
THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE: DISCIPLINES & DISCOURSES

THE IMPACT ON HUMANITARIAN ACTION, AND WHY YOU HAVE TO READ MARK
DUFFIELD

EXPLAINING VIOLENCE: CIVIL WARS AS FOOTBALL MATCHES

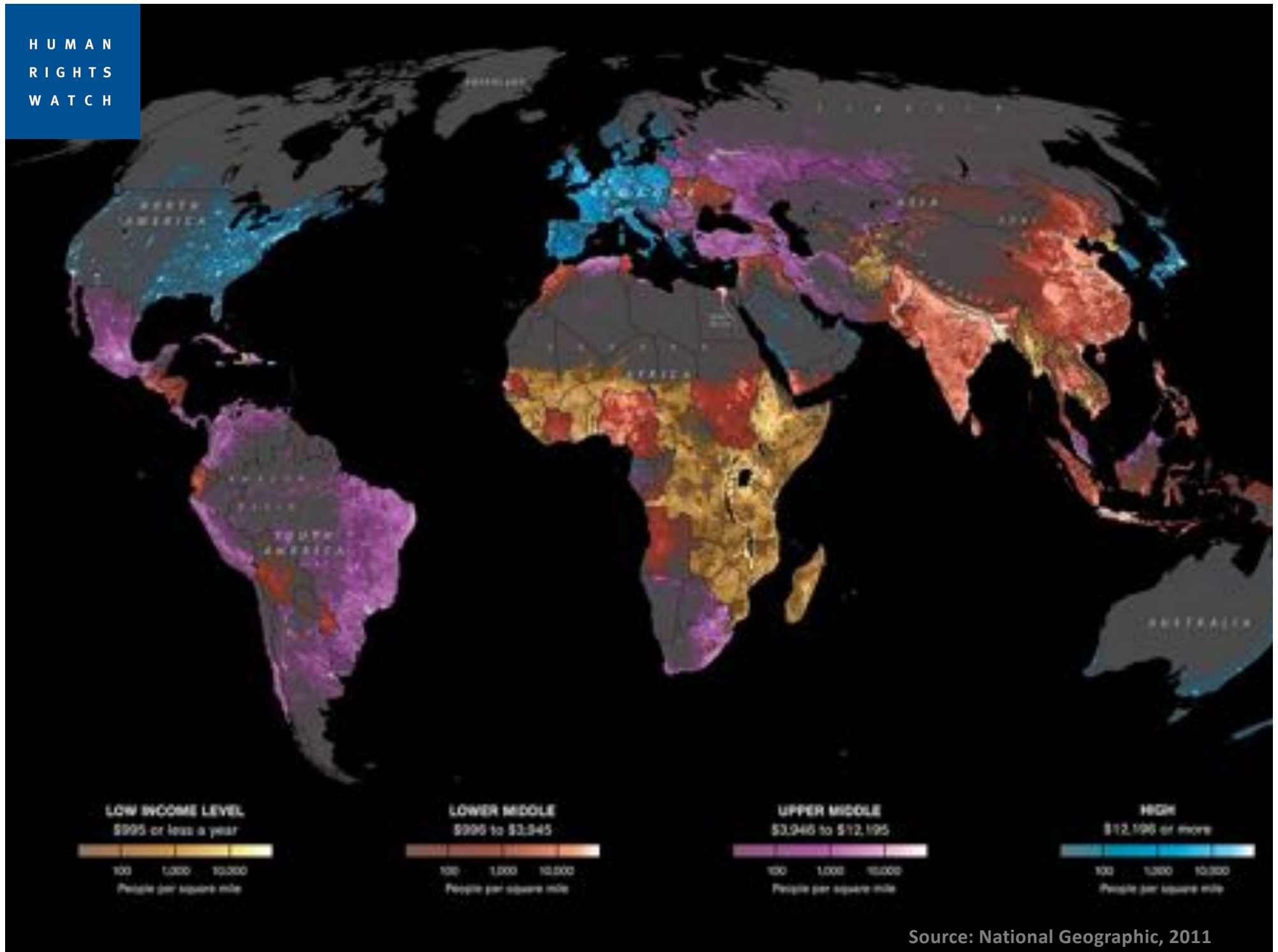
- Who are the teams?
 - Who is going to win?
 - What are their tactics?
 - Who are the goodies and the baddies?
-
- Available paradigms: Irrational, chaotic, ethnic (traditional) vs. functional, rational

A world map with a dark background, showing the locations of armed conflicts in 2019. Red circles of varying sizes are placed on the map to indicate conflict zones. The largest circles are in Afghanistan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Other significant circles are in Syria, Iraq, and Somalia. Smaller circles are scattered across other regions including the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. The map includes labels for major countries and oceans.

ARMED CONFLICTS 2019

Source: The New Humanitarian

<http://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/maps-and-graphics/2017/04/04/updated-mapped-world-war>



HOMER-DIXON - RESOURCES

Scarcity of renewable environmental resources is a contributing factor to internal conflict;

Predicts will play a role in external conflict in the future

UVIN – ‘INSTITUTIONALISATION OF PREJUDICE’



Colonialists in Rwanda institutionalised racism, favouring Tutsis over Hutus.



Independence: Hutus pushed out the Tutsis + → discrimination against all Tutsis. Unelected govt legitimised its rule by discriminating against the Tutsis to keep the Hutus united.



Economic crisis → marginalized Hutus against the govt



+ threat of Tutsi incursions from Uganda → govt revived lingering institutionalised racism against the Tutsis



Downing of the President's plane unleashed the racist forces → genocide.

LE BILLON – POWERLESSNESS VS POVERTY



VIOLENCE'S PRIMARY TOOL IS FEAR - INSTILLATION OF FEAR DIMINISHES ABILITY TO ACCESS AND INFLUENCE SOCIETY.



HUMANITARIAN NGOS SHOULD UNDERTAKE A "POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WAR ANALYSIS" TO DETERMINE WHO IS BENEFITING FROM THE CONTINUATION OF WAR, AND WHO WILL THEREFORE RESIST ANY MOVES TOWARDS PEACE.



THIS WAY, THE NGOS CAN AVOID FEEDING THE WAR BY AVOIDING PARTNERSHIPS WITH THOSE FOLK.

COLLIER – GREED & GRIEVANCES



WAR CANNOT BE FOUGHT ON
JUST HOPES OR HATREDS



NATURAL RESOURCE BASE TO
PERPETUATE VIOLENCE AND
REBEL GROUPS ARE RATIONAL
ECONOMIC ACTORS



ARGUES GREED AS MOTIVATION
FOR REBELLION, FRAMING AS
GRIEVANCE (REVENGE)
INSTRUMENTALIZED BY
REBELLIONS TO JUSTIFY AND
MOTIVATE THEIR CAUSE.

KEEN - FUNCTIONAL

- Definition informs the response: eg
 - Complex humanitarian emergency infers Humanitarian Relief = the solution
 - 'Civil war' as 'cultural' (Duffield calls this 'new barbarism') limits engagement
- Portrayal of violence as mindless, evil, inhumane + as result of extrinsic factors removes responsibility. R/o conflict will therefore → security
- Condemnation easier than explanation

KAPLAN POVERTY, CHAOS, & ANARCHY

“How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet”

Inexplicable irrationality – innate violence that can only be tranquilized by reaching a certain level of education, economic, and cultural standard.

KAPLAN – “AFRICA”

- continent of lawlessness, wild spirit power, unfettered sexuality expressed in polygamy
- "translated to an urban environment, loose family structures are largely responsible for the world's highest birth rates and the explosion of the HIV virus on the continent"

KAPLAN – IRRATIONALITY

“Whatever the laws, refugees find a way to crash our official borders, bringing their passions with them”

- Not responsible
- Elimination impossible
- conflict inevitable
- Containment only strategy

HUMANITARIAN IMPACT

Cannot annex, or conquest – ergo,
humanitarian aid!

US policy chooses disengagement,
avoidance, denial, + GWOT,
humanitarian action = handy way
of containing and managing it

Duffield calls this a 'Figleaf' for
foreign policy

DUFFIELD: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF WAR

- Functional + rational response → 'permanent emergencies'
- Alternative, creative method of development and modernity → opportunities for social and economic advancement in the void of a successful "development" paradigm on the state-sponsored level

DUFFIELD – NEW BARBARISM

New racism couched in multicultural language that lends support to the ideas of immigration control and humanitarian aid as a band-aid.

Old racism replaced by modern racism – innate and non-rational cultural difference means ethnic conflict is inevitable,

Multiculturalism: innate, static, and exportable into developmentalism

Jargon dichotomises

Cultural accommodation – ‘the best we can do’ (military budgets v hum’ budgets)

DUFFIELD

Worldviews of violence as irrational: limit or prevent, lead to wrong analysis (miss the real analysis of power) and are disempowering and manipulative

- Modern Racism
- New Barbarism
- Multiculturalism

The deliberate lack of power dynamics in analysis + intervention = “Functional ignorance” – as these worldviews used to shift State governance + responsibility to NGO governance

Furious at frame of humanitarian intervention as apolitical

DUFFIELD ON AID & POLITICS

- Modernity: North = formal international economy, south has reintegrated through parallel and shadow transborder activity
- New Wars V Old Wars - homeland v borderlands
- Development & Security
- Aid + Governance
- New and Improved developmentalism
- Foreign policy

DUFFIELD

Alternative world views understand that

1. actors have rational plans :
alternative economic models based
on narcotics, arms, or warlordism
2. Focus on power relations, not on the
fluffy, emotional concept of “culture”

CENTRAL CHARACTERISTIC

- War on Terror – violence is evil, right?
–so if you can just eliminate evil,
security will follow
- Victim ideology
- Intrinsic vs extrinsic factors
- Is permanent emergency a reality?
If so, how does this affect R&D?
- What's the point of humanitarian
intervention?

CHARACTERISTIC

AID AS SUBSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL ACTION

IMPLICATIONS

- Conflicts are protracted
- Blame shifts from politicians to humanitarians
- Expectations of aid to lay foundations of development, promote peace, etc., increase
- Focus of relief operations distorted

CHARACTERISTIC

**NEW FORMS OF
AUTHORITY
EVOLVE**

IMPLICATIONS

- Only strong institutions tends to be militarized or corporate
- Difficult to determine who speaks for the community
- Requires nuanced analysis of power structures

CHARACTERISTIC

**WEAKENED
CIVIL
SOCIETY**

IMPLICATIONS

- Humanitarians called upon to build/substitute capacity
- Few, or compromised local partners
- Existing capacity assumed to not exist so is not used
- Society unable to lay claims on authority for services, protection, etc.

CHARACTERISTIC

**PARALEGAL
SHADOW
ECONOMIES**

IMPLICATIONS

- Erode incentives for powerful and rich to work for justice or peace
- Point of wars no longer to win
- Is global & networked into world economies
- Humanitarian aid used to contain but not resolve crises

DISCOURSES ON VIOLENCE

- The point of war is not necessarily to win...
- This was a revolutionary idea post end of cold war
- Processes of accumulation and marginalisation occur side by side and are interdependent.
- War is about strategies of accumulation; these strategies generate marginalization – poverty, displacement, shame, malnutrition.