspective is found in empirical evidence? Cite examples.
7. In comparing Tit for Tat with Game Theory, which do you feel has the most to add to our understanding of decision-making? Why?

Chapt. 8, 9 The International System: Anarchy and Power and Cyclical Theories and History
1. Describe the international system using language and imagery from systems theory. Evaluate the impact of anarchy on interstate war. What role does status discrepancy play?
2. Outline the arguments for bipolarity versus multipolarity being a more stable international pattern.
3. Why might transitions in power between major states lead to instability and war? How strong is the empirical evidence for power transition theory?
4. Explain the operative mechanism behind shifts in long cycles of world leadership. When does declining power of a hegemon lead to war and when does it not?
5. Summarize the insights that Wallerstein makes concerning the political economy.
6. Cite the historical evidence for Relative Power Cycles and War. What are the important contributions of this theory that help to explain shortcomings in other theories?

Chapt. 10 Conclusions
1. Design a causal model that you believe best describes the interaction of individual, small group, state, inter state and international system contributors to interstate war.
2. Where are the weak links in our knowledge of war? Where are our strengths?
3. Based on your learnings, is it possible that war might be prevented? What 5 conditions may lead to this?
4. Describe 5 major changes that have occurred for you regarding interstate war as a result of this study.

### Staub’s Personal Goal Theory to explain how genocide occurs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Impacted</th>
<th>Difficult Life Conditions</th>
<th>Cultural Conduciveness</th>
<th>Steps Along Continuum</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perpetrators</td>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>Monolithic &amp; Collective</td>
<td>Desensitization</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political</td>
<td>Open Discrimination</td>
<td>Divide/Devaluation/Scapegoat</td>
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<td>Social</td>
<td>Nationalism/Ethnocentric</td>
<td>Propaganda</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rapid Change</td>
<td>Acceptance of aggression</td>
<td>Rewards &amp; Punishments</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Perception of Threat</td>
<td>Rule Centered Morality</td>
<td>Foot in Door/ Learn by Doing</td>
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<td>Authoritarian/ Obedience</td>
<td>Decrease Contact b/w Groups</td>
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<td>Machinery of Destruction</td>
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<td>Victims</td>
<td>Passivity Internalized oppression</td>
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<td>Bystanders</td>
<td>Fear No response Conformity</td>
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### Causes of War Multidimensional Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Individual Factors</strong></th>
<th><strong>Group Decision Making</strong></th>
<th><strong>Charact. States</strong></th>
<th><strong>Inter System</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human Needs Motiv.</td>
<td>Incrementalism</td>
<td>Democr/Dictator.</td>
<td>Stimulus/Resp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personality Types</td>
<td>Bureaucratic Pol. Model</td>
<td>Population Growth</td>
<td>Arms Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Images/Schemas</td>
<td>Group Think</td>
<td>Size State</td>
<td>Game Theory</td>
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<td>Operational Codes</td>
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<td>Prisoners Dil</td>
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<td>Tit for Tat</td>
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<td>Misperceptions</td>
<td># Borders</td>
<td>Deterrence</td>
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<td>Socialization</td>
<td>Economic Growth</td>
<td>Chicken</td>
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<td>Natl. Role Concept</td>
<td>Cycles States</td>
<td>Anarchy &amp;</td>
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<td>Political Stability</td>
<td>Hierarchy &amp; Balan. Power</td>
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<td>Cycles Intern. System</td>
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<td>Capitalism/Socialism</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## Political Terrorism Causal Model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Causes +</th>
<th>Accelerator Causes +</th>
<th>Motivational Grievances +</th>
<th>Trigger Event +</th>
<th>Group/Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Difficult Life Cond.</td>
<td>Weapons Technology</td>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>Political Blow</td>
<td>In group/out group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
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<td>loss election</td>
<td>dehumanization</td>
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<td>Repression</td>
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<td>external suppression</td>
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<tr>
<td>Injustice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>loss war</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapid Modernization</td>
<td>Modern Media</td>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>Major Loss</td>
<td>Learning to kill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat to society</td>
<td>to communicate</td>
<td>to justify &amp; orchestrate plan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Unable to adjust</td>
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<tr>
<td>Globalization</td>
<td>Weak Central State</td>
<td>Killing as common good</td>
<td>Invasion</td>
<td>Desire for Revenge</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unfair competition</td>
<td>alternative groups seek control</td>
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<td>Threat from abroad</td>
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<td>from injustice</td>
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<tr>
<td>Demographic Imbalance</td>
<td>Modern Transport.</td>
<td>Killing as martyrdom</td>
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<td>Cut off alternatives</td>
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<td>Overpopulation</td>
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<td>Threat from new groups</td>
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<td>Relative Deprivation</td>
<td>Lack of nonviolent options</td>
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<td>Political or economic options</td>
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<td>Injustice, Repression</td>
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<tr>
<td>Changes</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Rewards</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cultural Conduciveness</td>
<td></td>
<td>Violence as self-defense</td>
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<td>Funding</td>
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Ethnic Conflict Causal Model

**Global Factors**
*International System Post Cold War*
*Sovereign States*
*No intervention norm*
*Post colonial borders*

**Growth of Modern State System**
*Consolidate State power/ Nationalism*

**Global Economy**
*Push to industrialize*
*Groups w/ interest in chaos*
*Consumerism & rising expectations*
*Urbanization w/ social problems*

**Communication Revolution**
*Protests spread*
*Peoples Power*
*Culture of Violence*

**Predisposing Factors**
*Multiethnic states-2000 groups/200 states*
*Oppression*
*Deep Grievances*
*Demands for improvement*

**Strength Group Cohesion**
*Social Identity Theory*
1. Need + self concept
2. + group identity
3. + Social comparison
4. + concept needs --

*Commonalities: language, ethnicity,*
*Intensity conflict*

**Ethnic Group Mobilization**
*Networks interaction*
*Authoritarian Leader*
*Ethnic groups*
*Concentration region*
*Organization*

**External Support**
*Foreign military/monetary resources*
*International status of ethnic regime*

**Political Opportunity**
*Type Political Environment*
*Autocratic Versus Democratic & violence vs. reform*
*Transitional democracies fragile*
*Transition to market economy & rising expectations*