

READINGS ON REPRESSION, FACILITATION, AND VIOLENCE (Tilly 9/12/07)

Although the bibliography gives attention to civil war, I have neglected references on interstate war, revolution, and rebellion, which I can supply in abundance. Ask me for the related (and much more extensive) bibliography "Selected Readings on States and Relations among States."

1. Surveys, Concepts, and Methods

Abraham, David (1994): "Liberty and Property: Lord Bramwell and the Political Economy of Liberal Jurisprudence. Individualism, Freedom, and Utility," *American Journal of Legal History* 38: 288-321. (1996): "Liberty without Equality: the Property-Rights Connection in a 'Negative Citizenship' Regime," *Law & Social Inquiry* 21: 1-93, including rejoinders from Howard Gillman, James Oakes, Frank Michelman & Mark Tushnet.

Arendt, Hannah (1969): *On Violence*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. Classic statement of the classic distinction between (legitimate) force and (illegitimate) violence.

Asal, Victor, Brian Nussbaum & D. William Harrington (2007): "Terrorism as Transnational Advocacy: An Organizational and Tactical Examination," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30: 15-39.

Barkan, Steven E. & Lynne L. Snowden (2001): *Collective Violence*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Balanced, well informed textbook concentrating on American authors and examples.

Bauman, Zygmunt (1988): *Freedom*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Another Concept in Social Thought, this one recasting freedom not as an attribute of persons but as a kind of relation between unequals.

Bergesen, Albert J. (2007): ed., "Special Focus on Terrorism and Social Movements," *Mobilization* 12, no. 2 (June), entire issue. Terrorism becomes part of the contentious politics conversation.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1994): "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field," *Sociological Theory* 12: 1-18.

Brockett, Charles D. (1992): "Measuring Political Violence and Land Inequality in Central America" *American Political Science Review* 86: 169-176.

Brubaker, Rogers & David D. Laitin (1998): "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 423-452.

Burton, John W. (1997): *Violence Explained. The Sources of Conflict, Violence and Crime and their Prevention*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. Frustration of human needs generates violent responses.

Chesnais, Jean-Claude (1976): *Les morts violentes en France depuis 1826. Comparaisons internationales*. INED, Travaux et Documents, Cahier 75. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. Demographer's treatment of a tough topic. See also his more sweeping (1981): *Histoire de la violence en Occident de 1800 à nos jours*. Paris: Robert Laffont.

Chirot, Daniel & Martin E.P. Seligman (2000): eds., *Ethnopolitical Warfare. Causes, Consequences, and Possible Solutions*. Washington: American Psychological Association. What social psychology can (and can't) tell us about a range of interactions from local conflict to genocide.

Cioffi-Revilla, Claudio (1990): *The Scientific Measurement of International Conflict. Handbook of Datasets on Crises and Wars, 1495-1988 A.D.*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. Dense,

documented, no-nonsense presentation of the biggest machine-readable catalogs of war. See also his (1991): "The Long-Range Analysis of War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21: 603-630.

Conant, Ralph W. & Molly Apple Levin (1969): eds., *Problems in Research on Community Violence*. New York: Praeger. Methodological essays by Spiegel, Rossi and Tilly; includes a primeval version of this very bibliography.

Crenshaw, Martha (1983): ed., *Terrorism, Legitimacy, and Power. The Consequences of Political Violence*. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press. (1995): ed., *Terrorism in Context*. University Park: Penn State University Press. Worldwide comparisons by regional specialists.

Dudley, Leonard M. (1991): *The Word and the Sword. How Techniques of Information and Violence Have Shaped the World*. Oxford: Blackwell. Rarely does technological determinism come this bold and sophisticated.

Crawford, Neta C. (2003): "Just War Theory and the U.S. Counterterror War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1: 5-26.

Davis, Natalie Zemon (1975): *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Lively essays on festivals, protests, religious conflict and women's power – including ritual uses of violence.

Ellul, Jacques (1970): *Violence*. London: SCM Books. Skeptical consideration of the demand that Christians make revolution and Serve the People.

Engels, Friedrich, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*. (Often titled Anti-Dühring; many editions). Engels' most extensive statement on the political role of violence.

Fogarty, Brian E. (2000): *War, Peace, and the Social Order*. Boulder: Westview. A superior textbook.

Furet, François, Antoine Liniers & Philippe Raynaud (1985): *Terrorisme et démocratie*. Paris: Fayard. French and German domestic terrorism incite political theory.

Giddens, Anthony (1985): *The Nation-State and Violence*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Like much of Giddens' writing, frequently suggestive but often maddeningly vague and short of evidence.

Gould, Roger V. (2003): *Collision of Wills. How Ambiguity about Social Rank Breeds Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. The late great analyst of political processes treats escalation as an outcome of relational jockeying.

Grundy, Kenneth W. & Michael A. Weinstein (1974): *The Ideologies of Violence*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill. Review of different conceptions and their political basis.

Guttman, Matthew C. (1993): "Rituals of Resistance: A Critique of the Theory of Everyday Forms of Resistance", *Latin American Perspectives* 20: 74-92.

Heitmeyer, Wilhelm & John Hagan (2003): eds., *International Handbook of Violence Research*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. A massive survey of almost every aspect of violence, from individual to collective.

Hirsch, Herbert & David Perry (1973): ed., *Violence as Politics*. New York: Harper & Row. Original essays, most of them dealing with then-recent American experience.

Jackman, Mary R. (2002): "Violence in Social Life," *Annual Review of Sociology* 28: 387-415.

Krug, Etienne G. et al. (2002): *World Report on Violence and Health*. Geneva: World Health Organization. Extensive evidence on country to country variation, ample presentation of public health and psychological approaches to violence prevention, and almost no connection with the social scientific or historical literatures on its subject.

Kurtz, Lester (1999): ed., *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*. San Diego: Academic Press. 3 vols. Almost everything you wanted to know about the subject, neatly potted. I have singled out a few articles for special mention elsewhere in this bibliography.

Levin, Jack & Gordana Rabrenovic (2001): eds., "Hate Crimes and Ethnic Conflict: A Comparative Perspective," *American Behavioral Scientist* 45, no. 4, entire issue.

Mommsen, Wolfgang J. & Gerhard Hirschfeld, (1982): ed., *Social Protest, Violence and Terror in Nineteenth-and Twentieth-Century Europe*. New York: St. Martins. Cautious and well documented.

Nardin, Terry (1972): "Conflicting Conceptions of Political Violence," in Cornelius P. Cotter, ed., *Political Science Annual*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Newbury, David and Catharine Newbury (2000): "Bringing the Peasants Back In: Agrarian Themes in the Construction and Corrosion of Statist Historiography in Rwanda," *American Historical Review* 105: 832-877.

Novak, Shannon A. & Lars Rodseth (2006): "Remembering Mountain Meadows. Collective Violence and the Manipulation of Social Boundaries," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 62: 1-25.

Olzak, Susan (1989): "Analysis of Events in the Study of Collective Action," *Annual Review of Sociology* 15: 119-141. (1992): *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Event analysis and competition theory combine to grip struggles in American cities, 1877-1914.

Peyrefitte, Alain et al. (1977): *Réponses à la Violence. Rapport du Comité d'Etudes sur la Violence, la Criminalité et la Délinquance*. Paris: Presses Pocket. 2 vols. How worried French officials once interpreted violence.

Reiss, Albert J. Jr. & Jeffrey A. Roth (1993): eds., *Understanding and Preventing Violence*. Washington: National Academy Press. Everything we know, and more, about individual-level violence, in a semi-official compendium.

Reyna, S.P. & R.E. Downs (1994): eds., *Studying War. Anthropological Perspectives*. Langhorne, Pennsylvania: Gordon and Breach. (1999): *Deadly Developments. Capitalism, States and War*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach. What anthropologists say about war, across a wide variety of space and time.

Rubenstein, Richard E. (1970): *Rebels in Eden: Mass Political Violence in the United States*. Boston: Little, Brown. A quick review of the past, a longer look at the (then) present, with an eye to showing the solid political underpinnings of superficially senseless violence.

Rucht, Dieter, Ruud Koopmans & Friedhelm Neidhardt (1998): eds., *Acts of Dissent. New Developments in the Study of Protest*. Berlin: Sigma Rainer Bohn Verlag. "New developments" refer especially to methodological and conceptual innovations. For followup, see Dieter Rucht & Ruud Koopmans (1999): eds., "Protest Event Analysis," *Mobilization* 4, no. 2, entire issue.

Ruff, Julius R. (2001): *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A valuable synthesis, especially well informed on Western Europe and small-scale violence.

Rule, James B. (1988): *Theories of Civil Violence*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Rule examines the truth-claims of various sociologies by means of their statements about violent conflict.

Rummel, R.J. (1994): *Death by Government*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. Statistics (not all well documented or explained) of state-initiated violence.

Sambanis, Nicholas (2002): "A Review of Recent Advances and Future Directions in the Quantitative Literature on Civil War," *Defence and Peace Economics* 13: 215-243. (2004): "Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War," *Perspectives on Politics* 2: 259-280. (2004): "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48: 814-858.

Sandler, Todd & Walter Enders (2007): "Applying Analytical Methods to Study Terrorism," *International Studies Perspectives* 8: 287-302.

Schmid, Alex P. (2001): ed., *Countering Terrorism Through International Cooperation*. Milan: International Scientific and Professional Advisory Council of the United Nations Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Programme. A chilling but informative collection of expert testimonies.

Schmid, Alex P. & Janny de Graaf (1982): *Violence as Communication. Insurgent Terrorism and the Western News Media*. Beverly Hills: Sage. How terrorists broadcast their aims.

Senechal de la Roche, Roberta (2004): ed., "Theories of Terrorism: A Symposium," *Sociological Theory* 22: 1-105. Alexander, Bergesen, Black, Collins, Lizardo, Oberschall & Tilly weigh in with very different, even contradictory, perspectives on a weighty topic.

Singer, J. David (1999): "Correlates of War" in Lester Kurtz, ed., *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*. San Diego: Academic Press, I, 463-472.

Snyder, David (1976): "Theoretical and Methodological Problems in the Analysis of Governmental Coercion and Collective Violence," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 4: 277-293. (1978): "Collective Violence. A Research Agenda and Some Strategic Considerations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 22: 499-534.

Summers, Craig & Eric Markusen (1999): eds., *Collective Violence. Harmful Behavior in Groups and Governments*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. What contemporary social psychologists have to say about the subject.

Toch, Hans (1969): *Violent Men: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Violence*. Chicago: Aldine. As the title suggests, longer on attitudes than on political structure.

Tilly, Charles (2001): "Public Violence," *International Encyclopedia of the Behavioral and Social Sciences* (Amsterdam: Elsevier) Vol. 24, 16206-16211

Turk, Austin T. (2004): "Sociology of Terrorism," *Annual Review of Sociology* 30: 271-286.

Vlachová, Marie & Lea Bason (2005): eds., *Women in an Insecure World. Violence against Women. Facts, Figures and Analysis*. Geneva: Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces. A sweeping survey in the form of short, well documented essays plus many statistical tables.

Weigert, Kathleen Maas (1999): "Structural Violence" in Lester Kurtz, ed., *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, and Conflict*. San Diego: Academic Press, III, 431-446.

White, Robert W. (1993): "On Measuring Political Violence: Northern Ireland, 1969 to 1980," *American Sociological Review* 58: 575-585.

Williams, Robin (2003): *The Wars Within. Peoples and States in Conflict*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. A veteran student of ethnic and racial conflict spreads his wings.

Wilson, Richard Ashby (2003): ed., "Political Violence and Language," special issue of *Anthropological Theory* vol. 3, no. 3. Anthropologists observe and reflect on the subjectivities of both violence and language, objecting especially to their legalistic reduction to individual behavior and rights.

Zimmerman, Ekkart (1983): *Political Violence, Crises & Revolutions*. Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman. Sprawling guide to (then-) recent research in Europe and America.

2. Repression, Facilitation, Opportunity

Bajc, Vida & John Torpey (2007): eds., "Watching Out: Surveillance, Mobility, and Security," *American Behavioral Scientist* 50, no. 12 (August), entire issue.

Balbus, Isaac (1973): *The Dialectics of Legal Repression. Black Rebels before the American Criminal Courts*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. How courts weigh retaliation against the maintenance of legitimacy.

Beattie, John (1986): *Crime and the Courts in England, 1660-1800*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Careful, reflective, and valuable.

Béland, Daniel (2007): *States of Global Insecurity. Policy, Politics, and Society*. New York: Worth Publishers. How states respond to, and manipulate, threats to national security.

Binnendijk, Anika Locke & Ivan Marovic (2006): "Power and Persuasion: Nonviolent Strategies to Influence State Security Forces in Serbia (2000) and Ukraine (2004)," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 39: 411-429.

Boudreau, Vince (2004): *Resisting Dictatorship. Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. How oppositions formed – and why very different outcomes occurred – in Burma, the Philippines, and Indonesia.

Bozzoli, Belinda (2004): *Theatres of Struggle and the End of Apartheid*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, London. A deeply documented, self-consciously dramaturgic account of mobilization and its defeat in Alexandra township, near Johannesburg.

te Brake, Wayne (1998): *Shaping History. Ordinary People in European Politics 1500-1700*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Synthetic, sweeping, smart analysis of regional and social variation.

Brass, Paul R. (1996): ed., *Riots and Pogroms*. New York: New York University Press. How violent confrontation articulates with momentous routine politics, including the politics of identity. (1997): *Theft of an Idol. Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. How Indian conflicts become, or fail to become, "communal." (2003): *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. Sustained analysis of competing institutionalized riot systems in Aligarh, and therefore in India at large.

Brewer, John, & John Styles (1980): ed., *An Ungovernable People. The English and their Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. Rich reports on the culture and politics of protest.

Brockett, Charles D. (2005): *Political Movements and Violence in Central America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. How state repression and popular mobilization interacted in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Brophy, James M. (2004): "Violence Between Civilians and State Authorities in the Prussian Rhineland, 1830-1846," *German History* 22: 1-35.

Burt, Jo-Marie (1997): "Political Violence and the Grassroots in Lima, Peru" in Douglas A. Chalmers, Carlos M. Vilas, Katherine Hite, Scott B. Martin, Kerianne Piester & Monique Sergarra, eds., *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America. Rethinking Participation and Representation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cunningham, David (2003): "Understanding State Responses to Left- versus Right-Wing Threats: The FBI's Repression of the New Left and the Ku Klux Klan," *Social Science History* 27:327-370.

Cunningham, David & Barb Browning (2004): "The Emergence of Worthy Targets: Official Frames and Deviance Narratives Within the FBI." *Sociological Forum* 19: 347-370.

D'Alessio, Stewart J., David Eitle & Lisa Stolzenberg (2005): "The Impact of Serious Crime, Racial Threat, and Economic Inequality on Private Police Size," *Social Science Research* 34: 267-282.

Davenport, Christian (2000): ed., *Paths to State Repression. Human Rights Violations and Contentious Politics*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. With special emphasis on cross-national quantitative analyses. (2007): *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A searching, quantitatively grounded analysis of how and under what circumstances Voice and Veto, as components of democracy, inhibit or fail to inhibit repression.

Davenport, Christian & Marci Eads (2001): "Cued to Coerce or Coercing Cues? An Exploration of Dissident Rhetoric and its Relationship to Political Repression," *Mobilization* 6: 151-172.

Davenport, Christian, Hank Johnston & Carol Mueller (2005): eds., *Repression and Mobilization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. What specialists (including me) claim to know about how repression and mobilization interact.

Duarte, Ángel (2002): "La question de l'ordre public dans le républicanisme espagnol," *Le Mouvement Social* 201: 7-28.

Earl, Jennifer (2003): "Tanks, Tear Gas, and Taxes: Toward a Theory of Movement Repression," *Sociological Theory* 21: 44-68. (2006): ed., "Special Focus Issue on Repression and the Social Control of Protest," *Mobilization* 11: 129-267.

Fillieule, Olivier (1997): *Stratégies de la rue. Les manifestations en France*. Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques. Exhaustive catalogs of demonstrations in Nantes and Marseille at different times between 1975 and 1993, with more general analyses of how demonstrations work.

Gerstenberger, Heide (1990): *Die subjektlose Gewalt. Theorie der Entstehung bürgerlicher Staatsgewalt*. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot. Learned, conceptually-sophisticated historical exploration of the formation of depersonalized state authority in England and France.

Gillis, A.R. (1989): "Crime and State Surveillance in Nineteenth-Century France," *American Journal of Sociology*, 95: 307-341.

Goldstein, Robert J. (1983): *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe*. London: Croom Helm. Catalog, using a broad definition of repression, for all of Europe, 1815-1914. (2000): ed., *The War for the Public Mind. Political Censorship in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Westport: Praeger. Informative reports for Germany, Italy, France, Spain, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and Russia. (2001): *Political Repression in Modern America from 1870 to 1976*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Actually, the American book came first – in 1978; this reprint includes a bibliographical update, but otherwise reproduces the first edition's year-by-year documentation.

Goldstone, Jack A. & Charles Tilly (2001): "Threat (and Opportunity): Popular Action and State Response in the Dynamics of Contentious Action," in Ronald Aminzade et al., co-authors, *Silence and Voice in Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

González Callejo, Eduardo (2002): *La Violencia en la Política. Perspectivas teóricas sobre el empleo deliberado de la fuerza en los conflictos de poder*. Madrid: Consejo de Investigaciones Científicas. A vast survey, ultimately favorable to the contentious politics perspective. (2002): *El terrorismo en Europa*. Madrid: Arco/Libros. (2002): ed., *Políticas del miedo. Un balance del terrorismo en Europa*. Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva. (2003): *Los golpes de Estado*. Madrid: Arco/Libros. Historically informed, right-headed analyses of terror and coups d'état in Europe written or organized by a leading historian of Spanish violence and repression.

Hay, Douglas et al. (1975): *Albion's Fatal Tree. Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*. New York: Pantheon. Essays on crime, repression, and the use of legal means to hold back the working class.

Herreros, Francisco (2006): "'The Full Weight of the State': The Logic of Random State-Sanctioned Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 43: 671-689.

Herzog, Don (1998): *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Rich, riotous reflections on discourses of inequality, copiously illustrated from British literature and public life between 1750 and 1830, almost entirely uncontaminated by social scientific work on its subject.

Huggins, Martha Knisely (1985): *From Slavery to Vagrancy in Brazil*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. How planters and the state colluded to create new categories of "crime" after the abolition of slavery.

Hughes, Steven C. (1994): *Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento. The Politics of Policing in Bologna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. How breakdowns in policing threatened the pope's control over the Papal States.

Husung, Hans-Gerhard (1983): *Protest und Repression im Vormärz: Norddeutschland zwischen Restauration und Revolution*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. Catalog & quantification.

Khawaja, Marwan (1993): "Repression and Popular Collective Action: Evidence from the West Bank," *Sociological Forum* 8: 47-71.

Kotek, Joël & Pierre Rigoulot (2000): *Le siècle des camps. Détention, concentration, extermination. Cent ans de mal radical*. Paris: J.C. Lattès. Concentration camps and administrative detection from late 19th century Cuba to Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

Lichbach, Mark Irving (1987): "Deterrence or Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31: 266-297.

Licklider, Roy (1993): ed., *Stopping the Killing. How Civil Wars End*. New York: New York University Press. A thoughtful blend of case studies and theoretically informed essays fails to answer, but sharpens, the question posed by the subtitle. For a followup indicating that military

victories are more likely than negotiated settlements to stop the conflict definitively in identity conflicts but not other civil wars, see his (1995): "The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993," *American Political Science Review* 89: 681-690.

Lindenberger, Thomas (1995): *Strassenpolitik. Zur Sozialgeschichte der öffentlichen Ordnung in Berlin 1900 bis 1914*. Bonn: Dietz. How routine social life, policing, and street politics interacted in Berlin before World War I.

Linebaugh, Peter (1992): *The London Hanged. Crime and Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A self-consciously (E.P.) Thompsonian treatment of the executioner's victims and their social contexts.

Lis, Catharina & Hugo Soly (1996): *Disordered Lives. Eighteenth-Century Families and their Unruly Relatives*. Oxford: Polity Press. How, through *lettres de cachet* and similar devices, family members invoked state authority to control their own troublemakers.

Lucassen, Leo (1996): *Zigeuner. Die Geschichte eines polizeilichen Ordnungsbegriffes in Deutschland 1700-1945*. Cologne: Böhlau. How the category "Gypsy" served police to expel wanderers or fix them in place.

Mack, Arien (2007): ed., "Punishment: the U.S. Record," *Social Research* 74, no. 2, entire issue. A comprehensive, chilling look at American governmental punishment practices.

Milton, Cynthia E. (2007): "At the Edge of the Peruvian Truth Commission: Alternative Paths to Recounting the Past," *Radical History Review* 98: 3-33.

Mizruchi, Ephraim H. (1983): *Regulating Society. Marginality and Social Control in Historical Perspective*. New York: Free Press. How and why organizations arise to capture "surplus" people and hold them in abeyance.

Moore, Barrington Jr. (2000): *Moral Purity and Persecution in History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. How and why monotheism encourages the faithful to treat outsiders as impure and therefore worthy of extermination.

Munger, Frank (1979): "Measuring Repression of Popular Protest by English Justices of the Peace in the Industrial Revolution," *Historical Methods* 12: 76-83. (1981): "Suppression of Popular Gatherings in England, 1800-1830," *American Journal of Legal History* 25: 111-140.

Oliverio, Annamarie (1998): *The State of Terror*. Albany: State University of New York Press. Terror as screen and justification for state power in Italy and the US.

Olivier, Johan (1991): "State Repression and Collective Action in South Africa, 1970-84," *South African Journal of Sociology* 22: 109-117.

Osa, Maryjane & Kurt Schock (2007): "A Long, Hard Slog: Political Opportunities, Social Networks and the Mobilization of Dissent in Non-Democracies," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 27: 123-153.

Österberg, Eva & Dag Lindström (1988): *Crime and Social Control in Medieval and Early Modern Swedish Towns*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. *Studia Historica Upsaliensia*, 152. Fine-textured studies informed by reflective theorizing.

Pereira, Anthony W. (2005): *Political (In)justice. Authoritarianism and the Rule of Law in Brazil, Chile, and Argentina*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. How previous connections among ruling elites, including military elites, affected the severity of judicial repression in military regimes.

Perrot, Michelle (1960): ed., *L'impossible prison. Recherche sur le système pénitentiaire au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Seuil. Empirically-grounded essays stimulated -- but by no means imprisoned -- by Michel Foucault's provocative ideas on confinement.

Price, Roger D. (1982): "Techniques of Repression: The Control of Popular Protest in Mid-Nineteenth Century France," *Historical Journal* 25: 859-887.

Rae, Heather (2002): *State Identities and the Homogenisation of Peoples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 15th century Spain, 17th century France, early 20th century Turkey, and late 20th century Serbia as sites of genocidal attacks on minorities. Why?

Rousseaux, Xavier (1995): "La répression de l'homicide en Europe occidentale (Moyen Age et Temps modernes)," *Genèses* 19: 122-147.

Schwartz, Robert M. (1988): *Policing the Poor in Eighteenth-Century France*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. The turn toward repression . . . although not in the way that Michel Foucault conceived it.

Scott, James C. (1985): *Weapons of the Weak. Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (1990): *Domination and the Arts of Resistance. Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (1998): *Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (2000): "The Moral Economy as an Argument and as a Fight," in Adrian Randall & Andrew Charlesworth, eds., *Moral Economy and Popular Protest. Crowds, Conflict and Authority*. London: Macmillan. A fountainhead of resistance studies.

Seidman, Gay (2001): "Guerrillas in their Midst: Armed Struggle in the South African Anti-Apartheid Movement," *Mobilization* 6: 111-128.

Shawcross, William (2000): *Deliver Us From Evil. Peacekeepers, Warlords and a World of Endless Conflict*. New York: Simon & Schuster. A skilled writer-reporter tells what horrors he has seen.

Silver, Allan (1967): "The Demand for Order in Civil Society: A Review of Some Themes in the History of Urban Crime, Police and Riots," in David J. Bordua, ed., *The Police*. New York: Wiley.

Stanley, William (1996): *The Protection Racket State. Elite Politics, Military Extortion, and Civil War in El Salvador*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. How the Salvadoran state licensed violence on behalf of elites and the citizenry paid a terrible price.

Steinmetz, George (1993): *Regulating the Social. The Welfare State and Local Politics in Imperial Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Exquisitely tuned to current theoretical discussions, Steinmetz nonetheless does yeoman work in accounting for regional variations within the empire.

Stiglmayer, Alexandra (1994): ed., *Mass Rape. The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Detailed documentation and grim reflections thereon.

Stohl, Michael (1976): *War and Domestic Political Violence. The American Capacity for Repression and Reaction*. Beverly Hills, California: Sage. Close examination of that crucial interaction.

Tilly, Charles (2005): "Repression, Mobilization, and Explanation" in Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston & Carol Mueller, eds., *Repression and Mobilization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. (2006): *Regimes and Repertoires*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. How the organization of national regimes affects the forms of contentious politics.

Titarenko, Larissa, John D. McCarthy, Clark McPhail & Boguslaw Augustyn (2001): "The Interaction of State Repression, Protest Form and Protest Sponsor Strength During the Transition from Communism in Minsk, Belarus, 1990-1995," *Mobilization* 6: 129-150.

Walzer, Michael (1970): "The Revolutionary Uses of Repression," in Melvin Richter, ed., *Essays in Theory and History: An Approach to the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

3. Forms of Conflict and Violence

Ackerman, Peter & Jack DuVall (2000): *A Force More Powerful. A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Palgrave. An accessible panorama of 20th century nonviolence, in a hopeful mode. For political scientists' appraisals, see Ackerman et al. (2000): "A Force More Powerful," *PS. Political Science and Politics* 33: 147-188.

Adams, Jr. Graham (1966): *The Age of Industrial Violence*. New York: Columbia University Press. The American age, that is.

Africa, Thomas W. (1971): "Urban Violence in Imperial Rome," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2: 3-22.

Armstrong, Gary (1998): *Football Hooligans. Knowing the Score*. Oxford: Berg. A superior ethnography of Sheffield's violent specialists.

Arrom, Silvia M. (1988): "Popular Politics in Mexico City: The Parián Riot, 1828," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68: 245-268.

Ashforth, Adam (2000): *Madumo: A Man Bewitched*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. If you think witchcraft can't be a political force, read this book and think again. (2005): *Witchcraft, Violence, and Democracy in South Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. A much more general, and political, consideration of the same disturbing theme.

Auyero, Javier (2007): *Routine Politics and Violence in Argentina. The Gray Zone of State Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. How "looting" and "rioting" interact with state and party power.

Ballentine, Karen & Jake Sherman (2003): eds., *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict. Beyond Greed & Grievance*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. Concrete studies of Angola, Colombia, Zaire and elsewhere complicate the place of lootable and non-lootable resources in civil wars.

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Boehm, Christopher (1987): *Blood Revenge. The Enactment and Management of Conflict in Montenegro and Other Tribal Societies.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. First published by University Press of Kansas, 1984. Ethnography and ethnohistory of murderous but contained practices.

Bouton, Cynthia A. (1993): *The Flour War. Gender, Class, and Community in Late Ancien Régime French Society.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. What the Guerre des Farines of 1775 tells us about French social life in general.

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Brockett, Charles D. (2005): *Political Movements and Violence in Central America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Repression, civil war, and cycles of contention in Guatemala and El Salvador.

Brown, Richard Maxwell (1975): *Strain of Violence. Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism.* New York: Oxford University Press. Brown sees the violence of the 1960s as drawing on a well-ingrained tradition.

Buford, Bill (1991): *Among the Thugs.* New York: Vintage. Drink, drugs, solidarity, and the sheer exhilaration of doing damage among soccer hooligans, as told by a gifted (and no doubt selective) reporter who was there, over and over again.

de la Calle Robles, Luis (2007): "Fighting for Local Control: Street Violence in the Basque Country," *International Studies Quarterly* 51: 431-456.

Charlesworth, Andrew (1983): ed., *An Atlas of Rural Protest in Britain 1548-1900.* London: Croom Helm. Geography, and more, of major conflicts.

Charlesworth, Andrew et al. (1996): eds., *An Atlas of Industrial Protest in Britain 1750-1990*. London: Macmillan. More of the same, but different.

Chesterman, Simon (2001): ed., *Civilians in War*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner. Among other important observations, the stunning rise of civilian casualties as 20th century wars roared on.

Clinard, Marshall B. & Daniel J. Abbott (1973): *Crime in Developing Countries: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: Wiley. Mainly African material.

Clark, Samuel & James S. Donnelly, Jr. (1983): eds., *Irish Peasants: Violence and Political Unrest, 1780-1914*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. Examples of recent historical and sociological research.

Cobb, Richard (1970): *The Police and the People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Both the police and the people in question are French, during the half-century from the beginning of the Revolution. See also his *Second Identity*, complete with essays, autobiography and previously anonymous TLS reviews, all beautifully written and argued without quarter.

Cock, Jacklyn & Laurie Nathan (1989): eds., *War and Society. The Militarisation of South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip. Short, pungent articles on the omnipresence of military force in a beleaguered country.

Cockburn, J.S. (1991): "Patterns of Violence in English Society: Homicide in Kent 1560-1985," *Past and Present* 130: 70-106.

Cohn, Samuel R. (1993): *When Strikes Make Sense -- And Why*. New York: Plenum. Coalminers' strikes under the French Third Republic illuminate general conditions for effective striking. I include it here because a reputation for violence turns out to be helpful.

Collier, Paul & Nicholas Sambanis (2005): eds., *Understanding Civil War*. Washington DC: World Bank, 2 vols. Illustration and application of the Collier greed vs. grievance model, with case studies from Africa (volume I) and other regions, especially Europe and Central Asia (volume II).

Conley, Carolyn A. (1999): *Melancholy Accidents. The Meaning of Violence in Post-Famine Ireland*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books. Judicial records of violent crimes between 1866 and 1892 reveal high proportions of brawls, readiness of juries to take passion into account, and more justice for women victims than one might have expected.

Conot, Robert (1967): *Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness*. New York: Bantam. The 1965 Watts conflict by a skilled, patient investigative reporter.

Cooper, Frederick (1987): *On the African Waterfront. Urban Disorder and the Transformation of Work in Colonial Mombasa*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Sharp and systematic.

Corbin, Alain & Jean-Marie Mayeur (1997): eds., *La Barricade*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. While not strictly speaking a *form* of violence, the barricade has repeatedly figured as a *site* of violence in France and elsewhere.

Courtwright, David T. (1996): *Violent Land. Single Men and Social Disorder from the Frontier to the Inner City*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. America is a violent country, Courtwright argues, because and to the extent that young, single men congregate in exceptionally large numbers.

Daniel, E. Valentine (1996): *Charred Lullabies. Chapters in an Anthropography of Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. That subtitle warns you that you're in for heavy wordplay and wandering argument, but Daniel's heartfelt effort to make sense of Sri Lankan struggles justifies the trip.

Dekker, Rudolf (1982): *Holland in beroering. Oproeren in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. Baarn: Amboeken. A century of "protest," including violent encounters with authorities, in the Netherlands.

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Economie et Humanisme (1969): *Violences et Société*. Paris: Editions Ouvrières. In the wake of 1968, left-leaning French intellectuals reflect on causes and meanings of violence.

Einolf, Christopher J. (2007): "The Fall and Rise of Torture: A Comparative and Historical Analysis," *Sociological Theory* 25: 101-121.

Ellis, Stephen (2000): *The Mask of Anarchy. The Destruction of Liberia and the Religious Dimension of an African Civil War*. New York: New York University Press. Arms, contraband, kinship, and religion interleave murderously.

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Farré Morego, J.M. (1922): *Los atentados sociales en España*. Madrid: Artes Graficas. Detailed event-by-event enumerations of violent conflict.

Farrell, Sean (2000): *Rituals and Riots. Sectarian Violence and Political Culture in Ulster, 1784-1886*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. Through glasses supplied by E.P. Thompson and Natalie Davis, Farrell re-reads the battles of Protestants and Catholics for their political culture.

Feagin, Joe R. & Harlan Hahn (1973): *Ghetto Revolts*. New York: Macmillan. A vigorous synthesis encompassing the literature of the 1960's.

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Monkkonen, Eric, Elizabeth Dale & Pieter Spierenburg (2006): "AHR Forum: The Problem of American Homicide," *American Historical Review* 111: 75-114. Statement from the late Eric Monkkonen followed by reactions from Dale and Spierenburg.

Naimark, Norman M. (2001): *Fires of Hatred. Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Soberly and chillingly, a reflective historian reviews the repeated brutality visited on Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Chechens, Tatars, Germans, and Yugoslav minorities.

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4. Violent Specialists, Violent Means, and their Suppliers

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