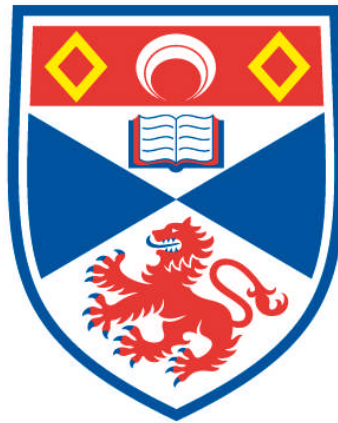


NEEDS, IDENTITY, AND LEADERSHIP : A THEORY OF CONFLICT AND CHANGE

Nea Finne

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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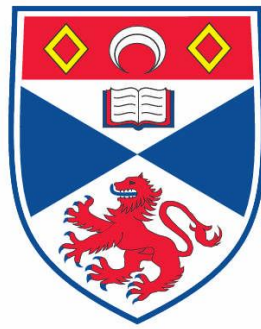
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Needs, Identity, and Leadership: A Theory of Conflict and Change

Nea Finne



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

19 February 2013

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I, Nea Finne, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 79,150 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a research student in May 2009 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in May 2010, the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2009 and 2013.

I, Nea Finne, received assistance in the writing of this thesis in respect of language and grammar, which was provided by Dylan Lehrke.

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Abstract

This Ph.D. dissertation aims to inform theories of conflict and International Relations (IR) by using modified social psychological models of identification and leadership in which needs fulfilment plays a central role. The main hypothesis is that identification with groups and leaders is flexible on the lower needs levels and more lasting on the higher needs levels, and that leadership, to be adaptive, must on the lower needs levels be action-oriented and on the higher levels be relations-oriented. This hypothesis is used to inform group- and system-level theories. On the group level, the hypothesis reads that due to this pattern of individual identification, cohesive collective action and violence in physiological deprivation requires coercive leadership to make up for the absence of unity, while on the higher needs levels collective violence necessitates manipulative leadership to make up for the absence of real deprivation. On the system level, the hypothesis reads that since the dynamics of collective action depend on the level of needs fulfilment and identification, change in the system can only be understood by examining all three levels of analysis. The first two hypotheses (on the individual and group level) are developed and demonstrated through qualitative case studies on the conflicts of the Sudan/South Sudan and between the former Yugoslav republics. These hypotheses are then used to reconcile the various conflicting theories on each level of analysis as well as to create a comprehensive framework through which the various theories and concepts of IR can be seen as connected to a certain level of needs security/development, and thus as historically and regionally specific.

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Introduction

This dissertation has been motivated by three major concerns which arose during the author's previous studies in International Relations (IR). The first of these relates to the slack use of the concept of collective identity, or sometimes its exclusion, in IR theories. Although group identification has been found to be a cause of such transformational large-scale phenomena as the rise and fall of nations,¹ collective identity is often seen as something fixed and ever-present; it is a kind of black box which is often mentioned yet eludes investigation in the international context. The second, equally serious problem, directly connected to the first, is the exclusion of individual agency, in both IR and various conflict theories, of state and other group leaders who constitute international society. Leader personality does not generally fit into structural theories, nor does the very real capacity of some leaders to manipulate the masses into believing in either the flaws or flawlessness of certain ingroup or national structures, and to mobilise those masses accordingly.

The third issue of concern relates to both IR theory and the social sciences more generally. The hierarchy of basic human needs is a well-known idea, yet has remained one of the least investigated and theorised concepts. This is possibly a consequence of the needs hierarchy, as originally devised by Maslow² and expounded upon by many others, being a concept based more on human intuition than on any falsifiable empirical findings. As Chapter 1 will make clear, the various theoretical models on the needs hierarchy are not especially revealing, although the concept itself can hardly be overlooked. The incapacity to create a convincing framework of needs or a thorough explanation of their practical effects has led to the withering of the entire concept, rendering it an interesting but largely abandoned theoretical fancy. As a result, questions such as how human needs motivation translates into collective action and how the needs hierarchy manifests itself in IR have remained unanswered. The idea of a needs hierarchy must thus be expanded upon in a novel manner so as to give it a new lease on life.

¹ For such a use of identity, see for example Rodney Bruce Hall, *National Collective Identity: Social Constructs and International Systems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

² Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (2nd Edition, NY: Harper & Row, 1970).

The abandonment of the needs hierarchy as well as the neglect of collective identity in IR theory is unfortunate, for this has meant the exclusion of a major theory of human motivation in the field of IR. Motivation and the ways in which it is transformed into collective action, however, cannot be investigated by looking at only one (needs) or the other (identity). This thesis links motivation and collective action through a simple innovation: the unification of the needs hierarchy with theories of collective identity and leadership. Such a merger, as will be seen, leads to an understanding of identity and motivation that is more flexible and illuminating than the ones used thus far in the social sciences. This connection is essential, for only after motivation on different levels of needs fulfilment is understood can one investigate how the various combinations of needs, identities, and leadership styles are likely to result in various types of collective action in real intergroup relations. Equally importantly, only after understanding the power dynamics of the group can one begin to talk about how these collective mechanisms function on the systemic, international level.

The purpose of this dissertation is thus to integrate social psychological knowledge into IR theory in a more comprehensive manner than has thus far been done. As opposed to political psychologists, who investigate leader decision-making in the international context (characterised by uncertainty and misperceptions),³ the present approach seeks to integrate also collective identity and mass mobilisation into IR theory. Instead of using needs and identity only to formulate theories of collective violence (as in Chapter 2), these elements are also used to inform system-level theories. Consequently, instead of only suggesting partial solutions, the present thesis proposes a theoretical framework made up of three levels of analysis. The first level investigates the rules of identification and motivation present in the minds of each individual human. The second level explores how these psychological predispositions function in the ingroup context and give rise to various types of collective action. The third level examines how ingroup dynamics and interaction between groups give rise to systemic structures and structural evolution. It is hoped that such a tripartite model will provide a novel lens through which to view large-scale mechanisms of change and collective violence, and thus yield new insights for both conflict and IR theorists.

³ For a recent review, see J. M. Goldgeier and P. E. Tetlock, "Psychology and International Relations Theory," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 67–92.

Initial Ontological Assumptions

Given that the framework developed here is based on the needs hierarchy, it accepts some ontological assumptions pertaining to needs theories as well as to socio-biology and evolutionary psychology. The most important assumption is that although most human behaviour is learnt, certain behavioural models or mechanisms are innate and have a genetic basis.⁴ These natural patterns ultimately derive from and are conditioned by the need to survive in an environment of life-threatening scarcity. Evolutionary psychology argues, in particular, that the various psychological adaptations – connected to, for example, leadership and aggression – that evolved in the evolutionary setting continue to direct human behaviour and often result in maladaptive outcomes. The present thesis, however, develops this supposition by studying how the functioning of such mechanisms may be influenced by present environmental factors. It is assumed that scarcity, or needs deprivation, causes psychological adaptations such as identity and leader-follower relations to function in different ways on different levels of needs fulfilment. In the present framework, identity and leadership are, therefore, not seen as fixed “rights” or “needs,” as they are often perceived to be by social psychologists, but as flexible mechanisms furthering collective survival.

Looking at the relationship between needs fulfilment and psychological mechanisms is an essential step forward in psychology as well as in the social sciences in general. As McDermott points out in the context of evolutionary psychology, not much has been done to determine how people choose, transform, and abandon their identities, or how “changes in the external environment precipitate shifts in identity” and thus in collective behaviour.⁵ The question, however, is crucial, because the relationship between the environment and the human mind – between the real and ideational aspects of reality – is a contentious issue throughout the social sciences. As will be seen, on the individual level, in social psychology, a debate exists between realistic and cognitive explanations of collective identification; on the group level and in theories of collective violence, between economic/class versus ideational explanations of conflict; in IR and on the

⁴ The most significant sociobiologist writing in this vein is Edward O. Wilson, in *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), whose hypotheses evolutionary psychologists largely follow. Regarding the latter, see for example Charles Crawford and Dennis L. Krebs, *Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology: Ideas, Issues, Applications* (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1998), or the more popular Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1976).

⁵ Rose McDermott, “New Directions for Experimental Work in International Relations,” *International Studies Quarterly* 55 (2011), 503–520: 512.

systemic level of analysis, between realistic and constructivist (liberalism residing in between) descriptions of the international system. Although these debates are called by different names, they all boil down to the same issue: whether realistic or ideational factors matter more for collective behaviour – whether interests are ontologically prior to identities or identities prior to interests.

Such debates, it is argued, can be tackled through the use of the needs hierarchy and by abandoning the often unarticulated but widespread assumption that group behaviour follows the same patterns irrespective of the level of deprivation experienced by the group. Even if basic needs are ontologically prior to the mechanisms of identity and leadership, this does not mean that the latter are of no importance. Quite the opposite, the environment or the level of deprivation may both constrain and enable the use of identity and leadership and thereby result, depending on the needs level, in either weak or persistent social constructions such as ideas, values, and identities, as well as weak or persistent group structures (in particular politico-economic structures, hereafter called "needs strategies"). Basically, the level of deprivation or needs fulfilment determines whether needs or identities are regarded as ontologically paramount. Thus, as evolutionary psychologists would argue, human beings are not rational actors: they are not only or always concerned with purely material, and personal, interests, and often act irrationally and based on group opinion. In addition, however, patterns of adaptive rationality may exist in the ways in which identities and cognition work, and in the types of behaviours and structures that arise as a result.

Given that one of the main purposes of the present thesis is to reconcile the various opposing theories of identity, conflict, and IR by linking them to different levels of needs fulfilment, its ontology naturally contradicts the ontological suppositions of all or most of the theories discussed in the various chapters. Especially in the field of IR, where the distance between psychological and systemic considerations is the greatest, many theorists might be averse to linking the structures of the international environment to some evolutionary premises of human existence. However, it should be noted that the present work is hardly the first to do so. In the field of conflict resolution, John Burton has argued that the universal necessity of needs fulfilment underlies all collective action and change, both in the domestic and international arenas, for individuals are driven to

satisfy their needs regardless of structural constraints imposed upon them.⁶ Evolutionary psychologists, again, have for some time argued that the demands of the evolutionary environment explain the persistence of phenomena such as aggression and coalitional behaviour even in the modern system.⁷ To convince the reader of the importance of further developing such a research agenda, one must do what Burton and evolutionary psychologists have not: to specify the mechanisms linking the various levels of analysis from the individual to the international system.

The Three Levels of Theory

The theoretical framework is set out in three chapters (1, 2, and 7), the first addressing the question of motivation and identification (in other words the changing nature of individual agency), the second addressing collective action and violent mobilisation (the changing nature of ingroup power and empowerment), and the third addressing the evolution of the system structure (or the changing nature of intergroup hegemony). The entire framework is ultimately based on the remodelled needs hierarchy, set out in Chapter 1, which consists of physiological, security, and status needs only, as well as on the basic hypothesis that the nature of identity and leadership depends on and changes according to the level of needs fulfilment.

Chapter 1, in addition to developing the remodelled needs hierarchy, uses the needs-identity nexus to reconcile theories found in social psychology and sociology that treat identity and leadership as fixed concepts. It is suggested that on the physiological and security needs levels, stress and anxiety have the effect of making identification dependent on the realistic benefits provided by the group, and identification thus changes along with the material perks offered by the environment. On the status level, on the other hand, existential threats are absent and the individual's attention is turned towards finding suitable status roles through inter-individual competition. On this level, collective identities have proven their worth and thus provide persuasive categories through which to perceive the world, leaving more space for ideational elements and manipulation. Leadership can be seen to have a similar dual nature: on the lower levels,

⁶ John Burton, *Deviance, Terrorism, and War: The Process of Solving Unsolved Social and Political Problems* (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1979).

⁷ See in particular Anthony C. Lopez, Rose McDermott, and Michael Bang Petersen, "States in Mind: Evolution, Coalitional Psychology, and International Politics," *International Security* 36, no. 2 (2011): 48–83; for a review on aggression see Russill Durrant, "Collective Violence: An Evolutionary Perspective," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 16 (2011): 428–436.

only action-oriented leaders capable of addressing existential threats will be of any use, while on the status level leaders must be relations-oriented and respect existing identity categories if they are to be seen as acceptable.

Chapter 2, in turn, examines the rules of collective mobilisation. Mobilisation is shown to be a more complex phenomenon than identification due to free leader-agency and because, contrary to identification, the ease of mobilisation diminishes as one moves onto the higher levels of needs fulfilment.⁸ Indeed, as stability and needs fulfilment in the group increases, identities gain power while, at the same time, mobilisation becomes less rational. One can thus perceive of conflict as a continuum where at one end (low needs), mobilisation is easy to achieve but unity is not, and at the other end (higher needs), unity is easy to achieve but mobilisation is not. Thus, at the lower end of the continuum, cohesive, large-scale violence can be achieved only by coercive leaders while at the higher end, it can be achieved only when manipulative leaders manage to create an illusion of existential threat. By integrating the synthesis of Chapter 1 into theories of conflict, therefore, the various types of conflict can be integrated into one framework of *perceived relative deprivation* (PRD), where *deprivation* (the realistic aspects) and *perception* (the cognitive aspect) vary in importance. At the same time one can reconcile the apparently contradictory economic/class theories and ideational/cultural theories of conflict found in the conflict literature.

The theoretical framework set out in Chapters 1 and 2 is further developed in the case study Chapters 3-6 (described in the section below). Chapter 7, however, constitutes the highest level of the theoretical model and applies the findings of the previous chapters to IR theory. If the framework of Chapters 1 and 2 is correct in that individual agency as well as group empowerment indeed changes according to the level of needs fulfilment, in essence moving from materialism and coercion towards an increasing reliance on structure and ideational techniques, then inevitably also the nature of the intergroup system and intergroup hegemony must evolve in a similar manner as the groups in the intergroup context develop in terms of needs security. The different levels of evolution of the international system are in this chapter linked to the broad IR theories of realism,

⁸ Although the words "lower," denoting the physiological/security levels, and "higher," denoting the security/status levels are used here, these refer to the needs' positions in the needs hierarchy rather than their importance. On this point, see further Chapter 1.1.

liberalism, and constructivism, whose implicit assumptions about the nature of agency and power neatly correspond with the dynamics suggested in the previous chapters.

It should be noted that the purpose of this last chapter is not to reiterate all the important debates found in the various fields of IR theory, but only to show how the needs-PRD approach developed in the previous chapters can inform IR theory, and in particular provide a way of understanding the evolution of the international structure. Indeed, by linking the different dynamics of agency, power, and hegemony to the physiological, security, and status levels of needs fulfilment, realism, liberalism, and constructivism can be made historically and regionally specific. As with Chapters 1 and 2, the purpose is not to reject or supplant the alternative theoretical positions, but merely to reconcile the alternative models by limiting their supposed universal applicability.

Case Study Methodology

While Chapter 7 is wholly theoretically deduced and based on the findings of the previous thesis chapters, the theory of Chapters 1 and 2 is based on existing theory but is also further developed through the comparative case studies found in Chapters 3-6. Two cases are examined – the Sudan, with an emphasis on the Southern Sudanese peoples, and the former Yugoslavia, with an emphasis on the Serbs. The hypotheses of Chapter 1, on the nature of collective identity, are developed through Chapters 3 and 5, which study the power of collective identity in physiological deprivation (Sudan) and status deprivation (former Yugoslavia) respectively. The hypotheses of Chapter 2 on mobilisation, in turn, are developed through Chapters 4 and 6, which examine the nature and prerequisites of large-scale mobilisation in physiological deprivation (Sudan) and in status deprivation (among the Serbs) respectively.

Since the theoretical framework developed in this thesis is mostly based on theoretical literature in various fields, for the sake of clarity and to avoid repetition Chapters 1 and 2 have been written so as to describe not only the hypotheses based on theoretical deduction but also the theoretical end result which has come about in the course of the case study process. Chapter 1, which concentrates on social psychology, is more clearly theory-based and therefore only intermittently refers to chapters 3 and 5. Indeed, Chapters 3 and 5 should be seen as descriptive examples of how the nature of collective identity varies depending on the level of needs fulfilment, rather than as a means of

“testing” Chapter 1 hypotheses. Chapter 2, while also largely based on a new reading/ converging of social psychological and conflict theory, relies somewhat more on the case study findings, which is reflected in the chapter's more frequent references to the case study findings.

The qualitative case studies have been chosen in accordance with the demands of the theory, which distinguishes between identification and mobilisation and between different levels of needs fulfilment. Firstly, they have been chosen on the dependent variable or the outcome. For the purposes of Chapter 1, the dependent variable is large-scale identity change, which might be best examined, for example, in the context of secession or independence. For the purposes of Chapter 2, the dependent variable is large-scale conflict. Secondly, the cases have been chosen on the intervening variable, namely the level of deprivation/ needs fulfilment. Given the needs approach of the theory, the cases obviously must represent the different levels of deprivation/ needs fulfilment, and preferably be cases at the two extremes of severe and mild deprivation that constitute so-called “crucial” or “most likely” cases which should most strongly point to a particular outcome.⁹ By comparing cases of physiological and status deprivation one can thus best investigate the question of whether the nature of identification and mobilisation indeed varies with the level of needs fulfilment.

The Sudan and Yugoslavia/ Serb cases obviously fit the “crucial case” demands perfectly, given that both the former Sudan and the former Yugoslavia are countries which have experienced a visible change in collective identity (secession in the case of the Sudan and disintegration in the case of the former Yugoslavia) *as well as* large-scale collective violence. Using these two cases allows one to examine the Chapter 1 and 2 hypotheses through the same historical events, rather than in the context of disparate events of collective violence and /or secession in different countries. It is also worth noting that since the historical record suggests that large-scale conflict is relatively infrequent in societies suffering of status deprivation only, the Serbian case is one of very few alternatives at the “high needs” end, albeit a very interesting one. Although alternative cases were also studied, the present ones were chosen for practical purposes

⁹ Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2005), 121.

and because they were sufficiently recent to be of particular interest to the author as well as potential readers.

The method of inquiry in the case studies is that of within-case process tracing, which “attempts to empirically establish the posited intervening variables and implications that should be true in a case if a particular explanation of that case is true,”¹⁰ and cross-case comparison. According to George and Bennett, within-case analysis and cross-case comparison together constitute the “strongest means of drawing inferences.”¹¹ The intervening variables under particular scrutiny here are the processes connected to identity and leadership and their persuasiveness on different needs levels. Although such cognitive and identity-related elements are very difficult to measure and have been characterised as problematic for theory evaluation,¹² examining these processes are essential for developing the present theory. It is thus hoped that, despite the difficulty of measuring motivation, the great variance in the intervening variable on which the cases have been chosen (the needs level) will allow some of the potential differences in the leader/identity processes to become visible through process-tracing.

For various reasons the analysis of the two cases is based exclusively on secondary sources. Most important is the fact that the ultimate purpose of the present work is to advance theory and to create bridges between various levels of analysis and fields of social scientific inquiry, rather than to add to the particular knowledge about the two cases. Extensive theoretical research thus has been and remained the point of departure, and is indeed seen as sufficient for introducing a novel way of perceiving identity, conflict, and social change. Also, the general relationship between identity and needs is well demonstrated through the historical events themselves (in Chapters 3 and 5). With regard to Chapters 4 and 6 on mobilisation, fieldwork and interviews may have provided added value, and it is of course hoped that the validity of the suggested framework will in the future be verified through such activities. The present thesis, however, must maintain some limits and thus excludes work that further tests or develops only one level of analysis of the overall framework. Other reasons for relying on secondary sources only include language considerations and the limited availability

¹⁰ Ibid., 147.

¹¹ Ibid., 18.

¹² Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 109.

of primary (NGO-generated or other) sources, especially pertaining to the Sudanese case study.

The Sudan: Identity and Mobilisation

Chapter 3 examines the nature of collective identity and its power to direct collective behaviour in countries characterised by a low level of development, especially among groups suffering from physiological deprivation. The chapter examines the evolution of a Northern Sudanese identity before and after Sudanese independence in 1956 and the use of Islamic and pan-Arabic ideology by elites after independence and up to the 1990s. The development of a Southern Sudanese group identity is also examined, from the pre-independence era to the first (1955-1972) and second (1983-2005) North-South civil wars. The particularities of the second civil war are described as central to the development of a Southern Sudanese identity. Indeed, as will be shown, it was the second North-South war which eventually led to Southern Sudanese independence in 2011 and thus crystallised the creation of a new ingroup.

The purpose of the chapter is to show that because of clear class differences in Sudanese society, Sudanese identity has remained indefinite. It will be shown that instead of relying on constant definitions of collective identity, the Sudanese elites have used various readings of Islam and Arabism as ideological tools to justify their relative gratification vis-à-vis the peripheral tribes, and that the extent to which elite-created ideologies were adopted by peripheral tribes correlates with their class position in the overall structure. Since the peripheries of the Sudan have not benefited from the national needs strategy, tribes have largely retained their traditional strategies for needs provision and thus also their traditional identities, or in cases where traditional strategies have collapsed altogether, looked for new, alternative identities. The continuous physiological deprivation experienced by the Southern peoples in particular compelled them to mobilise against the North and look for alternative group affiliations capable of addressing the cause of deprivation. Sudanese history thus suggests that on the lower needs levels, collective identities do not have the power to direct collective action. Instead, collective identities are adopted and abandoned depending on whether they are experienced as helpful or unhelpful from the perspective of collective survival.

Chapter 4 subsequently describes the dynamics of mobilisation for collective violence in physiological/security deprivation. The chapter concentrates on describing the nature of mobilisation of rebel groups during the second North-South civil war, in particular the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/ Army (SPLM/A) led by John Garang and the rival rebel movement SPLA-United led by Riek Machar. The leadership styles of the respective leaders will also be studied so as to determine which leadership type is conducive to cohesive collective action in physiological and security deprivation. As a comparison, the mobilisation of government troops is also examined. While not enough data is available on the behaviour of the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF), the chapter will briefly examine the Popular Defence Forces (PDF) and tribal militias, both of which fought against the South in the second civil war and against other African tribes in the Darfur conflict (from 2003 onwards).

The chapter describes the mobilisation of the Southern rebels as a natural and automatic response to the absence of functioning needs strategies in the South. As rebel testimonies and the intertribal war between the two sections of the SPLA attest, people suffering from physiological deprivation tend to be unconcerned with political ideology, and their primary aim is to guarantee continued needs fulfilment through collective violence if necessary. It will be shown that since physiological deprivation predisposes individuals to accept various leaders and group affiliations based on their capacity to further needs fulfilment, the difficulty lies not in mobilising people but in forcing their attentions towards a particular opponent. A cohesive collective movement can consequently be built only by leaders who possess superior coercive and material capabilities. The behaviour of the PDF and the tribal militias also suggests that relatively gratified groups participating in violence are mainly motivated by needs fulfilment, although justificatory ideologies are more likely to be used. The nature of mobilisation thus seems to change slightly as one moves from physiological deprivation to higher levels of needs fulfilment.

Yugoslavia and the Serbs: Identity and Mobilisation

Chapter 5 examines the nature of collective identity and its power to direct collective behaviour in countries characterised by a relatively high level of development and among groups suffering primarily from status deprivation. The chapter describes the history of Yugoslavism and Serbian identity, and also, briefly, the development of

Slovenian, Croatian, and Bosnian identities in the early 1990s when these peoples declared independence. Since only the mobilisation of the Serbs will be investigated in chapter 6, Serbian history is the focus. The aim is to show that in status PRD, collective identity has much persuasive power and can be used by leaders to define mass interests, although it can be used only temporarily to prevent the masses from achieving the status level. For example, the history of Yugoslavism shows how national identity and (Communist) ideology could both be used to define collective interests, but also demonstrates that national identity prevailed because it offered superior opportunities for status fulfilment.

The goal of the chapter is to show that in status deprivation, the nature of change and intergroup relations depends on the interaction between leader personality and the history of collective identity. The capacity to manipulate the masses seems strongest in groups with a history of conflict and violence with 'Others,' as was the case with Serbia. The past experience of physiological and security PRD when a group has already been in existence for some time provides ample material for leader manipulation even after a desired status level has been achieved. With such historical material, leaders can create an illusion of continued existential threat and hide real class relations from sight – and thus justify their continued authoritarianism. It will be shown that in the case of Serbia and Croatia, such historical material was ample, causing leaders to promote competitive rather than cooperative intergroup relations. In the case of Slovenia on the other hand, such material was limited, which may have persuaded the Slovenian leadership to respect the desire of the masses to move onto achieving status level needs through independence and cooperation with Western Europe.

The power of historical identity to direct perceptions regarding group interest does not, however, mean that it also has the power to mobilise people into collective violence. Chapter 6 seeks to clarify this by examining the behaviour of Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian Serbs from the late 1980s until the end of Yugoslav wars (1991-1995). It explores the behaviour of Serb politicians in Serbia (especially Slobodan Milošević), Croatia (Jovan Rašković and Milan Babić), and Bosnia (Radovan Karadžić); of the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) and the various paramilitary groups; and the masses. The aim of the chapter is to illustrate that triggering collective violence in the context of status deprivation is difficult indeed. Violence on this level cannot be said to be

objectively rational since it tends to erode the existing needs strategy and thus decrease, rather than improve, the chances of needs fulfilment. This explains why violence tends to be a top-down process triggered by elites interested in clinging onto relatively gratifying status roles. Despite the manipulation carried out by the elites, voluntary mobilisation among the masses remained low well into the conflict and violence was initially carried out only by individuals directly benefiting from it. Even on the higher levels of needs fulfilment, therefore, collective violence can be said to be a largely rational and material pursuit, albeit for a limited number of people.

Summary

Since the thesis of this dissertation addresses various levels of analysis – the individual, the group, and the system – it inevitably investigates various hypotheses. However, since the purpose is to link the various levels of analysis, the group and system-level hypotheses depend on the individual-level hypothesis. The main hypothesis is thus that individuals' identification with groups and leaders is flexible on the lower needs levels and more lasting on the higher needs levels, and that leadership, to be adaptive, must on the lower needs levels be action-oriented and on the higher levels be relations-oriented. On the group level, the hypothesis reads that due to this pattern of individual identification, cohesive collective action and violence in physiological deprivation requires coercive leadership to make up for the absence of unity, while on the status level collective violence requires manipulative leadership to make up for the absence of real deprivation. On the system level, the hypothesis reads that since the dynamics of collective action depend on the level of needs fulfilment and identification, change in the system can only be understood by examining all three levels of analysis. Using these hypotheses as a basis, conflicting theories on each level of analysis will be reconciled and comprehensive frameworks of identification, collective mobilisation, and systemic evolution created.

1. Needs, Identity, and Leadership: The Synthesis

This chapter presents some of the theoretical literature regarding needs, identity, and leadership and suggests a novel framework for understanding the relationship between these concepts. The nature of collective identity and leadership, it is argued, tends to change according to the needs level as a result of the psychological mechanisms connected to collective and individual survival. On the lower needs levels, identity tends to be more immediate and flexible in nature, while leadership tends to be action-oriented. When deprivation occurs at the higher needs levels, identification with groups and leaders depends more on tradition and ideology. The focus of this chapter is to present collective identity not as a fixed concept but as a mechanism which varies according to collective perception regarding environmental threat and scarcity. While the chapter is largely based on psychological and sociological theoretical deduction, it can be read together with the case study Chapters 3 and 5, which further illustrate the differences in identity and leader processes in societies characterised by low and high needs fulfilment respectively.

The first section of this chapter tackles the question of how basic human needs are defined according to different versions of needs theory. More importantly, it challenges a hierarchy that includes “needs” which can better be understood as mechanisms or as feelings. It thus proposes a simple three-level hierarchy stripped of complex and misleading concepts. The second section unites theories of basic needs with theories of identity found in social psychology, suggesting a model that gives ontological priority to needs and challenging the inclusion of belonging and group identification as a need. As will be shown, identification is primarily concerned with perception and categorisation, while the level of needs fulfilment (the realistic aspect) affects the individual and collective readiness to adopt new perceptions through the creation of stress. The third section proposes a similar theoretical correlation between needs levels and types of leadership. It is important to note that the aim of the chapter is only to present a framework of identification. As will be shown in Chapter 2, the synthesis does not directly translate into a theory of collective behaviour, although it can serve as a foundation.

1.1. The Hierarchy of Human Needs

While many versions of a needs hierarchy have been postulated throughout the past century, the most widely applied continues to be Maslow's universal needs hierarchy.¹ According to Maslow, humans must satisfy their basic physiological needs, such as eating and sleeping, before they can concentrate on fulfilling their safety needs (stability, freedom from fear) and subsequently their needs for belonging and love, then self-esteem, and ultimately self-actualisation (acquiring knowledge and understanding), as well as aesthetic needs. In this theory, one needs level must be mostly satisfied before the individual's cognitive capacities and attention can turn to the fulfilment of the next need on the hierarchy. According to Maslow, the higher needs are "less urgent" and "less perceptible, less unmistakable, more easily confounded with other needs."² Although Maslow recognizes that most action is motivated by several needs simultaneously, one will be dominant.³

Universal Needs and Cultural Wants

Maslow's theory has been widely criticised yet is also widely used. In psychological circles, debates regarding the importance and location of various needs within the hierarchy continue unabated, without firm or verifiable conclusions being reached.⁴ One can, however, detect in the various applications and elaborations of the hierarchy a series of problems. Perhaps most fundamental is the continuing confusion between needs and wants.⁵ This dissertation adopts the position that needs are universal, applicable to all human beings in all cultures, while wants are culturally determined means of fulfilling basic needs. As an example, Western women wanting slim bodies and Hawaiian women wanting heavier ones are cultural wants serving the universal (though perhaps evolving) need of attracting men (or need to procreate).⁶ Similarly, accumulating money constitutes one of the prevailing global wants serving the need for

¹ Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

² Ibid., 57.

³ Ibid., 29.

⁴ For recent debates, see for example Douglas T. Kenrick, Vladas Griskevicius, Steven L. Neuberg and Mark Schaller, "Renovating the Pyramid of Needs: Contemporary Extensions Built on Ancient Foundations," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 5, no. 3 (2010), 292-314, as well as responses in the same issue. Various criticisms and expansions of the needs hierarchy exist, developed mostly in the 1980s, but they are too narrow to be relevant for this study.

⁵ This aspect of need theories is extensively discussed in Katrin Lederer, ed., *Human Needs: A Contribution to the Current Debate* (Cambridge, MA: Oegelschlager, Gunn & Hain, 1980).

⁶ R. Murray Thomas, *Human Development Theories: Windows on Culture* (London: Sage, 1990), 70.

status, as well as being the means toward obtaining other safety and physiological needs. Few theorists distinguish between needs and wants, which thus confuses the universal with the cultural.

The confusion between needs and wants has led to the following inaccuracy: that because needs are not constant across cultures, human development can be categorised as either “advanced,” having reached higher levels of the needs hierarchy, or “primitive.” In this vein, both Marx and Parsons famously assumed that through socioeconomic development, needs multiply.⁷ However, both men are actually talking about wants rather than needs. Their confusion, and resulting conclusions, has impeded a proper understanding of *universal* human needs. As Galtung wrote in 1980, “development, then, would be seen as a process of progressively satisfying human needs, where the word ‘progressively’ would stand for both ‘more and more needs dimensions’ and ‘at higher and higher levels.’”⁸ This idea is firmly rejected here: whatever human needs are, they can by definition be fulfilled in any *functioning* society, whether modern or “primitive.” Development does not amount to advancement on the needs hierarchy but rather to an increase in the *efficiency* of fulfilling needs on all levels. This confusion is one of the major flaws of both needs and development theories, and has probably been a major source of the arrogance seen in the some Western theories of modernisation.⁹

Various hierarchies

The second major problem of needs theories is the continuing assumption that if a hierarchy exists, a complex set of different *kinds* of needs can be placed within that same hierarchy. Most importantly, needs for love and sex, serving the reproductive mechanism, are combined with needs for security and status or esteem, which serve group survival in general. The rather personal desires for (romantic) love and sex (the intensity of which largely varies between individuals) simply cannot be located within

⁷ See in particular Ramashray Roy, “Human Needs and Freedom: Liberal, Marxist, and Gandhian Perspectives,” in Katrin Lederer, *Human Needs*, 191-212; also, Parsons talks about specialised needs, which could be understood as wants: Leon H. Mayhew, “Introduction” in *Talcott Parsons*, ed.d. Leon Mayhew, *On Institutions and Social Evolution: Selected Writings* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), 44.

⁸ Johan Galtung, “The Basic Needs Approach,” in Lederer, *Human Needs*, 58.

⁹ Maslow himself argued that “higher needs require better outside conditions to make them possible.” (Maslow, *Human Needs*, 99). This statement, of course, can be interpreted in both a culturally arrogant and a neutral manner.

the same hierarchy as collective security and status needs. The reason is their different purposes: the sexual needs further the survival of the species through time by giving rise to reproduction, while security and status needs are the prerequisites of a 'good life.' The same mislabelling applies to developmental and constant adult needs. Parental love as a developmental need may be essential for the proper psychological development of a child, yet no such need is clearly present once a person has reached adulthood. Although needs theories have never been more than mere hypothetical foundations for larger theories and understandings of human nature, it is somewhat surprising that theorists continue to classify wholly disparate 'needs' under the same hierarchy without considering the different functions they serve.

Needs versus Mechanisms and Feelings

The third major problem of the needs hierarchy is the confusion between needs and basic biological or psychological mechanisms serving those needs on one hand, and between needs and feelings, on the other. Belonging, or group identification, is accepted by most need theorists¹⁰ as well as social psychologists¹¹ to be a need, even though it can equally be understood as a mechanism of needs fulfilment (an approach developed in the following section). Sometimes identity is considered a "higher," "non-material" need, which is fulfilled only after basic physiological needs are satisfied.¹² However, if belonging or collective identity is a "higher need," how can we explain the increased separation of individual human beings from the group in so-called developed societies, leading to what Durkheim called "anomie"¹³ and Marx "alienation"¹⁴? If belonging/collective identity is a "need," why does it work, as is shown below, differently on different needs levels? As is explained in more detail in the next section of this chapter, the confusion of a mechanism with real needs may derive from the observable correlation between the level of needs fulfilment and the way the mechanism functions. As the case studies illustrate, the more efficient needs fulfilment, the less

¹⁰ In Lederer (1980), every single author discussing belonging or affiliation considers it to belong into the needs hierarchy. One of the few theorists arguing against such an understanding is Paul Sites, "Needs as Analogues of Emotions," in *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*, ed. John Burton, (Hampshire & London: MacMillan, 1990), 7-33.

¹¹ See the following section and Social Identity Theory in particular.

¹² The distinction between material and non-material needs has been made, for example by Galtung. See Johan Galtung, "International Development in Human Perspective," in Burton, *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*, 301-305.

¹³ Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, 353-373.

¹⁴ See in particular Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* (New York: International Publishers, 1964).

volatile collective identities tend to be. It is this permanence which creates the illusion of identity existing on a 'higher' level of existence.

There is also widespread confusion regarding the difference between the needs themselves and the feelings of satisfaction resulting from needs fulfilment. In particular, status needs are commonly confused with the 'need' for meaning and esteem.¹⁵ While the need for status is a real need whose fulfilment enables the individual to lead a purposeful life, esteem and meaning only constitute feelings that result from successful status fulfilment. The same applies to the concept of belonging, which can be understood not only as the mechanism of collective identity (examined below) but also as a feeling. The *feeling* of belonging is a result of successful security-level needs fulfilment, which in turn is closely connected to the existence of an ingroup of some kind. Belonging itself, however, is not the original need. The real need is the security provided by the group, for it is this security, and not the feeling of belonging, which allows for the individual to achieve higher levels of needs fulfilment and promote group survival. The satisfaction brought about by feelings of belonging and meaning certainly drive needs fulfilment, but should not be confused with the real need for security.

The difference between feeling and real need is important to grasp for one simple reason: concentrating on feeling rather than on need tends to emphasise the individual and his personal well-being over that of the group. This emphasis is invalid, for the whole purpose of basic needs is to ensure the survival of the human race. While feelings of belonging and meaning drive and motivate individual beings, they do so for the purpose of satisfying the various human needs, which in turn serve the entire species rather than the one individual. The false emphasis on individual feeling has led some needs and modernisation theorists to go as far as to focus only on the supposed need of self-actualisation,¹⁶ often also called the 'need' for freedom or autonomy,¹⁷ which existing structures allegedly serve. Such theories emphasising one level of needs only are certainly not wrong *per se*, but they fail to explain the dynamics of human existence as a whole. Concentrating on alleged 'needs,' such as autonomy or freedom, again

¹⁵ Most needs theorists use the terms interchangeably with status, including Maslow himself.

¹⁶ Such as Kurt Goldstein; see Oscar Nudler, "Human Needs: A Sophisticated Approach," in Lederer, *Human Needs*, 141.

¹⁷ Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

confuses the universal and cultural aspects of needs versus wants. As we have seen, it can be difficult to distinguish between needs and cultural wants – so can we be sure that individualism is not merely a cultural manifestation of status needs rather an ultimate, pre-eminent need itself? If we are to believe the latter, we would move away from the idea of needs as tools for species survival into the realm of human emancipation, a different issue altogether.

The Three Levels

Following the idea that needs fulfillment serves the basic function of group survival rather than reifying some culturally constructed moral ideals (such as individualism), a three-level needs hierarchy is proposed. Like any other needs theory, it is based on empirical observation combined with personal intuition, yet it aims to address the problems stated above. Only needs serving societal survival are included, while feelings and mechanisms, as well as needs pertaining to reproduction (e.g. love), are excluded. The first, lowest level of the hierarchy comprises the generally accepted basic physiological needs such as eating, drinking, and shelter – the basic prerequisites of survival. The second level consists of security needs, including Maslow's needs for safety, stability, and freedom from fear. This level logically supposes the existence of a community capable of providing feelings of security, a kind of safety net against environmental threats. Depending on the level of development, and to an extent on cultural factors, this community can be anything from a tribe to a national social welfare system. The third level comprises status needs, including the need for a person to acquire a satisfactory role in the relevant ingroup/community so as to best contribute to the functioning of that community.¹⁸

As already mentioned, needs are not independent but culture-dependent, and their fulfilment is always connected to the surrounding societal system into which an individual is born. While there is little cultural variety in the fulfilment of physiological needs except for the types of food and habitation available, the influence of cultural and psychological factors increases at the higher needs levels.¹⁹ Many different societal arrangements can fulfil the felt need for security. The fulfilment of status needs too

¹⁸ According to Maslow, the higher the need in question, the higher the relevance of individual personality; see Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, Chapter 2.

¹⁹ See further Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, Chapter 2, on the cultural specificity of needs and the various personal tendencies in needs fulfilment.

depends on the group culture, in addition to being intimately connected to individual personality and abilities. Physiological and security needs are relatively similar among all individuals, but status fulfilment depends on the ability of the individual to discover and develop his/her own particular abilities and these abilities to be recognized by the group.²⁰ It is important to recognise that this applies to all societies; the Durkheimian division of labour²¹ may be more complex in modern societies, yet it also characterises pre-modern groups. Even if specialisation is not as advanced in small, secluded societies as in large global ones, individuals always seek to adopt a role which best corresponds to their abilities, whatever the type of environment in which they live.

Like many other mammalian communities, human societies are made up of hierarchies which come into existence as individuals compete for social status roles.²² This competition occurs exclusively on the status level, and in ideal circumstances, the extent of individual social mobility is determined according to his or her individual abilities, resulting in a system where the most able individuals occupy the most challenging roles in all fields of expertise. As already noted, although status needs are ‘higher’ needs, within the nature of the needs hierarchy they are inferior in importance and depend on the fulfilment of physiological and security needs. Thus, for example, in a developing country, fulfilling physiological needs may necessitate a status role shift from being a distinguished ethnic pastoralist to an anonymous entrepreneur in an urban centre where ethnicity becomes irrelevant but physiological survival is more certain. The status role thus follows the more basic needs: roles are chosen according to their perceived value in ensuring basic physical survival rather than for any ‘need’ of belonging to a particular group. This ontological precedence of physiological needs is essential to understanding the nature of identity and the primacy of needs over identities, which is discussed in the following sections.

The needs hierarchy used in this work is presented in Table 1.1. As can be seen, while needs and feelings resulting from needs fulfilment are universal and absolute, and thus

²⁰ Maslow’s “self-actualisation” can be understood as being included in the concept of status used in the present model.

²¹ See for example Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, transl. George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1935).

²² Maslow calls this social dominance and believes that every person should be free to become what his personal identity suggests – hence the demand for free competition. As Eisenstadt would argue, the emphasis of competition has of course changed from raw power to intelligence: S.E. Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966).

constitute the basis of the subsequent chapters, wants can vary significantly depending on the level of development and the overall nature of society. It should be mentioned that when discussing different levels of needs, ‘higher’ or ‘lower’ needs are often referred to. Given that the requirement of fulfilling a lower need before a higher is not absolute, there can be situations which are difficult to define strictly by needs fulfilment of one or the other level. Consequently, “higher needs levels” should be understood as comprising the area between security and status needs, and “lower needs levels” as comprising the area between physiological and security needs fulfilment.

Table 1.1: Human Needs and Corresponding Wants and Feelings

NEEDS	WANTS, developing society (narrow division of labour)	WANTS, modern society (complex division of labour)	Feelings resulting from needs satisfaction
Physiological Needs	food, shelter	food, shelter (often of a rather elaborate level)	Basic physiological satisfaction
Security Needs	efficient food production, territorial and natural resources, tribal defence	functioning welfare system and national defence	Belonging
Status Needs (largely culturally determined)	One of few agricultural or pastoral roles, accumulation of cattle/money	One of several working roles depending on personal ability; accumulation of money and possessions	Meaning, Esteem

1.2. Identification and the Needs Levels

Although scarcity is often taken as the basis for human behaviour,²³ identification as a tool for agency capable of rectifying experienced scarcity has hardly been examined. Relatively simple and contradictory accounts of identity still govern the theoretical literature, describing identity either as a functional ability subject to rational choice or as a means of categorising the self in the world, often leading to an illusion of some innate “need” to distinguish oneself from others (the tendency of course exists, but it is not a need in the sense used in this chapter). The debate on the nature of collective identity

²³ This is especially the case in theories of conflict, see further Chapter 2.

exists within social psychology as well as in the social and political sciences more generally. To be able to address the problem in the context of conflict and IR theory (Chapters 2 and 7), we must first examine the psychological theories of group identification and find a way in which they can be reconciled. It will be argued that identification should be seen as a complex mechanism through which people categorise social reality but which also enables collective action and cooperation aimed at ensuring individual and collective survival, the latter being the basis of the former. In fact, these two aspects of collective identity, perception and function, cannot be meaningfully separated. Understanding identification not as a need but as a mechanism also allows one to perceive how it functions in different ways depending on the level of needs fulfilment or deprivation.

The Realistic Conflict Theory

In social psychology, two main theories address the causes of group identification and intergroup bias: the realistic (group) conflict theory (RCT) and the now more popular social identity theory (SIT), often read together with self-categorisation theory. The RCT advocated by Sherif²⁴ is the more materialistic of the two and maintains that intergroup conflict is caused by the protection of and struggle for *real* ingroup interests. According to RCT, individuals form groups when they deem it useful in attaining objectives.²⁵ Bias and conflict are most likely to be triggered when two groups compete over what they perceive to be limited resources. Thus, bias and conflict can be seen to precede and explain the creation of group identity. The argument of RCT is similar to that of rational action theory in sociology, which emphasises the rational and individualistic motivations of people, and to the arguments of various sociologists and conflict theorists such as Coser, who argues that group cohesion correlates with intergroup conflict.²⁶ In the field of IR, the RCT is theoretically closest to realism, which tends to see cooperation, alliance-formation, and conflict as strategies chosen by rational actors according to real, objectively knowable group interests and values – the true ‘national interest.’

²⁴ Muzafer Sherif, *Group Conflict and Cooperation: Their Social Psychology* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1966), see also H. Blumer, “Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position,” *Pacific Sociological Review* 1, no. 1 (1958): 3-7; R.A. Levin and D.T. Campbell, *Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior* (NY: John Wiley and Sons, 1972).

²⁵ Sherif, *Group Conflict*, 2.

²⁶ Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1956).

RCT assumes perfect knowledge of real interests, ignoring the role of various possible perceptions regarding such interests within the community. However, contrary to such a realist position, it has been found that even imaginary inequalities can result in bias or violence, while ‘real’ conflicts of interest may in fact be accepted and felt to be justifiable by both parties.²⁷ The reality of the conflict does therefore not automatically translate into common perceptions about a given situation. Reality, even if correctly perceived, does also not always result in objectively rational decision-making. Thus RCT cannot account for seemingly irrational decisions by group members, such as self-jeopardising altruism or the escalation of intergroup conflict beyond what is strictly necessary for ensuring common interests or needs fulfilment. Group identification is thus undoubtedly subject to dynamics that go well beyond the understanding of any realist. Indeed, Sherif eventually concedes that the mere *perception* of a competitive situation may suffice to strengthen group cohesion and intergroup prejudice, eventually leading to hostility.²⁸ Although Sherif fails to explain how such a perception may come into being, this concession suggests that RCT need not be as rational or realistic as originally intended.

Social Identity Theory and the Functions of Identity

Social Identity Theory (SIT), created by Tajfel and Turner²⁹ and further defined by Hogg and others,³⁰ is wholly opposed to the idea that intergroup bias requires anything resembling a real conflict of interests to come into being. As SIT theorists point out, small group experiments have established that intergroup bias is immediate as soon as individuals have been separated into groups and after having been given tasks related to resource allocation. Although groups with some alleged common trait show stronger intergroup bias, even groups defined randomly allocate more resources to the ingroup than to the outgroup. This, for the SIT theorist, proves that identification and bias are innate and automatic. In addition, groups do not seek the absolute maximum profit for

²⁷ H. Tajfel and J.C. Turner, “An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict” in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, eds. W.G. Austin and S. Worchel, (Monterey, CA: Brooks/ Cole, 1979).

²⁸ Sherif, *Group Conflict*, 13.

²⁹ Tajfel and Turner, “An Integrative Theory.”

³⁰ See for example Michael A. Hogg, *The Social Psychology of Group Cohesiveness: From Attraction to Social Identity* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992); Hogg, “Social Identity and Social Comparison” in *Handbook of Social Comparison: Theory and Research*, eds. J. Suls and L. Wheeler, (New York: Kluwer/Plenum, 2000); Hogg, “Social Identity and the Sovereignty of the Group: A Psychology of Belonging” in *Individual Self, Relational Self, Collective Self*, eds. C. Sedikides and M.B. Brewer (Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press, 2001).

the ingroup but rather the maximum *difference* in allocations. The SIT thus brings in the dynamics of Otherness into the picture, where merely belonging to a group perceived to be different, rather than actual differences, has an independent effect on group members' behaviour.

According to SIT, individuals identify with groups and exhibit intergroup bias due to their *need* to establish or maintain a positive self-concept through *belonging* to groups, allowing for feelings of positive distinctiveness. SIT is the most widely applied theory of identity in modern social psychology, yet like the RCT, it can be seen as theoretically problematic. First, the functional aspects of identification cannot be ignored. The fact that all small group experiments include an element of function underlines this idea: in all experiments, there is present either the function of allocation of resources or the expectation of some function when the test objects are divided into groups. Without being prompted, individuals do not generally create biased collective identities, and will instead react to others on an individual, personal basis. The function-aspect of collective identity is also reflected in Tajfel's argument that a particular group identity will be maintained only for as long as it provides feelings of belonging and value.³¹ Thus, it is possible that some identities do not provide such value, and that the individual sometimes has a choice in adopting identities. In fact, choosing identities according to their material, functional benefits is the norm rather than the exception.

Tajfel also addresses the question of the personal-collective continuum of action, where at one end reigns personal identity and the free competition for roles through social mobility, and at the other end social identity, deindividuation, and collectively initiated social change dominate. The continuum clearly points towards the importance of identity serving multiple human needs rather than only a 'need' for belonging. If needs of any level cannot be achieved through an individual effort, group identification and collective action comes into play. People tend to rely on their ingroup especially when basic physiological needs fulfillment is so challenging as to necessitate continuous collective action or when the group comes under threat. Identification creates a feeling of security through increasing the individual's faith in the possibility of effectively addressing potential threats to needs fulfillment on various levels. Thus, although SIT

³¹ Henry Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 245.

theorists often equate identification with the ‘need’ to belong, the ultimate source of identification is needs fulfillment.

Categorisation and Culture

Unlike SIT originally suggested, group identification seems to be a mechanism rather than a need. Nevertheless, the SIT is of value in pointing out the importance of categorising the self and the world, issues that have also been developed by self-categorization theory (SCT).³² This aspect of collective identity highlights the value of ingroup unity through time. Where intergroup boundaries remain unchanged for long periods of time due to the success of ingroup needs fulfilment, clear group cultures and behavioural norms develop. In such stable conditions, group members are likely to feel most satisfied in terms of basic needs, belonging, and meaning. Belief in the value of the group's long-term collective-action strategy regarding future needs fulfilment allows (in the words of SCT) one to know and understand the self as well as reduce uncertainty relating to the self. However, given that the necessity of needs fulfilment is always prior to the psychological mechanisms it has given rise to, this ‘knowing oneself’ is also functional, amounting to knowledge of how to best fulfil one’s basic needs. Similarly, if the group strategy collapses while the individual depends on it for survival, the individual will suffer not only from the uncertainty of how to survive, but also from the uncertainty of the self: which group one belongs to and what useful status role one might adopt.

The knowledge of oneself, and the understanding of the world which comes into being in such a rewarding collective-action system, has also been called ontological security.³³ The downside of this culture and group-dependent ontological security and understanding is the tendency to attach oneself into the existing group and the solutions it provides. Especially successful, long-term group cultures, with clear rules regarding needs fulfilment, tend to influence the perceptions of group members even after the

³² See further Michael A. Hogg, “Subjective Uncertainty Reduction through Self-Categorization: A Motivational Theory of Social Identity Processes,” *European Review of Social Psychology* 11, no. 1 (2000): 223-255; Hogg et al., “Uncertainty, Entitativity, and Group Identification,” *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 43, no. 1 (2007): 135-142.

³³ Ontological security connotes feelings of constancy in the environment which enables the individual to develop his personal capacities (self-actualisation). The concept was first used by R. D. Laing, in *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness* (London: Pelical Press, 1965); since then the concept has been used by social psychologists as well as sociologists (for example Anthony Giddens in *Consequences of Modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1990)) and recently by IR theorists as well.

given group structure no longer, objectively thinking, serves their needs. Understanding the categorising effect of collective identity thus brings perception into the picture. While the realist-oriented RCT seems to suggest that awareness of collective interests is automatic and corresponds to reality, this is not the case on the higher needs levels. Bias does not depend on real collective interests, but on their *perception*. Consequently, in a situation in which people are (traditionally, culturally) predisposed to believing in the value of existing borders and categories, it may be difficult to convince them otherwise.

Collective identity can perhaps be best perceived as having both a cognitive and realistic side. The long-term cognitive side, reflected in SIT and SCT, and the needs-serving realistic side, reflected in RCT, can be likened to core and situational identities.³⁴ Core identities are relatively constant across time and give rise to understanding and feelings of security rather than to bias. Core identities come into being through continued categorisation, when group boundaries do not change through needs fulfilment and when the existing boundaries serve the individuals satisfactorily. The mechanistic aspects of group identification, on the other hand, can be likened with situational identities, which change and react to threats in the environment and can result in new core identities. Situational identities arise from the necessities created by needs deprivation (as will be further described in the case studies) and can, through time and common effort, surpass pre-existing core identities. Thus, having collective core identities merely affirms the existence of the social self, while situational identities explain social change. It is this important distinction of identification as a ‘need’ or a mechanism which underlies the debates between SIT/categorisation theory and RCT.

The Realism of Identity: Stress

In understanding the relationship between the rational and cognitive elements of collective identity, it is essential to discover the ultimate foundation of the difference. The foundation can be found in the mechanism of stress and anxiety. The level of stress can be seen to depend on the level of needs fulfilment/deprivation of the group as a whole, which in turn may lead to different types of identity dynamics in individuals and groups experiencing different levels of needs fulfilment: realistic identification on the lower needs levels and more permanent categorisation on the higher level. This, in turn,

³⁴ Karina V. Korostelina, *Social Identity and Conflict: Structures, Dynamics and Implications* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 130-131.

affects group dynamics as a whole. Phenomena such as conformity to group opinion³⁵ (even against individual perception and reason), obedience to authorities (even where action goes against one's own personal convictions),³⁶ polarisation of opinions,³⁷ the rise of extremism and risk-taking behaviour³⁸ within the ingroup, and scapegoating³⁹ of outgroups may accordingly differ on the different needs levels. Although these phenomena are sometimes taken to constitute proof of the accuracy of SIT and SCT, and of the supposed 'need' to feel superior to others, the way in which environmental factors such as severe deprivation may affect these has obviously not been examined by social psychologists.⁴⁰ Indeed, given that no direct correlation between identification and bias has been found,⁴¹ one might benefit from *always* taking into account the level of stress when evaluating group dynamics.

Stress has been found to have various effects on an individual's cognitive and emotional state. Most importantly, it reduces the capacity for task-oriented and problem-solving action.⁴² It consequently makes individuals more susceptible to persuasion than the average person.⁴³ Anxious individuals are also more inclined towards group processes

³⁵ For perhaps the most famous experiments being conducted by S.E. Asch, see for example "Studies of Independence and Conformity: 1. A Minority of One against a Unanimous Majority," *Psychological Monographs* 70, no. 9 (1956): 1-70.

³⁶ The Milgram experiments being the most (in)famous example: Stanley Milgram, *Obedience to Authority: An Experimental View* (New York: Harper-Colophon, 1974).

³⁷ D. M. Mackie and J. Cooper, "Attitude Polarisation: Effects of Group Membership," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 46, no. 3 (1984): 575-585; Mackie, "Social Identification Mechanisms in Group Polarisation," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50, no. 4 (1986): 720-728; D. Myers and H. Lamm, "The Group Polarisation Phenomenon," *Psychological Bulletin* 83, no. 4 (1976): 602-627; D. J. Isenberg, "Group Polarisation: A Critical Review and Meta-analysis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 50, no. 6 (1986): 1141-1151.

³⁸ M. A. Wallach, N. Kogan and D. J. Bem, "Group Influence on Individual Risk-Taking," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 65, no. 2 (1962): 75-68; A. I. Teger and D. G. Pruitt, "Components of Group Risk-Taking," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 3, no. 2 (1967): 189-205.

³⁹ P. Lauerdale et al., "External Threat and the Definition of Deviance," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 46, no. 5 (1984): 1058-1068.

⁴⁰ Obviously, in the laboratory environment people cannot be subjected, for example, to severe deprivation.

⁴¹ A. Mummendey and H. Otten, "Positive-Negative Asymmetry in Social Discrimination," in *European Review of Social Psychology*, vol. 9, eds. W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone (New York: Wiley, 1998), 107-143.

⁴² Mika Kivimäki and Sirpa Lusa, "Stress and Cognitive Performance of Firefighters during Smoke-Diving," *Stress Medicine* 10, no. 1 (1994): 63-68.

⁴³ J. A. McNulty and J. A. Walters, "Emotional Arousal, Conflict, and Susceptibility to Social Influence," *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 16, no. 3 (1962): 211-220; Peter Sudefeld, "Attitude Manipulation in Restricted Environments: I. Conceptual Structure and Response to Propaganda," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 68, no. 3 (1964): 242-247.

such as stereotypical thinking and bias⁴⁴ and are more likely than others to accept immediate and simplistic solutions to their situation, accepting the solutions and authority offered by charismatic⁴⁵ or authoritarian leaders⁴⁶ simply to limit feelings of stress.⁴⁷ Stress is lowered by positive group identification⁴⁸ and therefore may lead to increased readiness to create groups with identity-content addressing the source of stress. Once a group identity has been adopted, stress also increases the strength of intergroup bias. Inducing stress through the manipulation of the capacities and arousal of participants has been found to intensify group phenomena such as compliance,⁴⁹ conformity,⁵⁰ message processing,⁵¹ and stereotyping.⁵² Consequently, when group membership successfully addresses the causes of severe stress and deprivation, it tends to lead to a high level of deindividuation.

While it seems clear that severe stress leads to easy identification, little is known about the effects of stress experienced on the different levels of needs fulfilment. It seems reasonable to assume that physiological deprivation causes more stress than security-level or status-level deprivation and thus leads to higher susceptibility to proposed identities and authorities. Therefore, two hypotheses arise: on one hand, identification

⁴⁴ Robert Baron, "Distraction-Conflict Theory: Progress and Problems," *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 19 (1986): 1-40; Bodenhausen, "Emotions, Arousal, and Stereotypic Judgments: A Heuristic Model of Affect and Stereotyping", in *Affect, Cognition and Stereotyping*, eds. D.M. Mackie and D.L. Hamilton (New York: Academic Press, 1993), 13-37.

⁴⁵ G. Devereaux, "Charismatic Leadership and Crisis" in *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*, eds. W. Muensterberger and S. Axelrod (New York: International University Press, 1955).

⁴⁶ Robert Baron, Mary Inman, Chuan Feng Kao, Henrietta Logan, "Negative Emotion and Superficial Social Processing," *Motivation and Emotion* 16, no. 4 (1992): 323-46; David Sanbonmatsu and Frank Kardes, "The Effects of Physiological Arousal on Information Processing and Persuasion," *Journal of Consumer Research* 15, no. 3 (1988): 379-85.

⁴⁷ E. P. Torrance, "The Behavior of Small Groups Under the Stress Conditions of 'Survival'," *American Sociological Review* 19, no. 6 (1954): 751-755.

⁴⁸ Steve Reicher and S. Alexander Haslam, "Stressing the Group: Social Identity and the Unfolding Dynamics of Responses to Stress," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 91, no. 5 (2006): 1037-1052.

⁴⁹ D. Dolinski and R. Nawrat, "'Fear-Then-Relief' Procedure for Producing Compliance: Beware When the Danger is Over," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 34, no. 1 (1998): 27-50.

⁵⁰ J. M. Darley, "Fear and Social Comparison as Determinants of Conformity Behavior," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 4, no. 1 (1966): 73-78; M. Deutsch and H. B. Gerard, "A Study of Normative and Informational Social Influence upon Individual Judgment," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 51, No. 3 (1955): 629-636.

⁵¹ R.S. Baron, B.H. Baron, N. Miller, "The Relation Between Distraction and Persuasion," *Psychological Bulletin* 80, no. 4 (1973): 310-323; F. Gleicher and R.E. Petty, "Expectations of Reassurance Influence the Nature of Fear-Stimulated Attitude Change," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 28, no. 1 (1992): 86-100; Sanbonmatsu and Kardes, "The Effects of Physiological Arousal on Information Processing and Persuasion."

⁵² D.L. Paulhus, D.T.K. Lim, "Arousal and Evaluative Extremity in Social Judgments: A Dynamic Complexity Model," *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 24 (1994): 89-99; Baron et al., "Negative Emotion," 323-346; H.S. Kim and R.S. Baron, "Exercise and the Illusory Correlation," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 24, no. 1 (1988): 366-38.

with groups and leaders on the lower needs levels is easier compared to higher levels of needs fulfilment, where identification is harder to achieve; on the other, in very severe physiological deprivation identification may also be rather superficial compared to higher levels of needs fulfilment. This is because severe physical and ontological insecurity causes individuals to more readily seek alternative leaders, groups, and strategies capable of rectifying the experienced deprivation, potentially resulting in rapidly changing group affiliations. One can hypothesise that also at the opposite end of the spectrum, in the complete absence of deprivation, the power of group dynamics also declines. Perhaps only in the middle of the hierarchy, therefore, the balance between stress and perception is such that existing group boundaries are constantly reaffirmed, creating the illusion of an enduring collective identity and the ‘need to belong.’

Acknowledging the role of stress helps to understand the *realistic* aspects of identification and thus can fill the lacuna present in SIT. Although it is not true that real inequalities between groups translate directly into conflict, the realistic aspects of conflict do influence identification by affecting the *readiness* of individuals to adopt certain perceptions and identities. On the lowest levels of needs fulfilment, stress is severe and the readiness to identify is high. Likewise, the readiness declines as stress declines, as one reaches higher levels of the needs hierarchy. Given that “stress only develops into a long-term problem when a threat to self is perceived to exist in conjunction with insufficient coping resources,”⁵³ stress does not have equally immediate or violent effects on the higher needs levels. Rather than trying to find a direct link between stress and behaviour (in the style of frustration-aggression theory),⁵⁴ one must instead investigate the link between stress and the psychological patterns it causes within the functioning of collective identity, which *in turn* determine what types of behaviours are likely on each level of needs fulfilment. Depending on the dynamics at play, the individual may or may not choose to counter the threat to survival and assert the self through collective action, so as to restore ontological security.

⁵³ S. Alexander Haslam, Anne O’Brien, Jolanda Jetten, Karine Vormedal and Sally Penna, “Taking the Strain: Social Identity, Social Support, and the Experience of Stress,” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 44, no. 3 (2005): 355-370, 356.

⁵⁴ See the following chapter.

Identification Revisited

One can thus conclude that neither RCT nor SIT/SCT give a complete picture of the relationship between needs and collective identity. There are, in fact, two aspects to collective identification which are reflected in the two theories. One aspect is captured by RCT's emphasis on the functional, needs-serving aspect of identification, which on the lower levels of needs fulfilment and through stress sometimes forces individuals to change their group identifications. Such processes are a reality in places of low needs security, as in the Sudan (Chapter 3). The other aspect is captured by SIT's emphasis on the long-term categorising effect taking place in relative needs security, which in turn gives rise to a feeling of ontological security and enables the maintenance of long-term group identities. These persuasive long-term effects of groupness tend to be applicable in more developed countries, as in the former Yugoslavia (Chapter 5). These opposite aspects or functions of collective identity are set out in Table 1.2 below.

However, one should remember that while the two theories reflect aspects of collective identity, they are also to some extent erroneous: RCT assumes that bias occurs only in realistic conflict, although bias in reality depends on *perception*. SIT assumes bias has nothing to do with realistic conflict, although the realistic aspects (stress) affect the *readiness* of individuals to adopt certain perceptions. It is this relationship between stress and perception that makes collective identity a flexible, rather than fixed, concept; the nature of collective identity, as well as the mechanism of identification, varies according to the level of needs fulfilment. In environments of high stress and severe deprivation, identities and ideologies are easily adopted and abandoned, sometimes resulting in significant and volatile changes in the intergroup structure. On higher needs levels, identities depend more on tradition and perception, and are less easily changed and more readily lead to permanent group cultures as well as intergroup stability.

Table 1.2: The Two Faces of Collective Identity

Type	Functional/ Realistic (applicable in needs deprivation)	Categorising/Innate (applicable in needs fulfilment)
Theory	RCT	SIT/SCT
Motivation	Real (material) interests	Historical perception
Mechanisms	Stress processes	Habit, group processes
Effect	Change	Stability

1.3. Leadership on Different Needs Levels

The above analysis argued that perceptions are influenced to a great extent by the tradition of successful, needs-fulfilling groupness. An equally important source of perception is the stress caused by the realistic aspects of conflict, which induce people to evaluate reality based less on tradition and more on the inevitable fact of deprivation. A third source of perception not yet discussed is leadership – often the determining element in the battle between traditional and realistic group perceptions and the rise of new identities. The power of the leader to initiate or direct collective action operates through two mechanisms: practical organisation – more important, as we shall see, in the case of physiological deprivation – and perception-creation – more important on higher needs levels. Perception-creation can work in two ways: through raising the awareness of individuals regarding real class interests (which may differ from traditional group boundaries), thus giving rise to new (core) identities corresponding to (class) reality, and through the manipulation of existing or new identities so as to retain perceptions that do not correspond to the reality of the equality and/or inequality of needs fulfilment between groups.

Practically all leadership theories accept that leadership exists to enable cohesive collective action for the purposes of goal achievement. Here, leadership is examined only from the perspective of the overall needs strategy adopted by the ingroup and large-scale social change, rather than from a vocational organisational perspective – even if findings in this field can also be useful. Thus, the definition of leadership created by McGregor Burns is followed, according to which leadership is a situation in which “persons with certain motives and purposes mobilise, in competition or conflict with others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy the motives of followers. This is done in order to realise goals held mutually by both leaders and followers [...]”⁵⁵ As will be seen, leadership, like identification in general, functions in diverse manners on different levels of needs to enable collective agency. This section concentrates on identifying what leadership is, or should be, like on different needs levels to truly serve the needs of both leaders and followers.

⁵⁵ James MacGregor Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), 18.

Situational versus Transformational Leaders

Leadership theories tend to emphasise the motivations and attributes of either the leader or the followers, or the functional or psychological connections between the leader and followers. Early ‘Great Man’ theories concentrated on the exceptional persona of the leader, giving little, if any, weight to the needs and interests of the followers. Thus, the course of events allegedly follows not mass interests but the decisions of ‘superior’ individuals. A completely opposite approach is taken by situational theories of leadership. For example, economic determinists in the Marxist tradition argue that leaders arise where the masses and their economic circumstances so demand (in other words through historical necessity) and have little opportunity to act on their own behalf or according to their own interests. Although these relatively simplistic theories are today widely criticised as explaining little, if anything,⁵⁶ they do correlate with top-down and bottom-up conflicts (investigated in more depth in the following chapter): depending on the underlying needs condition, either leaders or masses can play the leading role in social change.

Recent theories have concentrated more on the relationship between the leader and followers. Hollander’s transactional model of leadership stresses the importance of fairness and agreement on both sides, as “the leader gives things of value to followers such as a sense of direction, values, and recognition, and receives other things in return such as esteem and responsiveness.”⁵⁷ Like Tyler’s legitimacy approach,⁵⁸ this view of leadership is based on the converging interests of the individual and the leader, yet suffers from the problem of “direction” and other elements being again seen more as fixed needs than as flexible mechanisms. In any case, it has been argued that transactional leadership is often insufficient to mobilise people in difficult conditions. Where circumstances are especially discouraging⁵⁹ or where the activities are of moral significance,⁶⁰ as opposed to being merely instrumental, transformational or charismatic

⁵⁶ For example, by leadership theorists using the SIT perspective: see S. Alexander Haslam, Stephen D. Reicher and Michael J. Platow, *The New Psychology of Leadership: Identity, Influence, and Power* (New York: Psychology Press, 2011).

⁵⁷ E. P. Hollander, *Leadership Dynamics. A Practical Guide to Effective Relationships* (New York: Free Press, 1978), 16.

⁵⁸ Tom R. Tyler, “The Psychology of Legitimacy: A Relational Perspective on Voluntary Deference to Authorities,” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 1, no. 4 (1997): 323-345.

⁵⁹ J. M. Howell, *A Laboratory Study of Charismatic Leadership* (Working Paper No 85-35) (London, Ontario: School of Business Administration, University of Western Ontario, 1985).

⁶⁰ A. Etzioni, *A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations* (New York: Free Press, 1961).

leadership is supposedly required. Only transformational leadership can change the motivation, understanding, and behaviour of the other members within the group.⁶¹

Transformational leadership theory is important for understanding the relationship between needs and leadership. Burns has argued that this type of leadership allows followers to transcend their self-interests relating to low-level needs by placing more importance on group interests and higher-level needs and mobilising the “full person” of the follower.⁶² Transformational leaders are not simply organisers. Instead, they can create a strong following through the dissemination of novel ideologies and identities, and by creating in the followers a belief in the possibility of surpassing themselves and of initiating revolutionary change. Under inspiring leaders, followers accept increased risks.⁶³ This “full person” approach suggests a special connection between leadership and status needs. Although obviously leadership is also needed to ensure physiological needs fulfilment, leaders’ manipulative and ideological capacities seem to be more relevant on the higher levels of needs.

Task versus Relations-oriented Leaders

The difference between transformational and ‘ordinary’ leadership can be linked with contingency approaches to leadership, which distinguish between task-oriented and relationship-oriented leaders. These approaches argue that different types of leadership are required in different situations. Task-oriented leaders allegedly perform better under conditions of stress than relations-oriented leaders, while the latter perform better in stable situations.⁶⁴ It thus makes sense to link different types of leadership to different levels of needs: if deprivation on low needs levels is most conducive to stress, then task-oriented leaders are better on the lower levels of deprivation. On the higher levels, leaders need to be more relationship-oriented and ideology-oriented – in other words, transformational. The higher the level of needs, the less realistic the conflict may be perceived to be, and manipulative identification comes into play. Conversely, on low

⁶¹ B. M. Bass, *Leadership, Psychology, and Organizational Behavior* (New York: Harper, 1960).

⁶² Burns, *Leadership*, 43.

⁶³ P. B. Vaill, “Towards a Behavior Description of High-Performing systems” in *Leadership: Where Else Can We Go?*, eds. M. W. McCall Jr. and M. M. Lombardo (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1978).

⁶⁴ F. E. Fiedler, “A Contingency Model of Leadership Effectiveness” in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, vol 1, ed. L. Berkowitz (New York: Academic Press, 1964), 149-90; F.E. Fiedler, *A Theory of Leadership Effectiveness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967); J. A. Sample and T. R. Wilson, “Leader Behavior, Group Productivity, and Rating of Least Preferred Co-worker,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 1, vol. 3 (1965): 266-270.

needs levels, severe stress is sufficient for triggering collective action. Thus, little or no manipulation is needed.

Evidence has already been given on how deprivation and stress render individuals more susceptible to group identification and various group processes. Inevitably, therefore, stress renders people more susceptible to becoming followers: followership feels rewarding because it brings structure⁶⁵ and purpose into peoples' lives where the obstacles to needs fulfilment have eliminated hope for survival. Fear and anxiety causes the follower to concentrate on the leader's authoritarianism rather than on the sensibility of his views,⁶⁶ and therefore extremely stressful situations may lead to the acceptance of charismatic leaders⁶⁷ or aggressive and radical leaders offering rapid solutions.⁶⁸ The more urgent the situation, therefore, the more decisive, radical, and task-oriented leadership is likely to be accepted.⁶⁹ In severe deprivation, the characteristics followers look for in leaders are strength, determination, and the ability to act. Thus, as Rosen argues, in conditions of general instability, tyrants are more than likely to do well.⁷⁰ In contrast, on the higher levels of needs, individuals are likely to hold the leaders to higher standards, at least as regards the content of their ideology.

The division between task and relations-oriented leaders can also be analysed from the perspective of charisma and prototypicality. Prototypical leaders are individuals whose positions correspond to the majority position of the group regarding its collective needs and wants,⁷¹ and whose opinions thus have great influence on group perceptions.⁷² According to several leadership experts, charisma resides not in the person but in

⁶⁵ R. J. House, "A Path Goal Theory of Leader Effectiveness," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 16, no. 3 (1971): 321-338.

⁶⁶ Baron et al., "Negative Emotion." (1992).

⁶⁷ G. Devereaux, "Charismatic Leadership.," M. Galanter, "Charismatic Religious Sects and Psychiatry: An Overview," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 139, no. 12 (1982): 1539-1548.

⁶⁸ J. V. Downton, *Rebel Leadership: Commitment and Charisma in the Revolutionary Process* (New York: Free Press, 1973); J. T. Lanzetta, *An Investigation of Group Behavior Under Stress* (Task Order V) (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, 1953).

⁶⁹ L. Berkowitz, "Sharing Leadership in Small, Decision-making Groups," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 48, no. 2 (1953): 231-238.

⁷⁰ Stephen Peter Rosen, *War and Human Nature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 161.

⁷¹ This dual understanding is supported by Haslam and Platow, see Haslam and Platow, "The Link between Leadership and Followership: How Affirming Social Identity Translates Vision into Action," *Personal Social Psychology Bulletin* 27, no. 11 (2001): 1478.

⁷² M. J. Platow, D. Mills, D. Morrison, "The Effects of Social Context, Source Fairness, and Perceived Self-Source Similarity on Social Influence: A Self-Categorization Analysis," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 30, no. 1 (2000): 69-81.

whatever traits the leader shares with the ingroup as a whole.⁷³ Charisma can equally be seen to depend on perceived fairness and caring of the leader towards group members.⁷⁴ It is thus possible to imagine that different types of leaders are perceived as charismatic on different levels of collective needs fulfilment, given that the collective concerns of the group vary significantly according to the needs level.

According to the SIT leadership approach (SITL) created by Hogg and others,⁷⁵ charisma boils down to the psychological aspects of group membership; the link between group cohesion and prototypical and/or transformational leadership can be explained through the identity-enhancing capacities of certain kinds of leadership. Because leadership is connected to the self-conception of individuals, the “ability of the leader to be effective [is] a function of the extent to which group members identify with the group as an important aspect of their self-concept.”⁷⁶ The more identity-enhancing the content of the group identity offered by the leader, the more unlikely it is that his/her perceived charisma will suffer from bad performance.⁷⁷ This may be true, but again the SITL, like SIT in general, describes best the dynamics on the higher levels of needs fulfilment. Leaders refusing to address an emerging crisis always tend to be swiftly replaced.⁷⁸ The difference between the needs levels is that in relative needs fulfilment, manipulation can be used to remind the group members of the usefulness of the group identity, while in severe deprivation the bad performance of the leader cannot be easily hidden. Charisma thus differs according to the level of needs fulfilment. On the lower levels, charisma will be attributed to leaders who are action-oriented enough to be seen

⁷³ B. M. Bass and B. J. Avolio, *Prototypicality, Leniency and Generalized Response Set in Rated and Ranked Transformational and Transactional Leadership Descriptions*, Report Series 88-2 (Binghamton: State University of New York, Center for Leadership Studies, 1988).

⁷⁴ David de Cremer, “A Relational Perspective on Leadership and Cooperation: Why it Matters to Care and Be Fair” in *Leadership and Power: Identity Processes in Groups and Organisations*, eds. Daan van Knippenberg and Michael A. Hogg (London: Sage, 2003), 109-122.

⁷⁵ M.A. Hogg, “A social identity theory of leadership,” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 5, no. 3 (2001): 184-200; M. A. Hogg and D. van Knippenberg, “Social identity and leadership processes in groups,” in *Advances in experimental social psychology*, vol. 35, ed. M. P. Zanna (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 2003), 1-52.

⁷⁶ Michael A. Hogg, Robin Martin and Karen Weeden, “Leader-Member Relations and Social Identity,” in *Leadership and Power: Identity Processes in Groups and Organisations*, eds. Van Knippenberg and Hogg (London: Sage, 2003), Chapter 3, 23.

⁷⁷ S. A. Haslam and M. J. Platow, “Your Wish is Our Command: The Role of Shared Social Identity in Translating a Leader’s Vision into Followers’ Action,” in *Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts*, eds. M. A. Hogg & D. J. Terry (Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2001), 213–228; M. J. Platow, S.A. Haslam, M. Foddy, and D. M. Grace, “Leadership as the Outcome of Self-Categorization Processes,” in Knippenberg and Hogg, *Leadership and Power*, 34-47.

⁷⁸ R. L. Hamblin, “Leadership and Crises,” *Sociometry* 21, no. 4 (1985): 322-335.

to address the issues of deprivation, while on the higher needs levels, charisma depends on the ability of the leader to enhance group identity.

It should be remembered that for charismatic or prototypical leadership to exist in the first place, a certain level of stress is required. The absence of stress denotes an absence of deprivation, in which case there is no need for charisma. In the absence of stress, completely ordinary bureaucratic or technocratic leaders will suffice to maintain the existing needs strategy and stable needs fulfilment. Consequently, in the absence of deprivation and stress, there will be no transformational leaders, no absolute followership, obedience, or conformity, and consequently no exceptional status rewards available for potential leaders. In order to promote their own status roles, leaders therefore may choose to increase the perception of stress or even cause it themselves, using group dynamics for their own ends. Indoctrination found in certain totalitarian religious groups is a revealing example of stress serving not the rectification of needs deprivation but rather boosting the ongoing role of the leader.⁷⁹ Similar strategies can be observed in totalitarian societies and regimes aiming to retain their power position through intergroup war.⁸⁰

Needs Levels and Leadership

Acknowledging the varying demands on leadership at different levels of needs is important given the centrality of leader personality in triggering collective agency in general and collective violence in particular. On all needs levels, leaders and elites have in common the fact that they are more inclined towards group dynamics and thus exhibit more intergroup bias⁸¹ and are more concerned about group performance⁸² and responsive to group threats⁸³ than are peripheral members. Leaders are generally high

⁷⁹ Methods of indoctrination in such groups may include extreme hours of prayer and meditation, deprivation of sleep and personal time, relationships, or other connections to the world not controlled by the group: see for example Robert S. Baron, "Arousal, Capacity, and Intense Indoctrination," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 4, no. 3 (2000): 238-254.

⁸⁰ See further chapter 6.

⁸¹ B. Mullen, R. Brown, C. Smith, "Ingroup Bias as a Function of Salience, Relevance and Status: An Integration," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 22, no. 2 (1991): 103-122.

⁸² H. Medow and A. Zander, "Aspirations for the Group Chosen by Central and Peripheral Members," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 1, no. 3 (1965): 224-228.

⁸³ Russell Spears, Bertjan Doosje, and Naomi Ellemers, "Self-Stereotyping in the Face of Threats to Group Status and Distinctiveness: The Role of Group Identification," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 23, no. 5 (1997): 538-553.

achievers.⁸⁴ According to Burns, political leadership and leaders' desires for esteem (read: relative status gratification) go hand in hand,⁸⁵ and as Maslow believes, leaders are the best self-actualisers.⁸⁶ However, although leaders definitely have to be passionate individuals, the mere desire to achieve hardly suffices to ensure power on different levels. As has been argued, leadership is subject to different demands and constraints on different levels of needs fulfilment – a fact reflected in the seemingly contradictory theories of leadership described above.

Table 1.3 illustrates the differing demands on leadership at different levels of needs fulfilment. Given that identification on low needs levels is induced by stress, leadership on this level tends to be awareness-raising and situational. Although leaders are cognitively more readily interpreted as charismatic or prototypical, they must be task-oriented if they desire to retain group cohesion for any significant period of time. This fact may not be generally acknowledged by social psychologists, but can be easily confirmed by examining actual leadership strategies in undeveloped and war-ridden countries such as the Sudan (Chapter 3 and 4). On the other hand, identification on higher needs levels is induced less by stress and more by tradition and ideology, resulting in relationship-oriented and transformational leadership. The higher the needs level, the more leaders can afford to be enmeshed in ideological struggles rather than direct action, as was the case in the former Yugoslavia and Serbia (Chapter 5 and 6). Like identification, then, leadership is a variable concept and a group mechanism that enables collective action in varying ways on different needs levels. Different types of personalities are followed in different situations, and in this sense the followers are far from “hypnotised somnambulists” even if sometimes led by “madmen.”⁸⁷

⁸⁴ M. Beer, R. Buckhout, M. W. Horowitz and S. Levy, “Some Perceived Properties of the Differences between Leaders and Nonleaders,” *Journal of Psychology* 47 (1959): 49-56; see also L. W. Porter and E. E. Lawler, *Managerial Attitudes and Performance* (Homewood, IL: Irwin-Dorsey, 1968).

⁸⁵ Burns, *Leadership*, passim.

⁸⁶ Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 119.

⁸⁷ Serge Moscovici on the theories of Gustav Le Bon and Gabriel Tarde, *The Age of the Crowd* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 174.

Table 1.3: The Two Faces of Leadership

Realistic (Physiological/ Security Level)	Manipulative (Status Level)
Awareness-raising	Ideological
Task-oriented	Relationship-oriented
Situational	Transformational
Charisma: successes in addressing real sources of existential insecurity	Charisma: adhering to cultural tradition

1.4. The Synthesis: Conclusion

This chapter has introduced a three-level needs hierarchy and the hypothesis that the nature of collective identity and leadership varies according to the level of needs fulfilment/deprivation. It has been argued that identification with a group does not directly correlate with needs but depends on perceptions that are both historical and created by competing group leaders. However, on low levels of needs fulfilment, due to the element of stress, the perceptions adopted by group members will more readily depend on the realistic aspects of the situation rather than on collective history or manipulation. This is because the most basic of human needs necessitates fulfilment and the awareness of this requirement is inescapable. On the higher levels, stress is less severe and individuals tend to prefer existing historical categories and identities; identity is more lasting and stable. The nature of purposive leadership also correlates with the level of collective needs fulfilment: action-oriented leaders are more functional on low levels of needs fulfilment, while on the status-level, relationship-oriented leaders tend to be respected. This overall relationship between needs, identity, and leadership is set out below in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4: The Synthesis: Needs, Identity, and Leadership

NEEDS	IDENTITY	LEADERSHIP
Physiological Needs	Changing	Action-Oriented
Security Needs	Flexible	Both Action and Ideology
Status Needs	Stable	Ideology, Relations, Culture

2. Perceived Relative Deprivation and Collective Violence

The interrelationship between needs, identity, and leadership described in the previous chapter has widespread implications for collective action. The present chapter aims to describe the dynamics of collective action, and in particular collective violence, based on the findings of the previous chapter, on elements found in theories of conflict, and on further information derived from the case studies. The emphasis of the present chapter is thus no longer on the behavioural principles of individual identification, or on the individual level only, but on describing the dynamics of and routes to collective empowerment on the group level. Accordingly, in addition to social psychology, this chapter examines pertinent rationalist and ideational theories of collective behaviour and violence found in the broader field of social sciences.

The dynamics of collective action are more complex than identification as the former depend also on the free agency of individuals and their conflicting personal interests in the ingroup and intergroup context. Partially the dynamics of collective action presented here largely follow the synthesis presented in the previous chapter: theories of conflict and revolution can be categorised into realistic/materialistic and ideational/constructivist explanations of conflict, which are, in turn, very similar to the realist-idealist dichotomy found in theories of identity. However, there are other issues worth resolving in the conflict framework, such as the often misconceived correlation between identity and mobilisation, the possibility of irrational collective violence, and the historical and regional specificity of different types of conflict. Also, while the existing theoretical framework provides an important foundation for understanding the conflict continuum, the case studies provide further information about the actual dynamics of mobilisation on different levels of needs fulfilment or development.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first builds on the findings of the previous chapter and argues for a combination of the needs-identity-leadership synthesis with the concept of relative deprivation, a major motivational theory of collective violence.¹ The second section links so-called “bottom-up” theories of conflict based on rational action

¹ See section 2.1 below.

and economic and class considerations to the lower needs levels and complements these with a more thorough explanation of mobilisation in severe deprivation, largely based on the Sudanese case study (Chapter 4). The third section links so-called “top-down” theories of conflict based on ideational and historical differences such as ethnicity, culture, or other identity categories, to the higher needs levels, and complements these with an in-depth analysis of mobilisation in status deprivation, largely based on the Serb case study (Chapter 6). The conclusion presents the general theoretical framework for understanding conflict dynamics on the various levels of needs fulfilment.

2.1. Motivation and Perceived Relative Deprivation

Strong group identification alone does not lead to collective violence: despite identity salience, there may be no deprivation, or the ingroup may not perceive itself to be deprived. In this section, it is argued that to properly understand the relationship between identification and collective violence, one should combine root theories of conflict, which emphasise the functional purpose and rationality of violence, with the synthesis presented in Chapter 1. In doing so, a more comprehensive model is created, according to which collective action and group conflict depends on *perceived relative deprivation* (PRD), a model that can better account for the various types of collective action and violence taking place between communities. This model acknowledges that collective action, in addition to not being always easily activated, is also not always adaptive. This is because of the free agency of leaders, who can either support or go against the demands of group survival.

From Motivation to Mobilisation

If one examines theories of identity alone, one could easily assume that identification and collective action are governed by the same psychological rules. Indeed, theories of identity tend to conflate issues of identification, prejudice, and mobilisation.² Certainly, identity salience does have an important effect on collective behaviour. As Reicher and Hopkins argue, collective identification is a tool for collective mobilisation and strategic

² In essence, RCT seems to suggest that the need to rectify intergroup inequalities leads to bias and identity-creation, while the SIT seems to suggest that the need for identity automatically gives rise to conflict - even violent conflict.

action.³ Identities provide a means of empowerment, a “social-psychological state of confidence in one’s ability to challenge existing relations of domination.”⁴ Although identification can become an alternative source of “meaning”⁵ in severe deprivation, ultimately, a “successful ongoing identity is inextricably involved with the gratification of primary needs.”⁶

However, violent mobilisation is far from being an automatic consequence of identity salience. The difference between the two is exemplified by Brewer’s model that shows ingroup and outgroup attitudes on a continuum.⁷ The continuum is made up of social categorisation at one end, the development of ingroup positivity and intergroup comparisons in the middle, and outgroup hostility at the other end. As Brewer argues, “[...]the first two elements are probably universal characteristics of human social groups [...] but the third and fourth elements require additional social structural and motivational conditions that are not inherent in the process of group formation itself.”⁸ Outgroup derogation and conflict, and certainly *violent* conflict, does thus not always arise in the presence of intergroup boundaries, but *only when there is perceived to be no other option*,⁹ or in other words, when group boundaries for some reason are viewed as impenetrable or threatening. As Tajfel also argues,

[t]he basic condition for the appearance of extreme forms of intergroup behavior [...] is the belief that the relevant social boundaries between the

³ Steven Reicher and Nick Hopkins, *Self and Nation: Categorization, Contestation and Mobilisation* (London: Sage, 2001).

⁴ John Drury and Steve Reicher, “Explaining Enduring Empowerment: A Comparative Study of Collective Action and Psychological Outcomes,” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 35, no. 1 (2005): 35-58.

⁵ M. M. Ferree and F. D. Miller, “Mobilization and meaning: Toward an integration of social psychological and resource perspectives on social movements,” *Sociology Inquiry* 55, no. 1 (1985): 38-61.

⁶ William Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 34.

⁷ M. B. Brewer, “Ingroup Identification and Intergroup Conflict: When Does Ingroup Love Become Outgroup Hate?” in *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict Reduction*, eds. R. D. Ashmore, L. Jussim, & D. Wilder (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 17-41.

⁸ Brewer, “Ingroup Identification and Intergroup Conflict,” 19.

⁹ A. Mummendey and H. Otten, “Positive-Negative Asymmetry in Social Discrimination,” in *European Review of Social Psychology*, vol. 9, eds. W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone (New York: Wiley, 1998), 107-143; M. B. Brewer, “Ingroup Bias in the Minimal Intergroup Situation: A Cognitive Motivational Analysis,” *Psychological Bulletin* 86, no. 2 (1979): 307-324.

groups are sharply drawn and immutable [so that] it is impossible or at least very difficult for individuals to move from one group to the other.¹⁰

Ordinarily, group boundaries are not fixed. Since it is in the nature of the individual to seek increasingly efficient status roles for the fulfilment of basic needs, there is a tendency of social mobility from less to more efficient groups. Indeed, “[...]subjects will experience their membership more strongly the greater the perceived likelihood that their groups will attain positive outcomes or avoid negative outcomes.”¹¹ Conflict is likely to arise only when group boundaries are fixed and social mobility is thwarted. It is this impenetrability of common group boundaries which causes group members to constitute what Rabbie and Horwitz call a “common fate” group,¹² leading them to construct new identities and sometimes to resort to (militant) protest.¹³ Such boundaries also create the image of the Other, the group possessing a superior or inferior needs strategy in which one cannot, or will not, participate. On the lower needs levels, Otherness may result from structural class differences and on the higher levels from ideational ones. In either case, the Other serves as the trigger for action, either as the standard that one wants to achieve (for the deprived) or that one wants to avoid (for the relatively gratified).

The impenetrability of group boundaries may lead to feelings of threat in both high and low-status groups, as people, depending on their status, experience challenges either to their physiological/security or status fulfilment. While it is well known that individuals in general cope with threat by adopting hostile and ideological attitudes,¹⁴ it is worth looking in more detail at how such attitudes in reality influence collective action in groups experiencing different levels of needs fulfilment, and accordingly how the

¹⁰ Henry Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 245.

¹¹ Murray Horwitz and Jacob M. Rabbie, “Individuality and Membership in the Intergroup System” (Chapter 9) in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 241-274: 255.

¹² Horwitz and Rabbie, “Individuality and Membership in the Intergroup System,” 259; Jacob M. Rabbie, “A Behavioural Interaction Model: Towards an Integrative Framework for Studying Intra- and Intergroup Behaviour,” in *Conflict and Social Psychology*, ed. Knud S. Larsen (London: Sage, 1993), 85-108.

¹³ I. Walker and L. Mann, “Unemployment, Relative Deprivation, and Social Protest,” *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 13, no. 2 (1987): 275-283.

¹⁴ See further John Duckitt and Kirsten Fisher, “The Impact of Social Threat on Worldview and Ideological Attitudes,” *Political Psychology* 24, no.1 (2003): 199-222; Thomas Pettigrew, “People Under Threat: Americans, Arabs, and Israelis,” *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 9, no. 1 (2003): 69-90; Vamik Volkan, *Bloodlines: From Ethnic Pride to Ethnic Terrorism* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 25.

“social structural and motivational conditions” suggested by Brewer can be usefully integrated into a model of threat and Otherness.

A Framework of Perceived Relative Deprivation

The present dissertation has argued from the start that the primary motivating factor in all human behaviour is the necessity of needs fulfilment. Indeed, if behaviour depended only on biology (rather than also psychology), it would be easy to predict the onset of collective violence. As the age-old frustration-aggression theory¹⁵ suggests, individuals or groups frustrated in their needs or wants fulfilment become aggressive against those blocking such action. Using the motivational framework of Chapter 1, this would suggest that on the lowest levels of needs fulfilment, collective violence would be immediate given that people in such situations are wholly concerned with survival. On the higher levels, groups would become less interested in violent strategies and would rely on non-violent approaches for collective empowerment. For example, strategies of passive resistance, such as those influenced by Gandhi aiming at Indian independence, and peasant strikes such as those seen in Russia from 1905 or in Poland during the 1970s and 1980s, would become the norm.¹⁶ Along with the development of society and the gradual elimination of severe deprivation, the maladaptive aspects of needs strategies would be reduced and violence would accordingly decrease.

In reality, however, human action depends not on deprivation *per se* but on the ways in which deprivation is perceived and attributed to Others. What matters is not objective deprivation but the relative differences in the collective needs fulfilment of groups or classes. This idea is captured most famously by the concept of relative deprivation (RD) developed by Gurr.¹⁷ In the RD framework, Gurr highlighted the importance of collective needs fulfilment but also brought Otherness into the picture by suggesting

¹⁵ John Dollard, Neil E. Miller, L. W. Doob, O. H. Mowrer, R. R. Sears, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), further developed by Leonard Berkowitz, “Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis: Examination and Reformulation,” *Psychological Bulletin* 106: no. 1 (1989): 59-73. The deprivation hypothesis was used by many sociologists including revolution theorists before Gurr, for example George S. Pettee, *The Process of Revolution* (New York: Harper & Row, 1938); Abraham Kaplan and Harold D. Lasswell, *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1950); Lewis A. Coser, “Social Conflict and the Theory of Social Change,” *The British Journal of Sociology* 8, no. 3. (1957): 197-207.

¹⁶ For various other examples besides these see further Peter Ackerman and Jack Duval, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Non-Violent Conflict* (New York: Palgrave, 2000).

¹⁷ Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970). The concept was first used by Stouffer et al., *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II: The American Soldier. Vol. 1, Adjustment During Army Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 125.

that both real deprivation and the perceived justifiability of the deprivation influence the likelihood of collective violence.¹⁸ Many conflict theories (including the present one) are based on such a theoretical framework. A recent review paper on the RD literature suggests that for RD to result in conflict, at least three elements must be present: the individual must make comparisons between groups, perceive the ingroup to be disadvantaged in comparison with an Other, and perceive the disadvantage to be unfair.¹⁹ However, since RD has little to do with objective levels of deprivation,²⁰ *perceived relative deprivation*, rather than simply relative deprivation, may be a more accurate term.²¹

If, however, the feeling of deprivation depends largely on perception, then elements such as leadership manipulation and the level of needs fulfilment, which affects the nature in which identity and leadership function, must also be integrated into the model. Although Gurr does use a rather elaborate needs hierarchy and even argues that the intensity of RD correlates with the importance of the needs in question,²² he does not elaborate on the implications of the needs level on the dynamics of conflict. Gurr also does not explain why, or how, frustration actually develops into aggression (rather than, for example, lethargy or avoidance) and into collective action.²³ He admits that leaders “offer plausible explanations of the sources of relative deprivation, identify political targets for violence, and provide symbols of group identification,”²⁴ yet fails to investigate how this is done. This, of course, leads him to ignore the possibility that leadership might function differently on varying levels of RD.

¹⁸ Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, 136, 201; also Rupert Brown and Gordon F. Ross argue that conflict depends on several elements: the needs of the subjects in the situation and their perceptions of injustice regarding the situation, as well as the perceived threat posed by the Other: “The Battle for Acceptance: An Investigation Into the Dynamics of Intergroup Behaviour,” in Tajfel, *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, 154-178.

¹⁹ Heather J. Smith, Thomas F. Pettigrew, Gina M. Pippin, and Silvana Bialosiewicz, “Relative Deprivation: A Theoretical and Meta-Analytic Review,” *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 16 (2012): 203-232.

²⁰ Smith et al., “Relative Deprivation,” 216-217.

²¹ The concept of *perceived* relative deprivation has previously been used by Ronald J. Fisher, although he did not explore the mechanism in much depth: see Fisher, “Towards a Social-Psychological Model of Intergroup Conflict,” in Larsen, *Conflict in Social Psychology*, 109-122.

²² Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, 71.

²³ As Aya complains, “[...]Gurr offers no explanation of how the frustrations of uncoordinated individuals are transformed into collective assaults on incumbent power-holders.” See R. Aya, “Theories of Revolution Reconsidered: Contrasting Models of Collective Violence,” *Theory and Society* 8, no. 1 (1979): 58.

²⁴ Gurr, *Why Men Rebel*, 201.

The PRD model can arguably be developed into a more complex and revealing model of conflict by integrating into the model both the needs fulfilment level and the dynamics of the actual (rather than ideal) nature of leadership and its effects on collective identity. PRD may thus consist of varying levels of *deprivation* (its objective level), *relativity* (the importance of comparison with the Other and consequent feelings of injustice), and *perception* (which can be manipulated by leaders). One can hypothesise, for example, that due to the importance of identity on the higher levels of needs fulfilment, manipulation and leadership may play a greater role in conflicts in developed societies which rarely experience physiological deprivation. That said, as a result of the biological factor, the realistic, objective class differences between groups may be a more common cause of conflict on the lower levels of needs fulfilment. If PRD at one end of the continuum is realistic and at the other based more on perception, then one can also resolve the old dichotomy between rational and non-rational conflict found in the work of root theorists²⁵ as well as various sociologists.²⁶

Although, as the following sections will show, some recent theories do combine the realistic and ideational aspects of conflict into a single framework, it is also the case that the distinction between rational and irrational/manipulative conflicts (hereafter called “bottom-up” and “top-down”),²⁷ persists in conflict theory. The suggested framework is a step forward in the sense that in linking the real and the ideational aspects of conflict to the level of needs fulfilment it allows one to purposefully reconcile the existing approaches. More importantly, by drawing attention to the changing nature of identity and leadership, it allows one to delve much deeper into the dynamics and prerequisites of conflict at the opposite ends of the conflict continuum.

²⁵ In addition to Gurr, see for example Chalmers Johnson, *Revolutionary Change* (Boston: Little & Brown, 1966) and James C. Davies, “Toward a Theory of Revolution,” *The American Sociological Review* 6, no. 1 (February 1962): 5-19.

²⁶ See Lewis A. Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: The Free Press, 1956), 59; in the field of game theory, see also Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960). The difference is also prevalent in the work of Johan Galtung, see for example Galtung, *Peace and Social Structure: Essays in Peace Research, Vol III* (Copenhagen: Christian Ejlers, 1978).

²⁷ Such terms are used by various conflict theorists, although they tend to make a distinction only between conflicts initiated by leaders and those initiated by the masses, leaving the other conflict dynamics without attention. See for example David Keen, “‘Top-down’ economic violence,” *The Adelphi Papers* 38, no. 320 (1998): 23-44 and Keen, “‘Bottom-up’ economic violence,” *The Adelphi Papers* 38, no. 320 (1998): 45-54, where both types of conflict are assumed to be driven by greed.

2.2. Bottom-Up and “Middle” Conflicts: Mobilisation and Identity

As mentioned, conflict literature, like theories of identity, has not succeeded in reconciling needs and identities in the way suggested in the previous chapter. Indeed, theories of revolution and conflict created after Gurr's RD model and other second generation²⁸ root theories have concentrated on one or the other end of the conflict continuum, rather than attempting to reconcile the two ends. In addition, many of them have claimed universal rather than historical or regional applicability, which is why the dynamics of the different types of conflict have remained under-theorised. The purpose of the present section is to describe, firstly, how rational action, and more specifically, economic and class theories of conflict, describe only one end of the PRD continuum; secondly, it reveals the actual dynamics of mobilisation and the tools of leadership required for collective violence to be possible on the lower levels of PRD, as well as the relationship between mobilisation and identity on this level of needs fulfilment. The elements examined here are further analysed through the first case study in Chapter 4.

Economic and Class Conflict Theories

At one end of the theoretical spectrum, conflict theory is inhabited by rational action, economic, and class conflict theories. These theories largely align with RCT in social psychology in assuming that the main causes of violent conflict are the real, material desires of individuals or the realistic inequalities between groups or classes of people. These models generally suppose that individuals are interested in furthering their wealth and power and will attempt to achieve material benefits when the likelihood of success is high enough to outweigh the risk. A logical hypothesis is that the relative size and material resources of a group consequently largely determine whether it will resort to aggression,²⁹ and that war is thus likelier in regions plagued by scarcity or a general lack of employment opportunities for young men.³⁰ In this scheme, ideational factors do not

²⁸ Revolution theories are often classified as belonging to the first (historical), second (motivational), third (structural), or fourth (combining identity and leadership elements) generations. See for example Jack A. Goldstone, "Toward a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 139-87; John Foran, "Theories of Revolution Revisited: Towards a Fourth Generation?" *Sociological Theory* 11, no. 1 (1993): 1-20.

²⁹ The same hypothesis applies in the field of evolutionary psychology: see Anthony C. Lopez, Rose McDermott, and Michael Bang Petersen, "States in Mind: Evolution, Coalitional Psychology, and International Politics," *International Security* 36, no. 2 (2011): 48-83, pp. 72, 78.

³⁰ C. Cramer, "Homo Economicus Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War," *World Development* 30, no. 11 (2002): 1845-1864; see also Stephen Peter Rosen, *War and Human Nature* (Princeton University Press, 2005), 105.

seem to matter. This can be seen as problematic, for rational action models have a hard time making any viable predictions without also considering the way in which the social context is perceived by the actors.³¹

Economic models of conflict are also based on individual rationality. Such models have primarily been advanced by Collier and Hoeffler, who argue that collective violence is a result of greed caused by economic hardship.³² They point out that rebellion, especially in the least developed countries (LDCs), is often caused by the struggle for primary commodities such as minerals and oil. Their model follows RCT in arguing that identities are created by conflict rather than the other way around. Collier specifically argues that:

Ethnic grievance is actively manufactured by the rebel organization as a necessary way of motivating its forces. [...]When such conflicts are viewed during or after the event, the observer sees ethnic hatred. The parties to the conflict have used the discourse of group hatred in order to build fighting organizations. It is natural for observers to interpret such conflicts as being caused by ethnic hatred. Instead, the conflicts have caused the inter-group hatred and may even [...] have created the groups.³³

Unfortunately, Collier does not give any clear reasons to why group identities do not come within the ambit of his framework, even though, as he accepts, they seem to play *some* role in mobilisation.

Class conflict theories are similar to economic theories in linking collective violence to structural inequalities. In the realm of revolution theory, (third generation) structural theories emphasise the inequalities between the masses (usually peasants) and the authoritarian state.³⁴ Such models have their origins in the Marxist idea that violent

³¹ See further Cramer, "Homo Economicus," passim, for a general critique of rational choice/economic theories of conflict.

³² See for example Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 1 (2002): 13-28.

³³ Paul Collier, "Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy," Washington, DC: World Bank. (<http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers.civilconflict.htm>), 12-13, quoted in Nafziger and Auvinen, "Economic Development, Inequality, War, and State Violence," *World Development* 30, no. 2 (2002): 153-163.

³⁴ Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

mobilisation is necessary to break down the existing structures of exploitation and to transform society.³⁵ In these theories, identity again plays a secondary role, or if it does emerge, it is seen as dependent on class position. Wallerstein, for example, argues that “...the constructed ‘peoples’ – the races, the nations, the ethnic groups – correlate heavily, albeit imperfectly, with ‘objective class’,”³⁶ and Cohen posits that “social stratification develops as a correlate of cultural distinctiveness and the competition of scarce resources.”³⁷ Like RCT and economic theories of conflict, then, also class theory argues that conflicts of interest exist prior to group identification. Consequently, identity manipulation does not come into play. As Goldstone asserts, “in structural theories of revolution [...] leaders hardly ever appear, or if mentioned, they seem to be unwitting dupes of history whose best intentions are always frustrated by deeper social, political, or economic forces.”³⁸

Both the greed and class conflict paradigms have, of course, been rejected by many as over-simplifying the causes of conflict. Mere greed or deprivation experienced by various individuals does not amount to cohesive collective action. Economic and class theories can also be seen as problematic in not distinguishing between motivational and material causes. Collier and Hoeffler, for example, talk about greed, seemingly a motivational issue; but rather than investigate its development, they presuppose its existence based on the existence of primary commodities and other lootable resources. Some 'mixed' models of conflict similarly measure motivation through a set of structural elements such as per capita income, geographic and demographic conditions, external help, the availability of military technology, and the existence of primary commodities – although also history and identity may be taken into account.³⁹ While perhaps useful in predicting large-scale violence, such models confuse motivation with opportunity. As Cramer argues, “there is no denying the significance of material interests in the *origins*

³⁵ For a review see for example Jonathan H. Turner, “Marx and Simmel Revisited: Reassessing the Foundations of Conflict Theory,” *Social Forces* 5, no. 4 (1975): 618-627, 619, 621.

³⁶ Immanuel Wallerstein, “The Construction of Peoplehood: Racism, Nationalism, Ethnicity” in *Race, Nation, Class. Ambiguous Identities*, eds. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1991), 84.

³⁷ Cohen quoted in Brackette F. Williams, “A Class Act: Anthropology and the Race to Nation Across Ethnic Terrain,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18, no. 1 (1989): 401-444.

³⁸ Goldstone, “Toward a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory,” 156.

³⁹ See for example James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.

of conflicts, even if at times [...]it is difficult to separate their role in the origins of conflict from their influence on the *characteristics and durability of conflict*.”⁴⁰

However, the seeming failures of economic and class theories – the absence of identity and leadership considerations, the mixing of motivation with material factors – can be easily theorised away by rejecting the supposed universal applicability of such models and by connecting them to a low level of needs security. The economic and class conflict models seem to apply best to LDCs not only because they emphasise scarcity and the inequitable dispersion of resources, a problem plaguing developing countries in particular, but also because, as hypothesised in chapter 1, collective identities can be seen to lose their persuasive power in conditions of physiological deprivation. Although a low level of needs security or development does not necessarily render people continuously deprived, repeated instances of physiological deprivation do predispose individuals to weak identity dynamics and to spontaneous individualistic behaviour.⁴¹ Thus, under conditions of low development and severe deprivation, the exclusion of collective identity from conflict models may, after all, not be wholly unwarranted. Similarly, considering the weakness of ideational factors as well as the importance of survival in severe deprivation, it is perhaps natural that theorists concentrating on LDCs should equate motivation with material opportunity.

“Mixed” Theories

The simplicity of the greed and class paradigms have been contested by various other theories, which here shall be called ‘mixed’ theories in that they attempt to combine economic and ideational factors. As Gurr already argued, people do not resort to collective violence only because they desire economic betterment, but also because they believe that their demands are justified. Rather than automatically mobilise, the group must first agree on the causes of deprivation and achieve cohesion. In this respect, the grievance literature, which finds a correlation between conflict and the perceived (in)equality of resource distribution,⁴² can be said to be an improvement on the greed paradigm. As Nafziger and Auvinen state, “[w]hile high inequality is associated with

⁴⁰ Cramer, “Homo Economicus,” 1849; my emphasis.

⁴¹ This will be further demonstrated by the case study chapter 4.

⁴² For example, Juha Auvinen and Wayne E. Nafziger, *Economic Development, Inequality, and War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003); see also Alberto Alesina and Roberto Perotti, “Income Distribution, Political Instability, and Investment,” *European Economic Review* 40, no. 6 (1996): 1203-1228.

emergencies, insurgency is more likely if the less advantaged can identify the perpetrators of their poverty and suffering.”⁴³ Otherness thus matters a great deal for the overall decision to resort to conflict. This, however, inevitably brings forth the question of collective identity, which the grievance literature does not examine in any depth.

If one wants to properly understand how grievances are transformed into cohesive action, the only theoretical solution left thus seems to be to merge collective identity with class/economic theories of conflict. This has in effect been done by the “horizontal inequalities” model, developed by Stewart and others.⁴⁴ According to this model, the likelihood of conflict is greatest not where deprivation is greatest, but rather where both economic and cultural factors are present; for instance when people believe their deprivation is a result of the Other's deliberate choice and is based on their ethnic, religious, or other collective identity. It is also acknowledged that horizontal inequality “may not translate itself into conflict if there is a strong state which suppresses it, or if ideological elements are such that the inequalities are not widely perceived”⁴⁵ – in other words, because of leadership and manipulation. Accepting that the combination of grievance and identity together render conflict most likely is an important step, yet one question remains to be answered: is it then not possible for conflict to be triggered either in the absence of identity or in the absence of grievance?

Again the problem can be resolved not by arguing that the “horizontal inequalities” model enjoys universal applicability, but rather by connecting it to a ‘middle’ level of needs fulfilment – the security level – and development. Although the motivation for collective violence may be most readily present among people living in undeveloped societies, these peoples are most likely to resort to low-scale/local rebellion rather than cohesive civil or international war. According to one sample, conflict was absent only in

⁴³ Auvinen and Nafziger, *Economic Development*, 156. Perception is essential to grievance theory because no direct correlations can be found between pure inequality and conflict: see M. I. Lichbach, “An Evaluation of ‘Does Economic Inequality Breed Political Conflict’ Studies,” *World Politics* 41, no. 4 (1989): 431-70. For a revealing application of the grievance paradigm, see Edward Aspinall, “The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no. 6:6 (2007): 950-972.

⁴⁴ F. Stewart, “The Root Causes of Humanitarian Emergencies,” in *War, Hunger and Displacement: The Origins of Humanitarian Emergencies*, vol. 1, eds. W.E. Nafziger, F. Stewart & R. Väyrynen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-42; Stewart, “Horizontal Inequalities: A Neglected Dimension of Development,” *QEH Working Paper Series* 81 (Oxford: Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 2002); see also Graham K. Brown and Armin Langer, “Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: A Critical Review and Research Agenda,” *Conflict, Security & Development* 10, no. 1 (2010): 27-55.

⁴⁵ Stewart, “The Root Causes,” 11.

about 9% of (externally) non-pacified pre-industrial societies,⁴⁶ but these were mainly local conflicts. On a higher level of development or on the security needs level, on the other hand, also ideational factors may come into play, meaning that the movement may be characterised by a higher level of unity and cohesive action. On this level, large-scale conflicts involving tens or hundreds of thousands of people may be more common.

Recent research supports the hypothesis that large-scale violence is most common on the middle levels of needs fulfilment or development. Previously it was simply argued that societal development increases the likelihood of conflict when the capacity of the group/state to carry out cohesive action increases.⁴⁷ Recently, however, Boehmer and Sobek have come to a rather more multifaceted conclusion about the relationship between the level of development and conflict:

At lower levels of development the lack of opportunity limits a state's ability to initiate militarized conflict[...]. In contrast, at the higher levels of development the lack of willingness limits a state's conflict propensity even though it is more than capable [...]. It is in the *middle range of development* that states have the volatile mix of opportunity and willingness to engage in bellicose behavior. *This does not imply that conflict is impossible at low and high levels of development; rather, it is less likely.*⁴⁸

If conflict is likeliest in the presence of both willingness and opportunity, or of both material and ideational factors, then only one question remains to be answered. How is it possible that people sometimes achieve the necessary unity to trigger large-scale civil and international war even in extremely undeveloped regions?

⁴⁶C. R. Ember & M. Ember, "Violence in the Ethnographic Record: Results of Crosscultural Research on War and Aggression," in *Troubled Times: Violence and Warfare in the Past*, eds. D. L. Martin, & D. W. Frayer (Gordan and Breach Publishers, 1–20), cited in Russill Durrant, "Collective Violence: An Evolutionary perspective," *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 16, no. 5 (2011): 428–436.

⁴⁷Charles Tilly, ed., *Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975); Nazli Choucri and Robert C. North, *Nations in Conflict: Prelude to World War I* (San Francisco, CA: Freeman, 1975); see also Resource Mobilisation Theory, which ignores all psychological approaches to conflict - for a review J. Craig Jenkins, "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983): 527-553. This, of course, has been rejected by democratic peace theorists; see further section 7.2.

⁴⁸ Charles R. Boehmer and David Sobek, "Violent Adolescence: State Development and the Propensity for Militarized Interstate Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 42, no. 1 (2005): 5-26, 11.

Leadership in Economic/Class and Mixed Theories

If the dynamics of conflict on the physiological and security levels is to be developed any further, it must be done by considering the role of leadership, an issue that existing economic and class conflict theories tend to ignore. If severe deprivation is likely to lead to the collapse of collective group identities, social hierarchies, and group norms and culture, then the key question for a comprehensive motivational theory must be how it is possible for severely deprived groups to sometimes overcome their resource and identity challenges for the sake of collective empowerment? Despite the assumptions of economic theories of conflict, individualistic and materialistic motivations are not automatically translated into collective action: while one can easily understand why in severe scarcity individual mobilisation should come about, the *unity* of the movement is a different issue altogether.

In the previous chapter it was argued that on the lower levels of needs fulfilment, leadership tends to be action-oriented rather than manipulative. However, if one wants to achieve unity and restore a level of social structure in physiological deprivation – a state of affairs inimical to the dynamics of this particular needs level – then arguably one must also resort to coercion. The role of coercive leadership as a prerequisite of collective empowerment in physiological deprivation is demonstrated by the Southern Sudanese case study (Chapter 4). This case shows that the deeper the deprivation, the more readily people adopt new group affiliations capable of addressing the deprivation, and the more likely they are to indiscriminately fight others. The challenge thus lies not in motivating people per se, but to direct action against the Other truly responsible for the deprivation and thus overcome the challenge of deprivation. It seems that the only way leaders can forge unity in such circumstances is by acquiring more resources to dole out to the masses than alternative groups and leaders (thus creating imaginary or temporary unity among the people) or by preventing individuals from moving across group boundaries through coercive methods. While such military leadership capable of achieving coercive or material hegemony is rare, it explains why even in LDCs people will sometimes rise from their lethargy to trigger (and win) large-scale conflict, as in Southern Sudan.

In severe deprivation, then, ordinary group processes may collapse and materialism and individualism take over. As Kalyvas points out, civil war can sometimes be “the ideal

revanche opportunity for losers in local power conflicts as well as individuals who feel slighted and envious.”⁴⁹ This applies particularly well to bottom-up conflicts, where it is less likely that the conflict will be seen in terms of the master narrative. As one moves upwards on the needs hierarchy, however, one can hypothesise that the demands of leadership change and the need for coercion is reduced. In the area between physiological and security PRD, the importance of political ideology emerges to a greater extent, resulting in higher group cohesion. In the case of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia,⁵⁰ for example, members have been found to be primarily motivated by injustices (the realistic aspects) but also by the ideology of the group, and the “meaning” it provides (in other words, status).⁵¹ Sometimes, as in the case of the former Yugoslavia (Chapter 5), ideology and needs concerns may both carry weight at the same time as they point to opposing policy options (nationalistic versus Communist affiliation). Also, as the importance of perception increases, the nature of leadership can become less authoritarian.

Even on the lower needs levels, leaders can of course rely on identity categories, yet this does not necessarily mean that motivation is based on anything except the desire to survive and to acquire material resources to do so. Esteban and Ray⁵² provide an explanation as to why bottom-up types of class conflict are, nevertheless, often defined in terms of identity or ethnicity: the reason lies in the incapacity of the lowest classes to initiate effective collective violence without the help of elite leaders. Pure class conflict is not a viable alternative as it involves only the marginalised in conflict and is therefore likely to weaken the movement and keep it from achieving benefits of any significance. Usually, class alliances are created in which the elites provide the material resources and know-how, and the masses provide the numbers required for overt violence. Leaders on both sides, however, not being as equally deprived as the masses, have an interest in defining the conflict in terms of identity rather than in terms of clear class injustice.⁵³ This applies, notably, to the Sudanese conflicts, defined by leaders and the

⁴⁹ Stathis N. Kalyvas, “The Ontology of ‘Political Violence’: Action and Identity in Civil Wars,” *Perspectives on Politics*, 1, no. 3 (2003): 475-494.

⁵⁰ Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia–Ejército, or FARC.

⁵¹ See for example Florez-Morris Mauricio, “Joining Guerrilla Groups in Colombia: Individual Motivations and Processes for Entering a Violent Organization,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30, no. 7 (2007): 615-634.

⁵² Joan Esteban and Debraj Ray, “On the Salience of Ethnic Conflict” *American Economic Review* 98, no. 5 (2008): 2185-2202.

⁵³ Because this might make them the “Other” in the eyes of the masses.

international community as revolving around identity and ideology, but in reality being based on realistic (class) grievances.

2.3. Top-Down Conflicts: Mobilisation and Ideology

Opposed to rationalist economic and class theories of conflict are theories that cite identity and ideology as the causes of conflict. Some of these theories emphasise the role of historical categories such as ethnicity and culture, while others emphasise ideology. In either case, the focus is on mass perceptions rather than real class differences. As opposed to economic and class conflict, which tends to rely on rational action theory and supposes that needs precede interests, ethnic and cultural theories of conflict tend to be based on constructivist ideas, which generally assume that identity precedes interests.⁵⁴ Once again, however, identity and mobilisation are better seen as separate issues. This section will consider the approaches based on ideational factors but will also attempt to point out the missing elements: the significance of ideology as opposed to identity, and the ultimate rationalism of mobilisation even on the higher needs levels. The elements examined here are further analysed through the second case study in Chapter 6.

From Primordialism to Constructivism

At the more simplistic end of ideational theories of conflict are primordialist theories based on the work of Shils⁵⁵ and Geertz,⁵⁶ which emphasise the natural cultural, ethnic, and other long-term differences between communities and understand conflict as natural or inevitable between culturally different groups. Some primordialists accept that ethnic identities can be subject to change and transformation, but maintain that, once solidified, they tend to direct collective behaviour.⁵⁷ Although rare in the academic literature, these types of simplistic 'ethnic hatred' explanations are still frequently seen in the popular press, not only in connection to genocides or other large-scale conflicts

⁵⁴ For an evaluation of constructivist thought in connection to IR theory, see 7(3).

⁵⁵ Edward Shils, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties: Some Particular Observations on the Relationships of Sociological Research and Theory," *The British Journal of Sociology* 8, no. 2 (1957): 130-45.

⁵⁶ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

⁵⁷ Stephen Van Evera, "Primordialism Lives!" *Newsletter of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association* 12, no. 1 (2001): 20-22.

such as those of the Sudan or the former Yugoslavia, which are defined as ethnic by the parties themselves,⁵⁸ but also in connection to those that are generally not so characterised, such as tribal or other local disputes.⁵⁹ However, while conflicts may be easy to categorise based on ethnic differences, such theories have little explanatory force.⁶⁰ As already mentioned, identity is not a source of motivation in severe deprivation, and the role of identity is doubtful even in status-level conflicts. As Gilley argues, “the concept of ‘ethnic conflict’ wrongly conflates the two things – ethnicity in identity and ethnicity in conflict.”⁶¹

Theories of ethnicity have in recent decades moved away from primordialism towards a more constructivist approach, which argues that identity categories are not fixed, but come into existence through action and discourse,⁶² and are thus subject to constant transformation. Although no comprehensive constructivist theory of conflict exists as yet, constructivist approaches have been used in various ways in the qualitative conflict literature. Fearon and Laitin have pointed out three ways in which the conflict literature integrates constructivist ideas:⁶³ conflict is explained as a result of interactions between the masses, as a result of discourse, or as a result of strategic elite action. The discourse approach is rejected as a relatively unconvincing alternative, and one coming too close to primordialist explanations. As Fearon and Laitin point out, discursive systems are enduring structures, while violence is episodic.⁶⁴ Here, one can perhaps best see the confusion between “ethnicity in identity and ethnicity in conflict” suggested by Gilley: a long-term prejudiced predisposition is one thing, actual mobilisation is another.

⁵⁸ Richard Bassett, "Serbia Faces Political Isolation; The Ethnic Crisis in Yugoslavia," *The Times* (London), October 19, 1988; James McKinley Jr., "Sudan Christians Take War's Culture Clash North," *The New York Times*, April 5, 1998, 3.

⁵⁹ Jeffrey Gettleman, "Accounts Emerge in South Sudan of 3,000 Deaths in Ethnic Violence," *The New York Times*, January 6, 2012, 8.

⁶⁰ For a criticism of the concept of ethnic conflict, see Bruce Gilley, "Against the Concept of Ethnic Conflict," *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 6 (2004): 1155-1166, and for a broader analysis of the concept, Jeffrey S. Murer, "Ethnic Conflict: An Overview of Analyzing and Framing Communal Conflicts from Comparative Perspectives," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22, no 4 (2012): 561-580.

⁶¹ Gilley, "Against the Concept of Ethnic Conflict," 1161.

⁶² See Friedrich Kratochwil, *International Order and Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Sketch of Post-war International Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978). A more thorough review of constructivism in IR can be found in 7.3.

⁶³ James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (2000): 845-877.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 863.

The other explanation – strategic action by the elites and interaction of the masses – are in Fearon and Laitin's opinion more convincing. The elite-based explanation can also be called the "instrumentalist" explanation.⁶⁵ According to this model, strategic action and the use of identity categories by elites and extremists may prevent moderates from acquiring power and provoke people to violence.⁶⁶ From this perspective the value of the constructivist approach would thus not lie in its emphasis on the role of identity at all, but rather in its attention on elite manipulation and the strategic use of identity categories in conflict. As Fearon and Laitin admit, "the mere observation that ethnic identities are socially constructed does not by itself explain ethnic violence and may not even be particularly relevant,"⁶⁷ but the way in which identities can be manipulated by elites is more so. This opens up a way to explore the perceptions and ideologies created by the elites in conflict situations, and the ways in which mass perceptions can be manipulated, for example, through the use of historical categories.⁶⁸

The Role of Ideology

Both conflict resolution⁶⁹ and revolution theorists⁷⁰ have considered ideology and manipulative leadership worthy of integration into conflict theories, albeit without succeeding to unravel the dynamics of conflict on different levels of need fulfilment. Some steps forward, especially in the realm of class conflict theory, have also been taken in the neo-Marxist literature of Gramsci,⁷¹ who considers manipulation a condition for revolution. In his model of social change, the creation of a hegemonic ideology is achieved through the education of the masses by organic intellectuals, or,

⁶⁵ Graham K. Brown and Arnim Langer, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Ethnicity," *Oxford Development Studies* 38, no. 4 (2010): 411-436, 413.

⁶⁶ Fearon and Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction," 864-865.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 845.

⁶⁸ See in particular Beverly Crawford, "The Causes of Cultural Conflict: An Institutional Approach," and "Explaining Cultural Conflict in Ex-Yugoslavia: Institutional Weakness, Economic Crisis," in *The Myth of "Ethnic Conflict,"* eds. Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D. Lipschutz (International and Area Studies Research Series/Number 98, University of California, Berkeley, 1998). See also further Chapter 6 on the Milosevic campaign.

⁶⁹ Kreisberg, Louis. "Escalation and Institutionalization Stages," in *Beyond Intractability*, Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess (Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado: Boulder, September 2003), at http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/escalation_stage/; see also Louis Kreisberg, *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution*, 2nd ed. (New York, London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003) and Edward Azar, *The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990).

⁷⁰ Eric Selbin, *Modern Latin American Revolutions* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1993); John Foran, ed., *Theorizing Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1997); Foran, "Theories of Revolution Revisited" (1993).

⁷¹ For lucid reviews see for example Anne Showstack Sassoon, *Gramsci's Politics* (University of Minnesota Press, 1987); James Martin, *Gramsci's Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Palgrave, 1998).

the party leaders.⁷² Significantly, Gramsci also implicitly acknowledges the changing nature of conflict on different needs levels when distinguishing between the “war of movement,” where violence plays the central role, and the “war of position,” which consists of a continuous ideological struggle; he even acknowledges that the latter is a more modern phenomenon.

Indeed, it seems reasonable to argue that theories of conflict emphasising identity and ideology over the realistic aspects of grievance are better suited for explaining conflict triggered on the higher needs level or by groups enjoying higher status. Unfortunately, thus far a connection has been made only between ideology and high-status group members, not between ideology and a generally high level of development or needs fulfilment in general. In the field of social psychology, it has been found, for example, that high-status groups are more accepting of inequalities prejudiced against Others than low-status groups,⁷³ especially in the presence of threat.⁷⁴ In the words of Guimond and Dambrun, one can say that although relative deprivation causes more prejudice than a situation of neutrality (equality), relative gratification (RG) causes even more prejudice, ethnocentrism, and racism than does RD.⁷⁵

The fact that high-status groups are more prone to prejudice, however, does not mean they are also more prone to collective violence. As Galtung in his theories of structural and cultural violence argues, cultural categories are a tool for those in positions of power and are most often used to *legitimise and preserve existing social structures*.⁷⁶ Rather than leading to violence, RD “[...]may trigger the need to find justifications, a process which is primarily cognitive in nature...”⁷⁷ High status also strengthens group

⁷² Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, eds. Hoare and Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 238-240.

⁷³ J. Sidanius, F. Pratto, M. Martin, and L. Stallworth, "Consensual Racism and Career Track: Some Implications for Social Dominance Theory," *Political Psychology* 12, no. 4 (1991): 691-721; B. A. Bettencourt, N. Dorr, K. Charlton & D. L. Hume, "Status Differences and In-group Bias: A Meta-Analytic Examination of the Effects of Status Stability, Status Legitimacy, and Group Permeability" *Psychological Bulletin* 127, no. 4 (2001): 520-542; B. M. Riek, E. W. Mania, & S. L. Gaertner, "Intergroup Threat and Outgroup Attitudes: A Meta-Analytic Review," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 10, no. 4 (2006): 336-353.

⁷⁴ Kimberly Rios Morrison, Nathanael J. Fast, Oscar Ybarra, "Group Status, Perceptions of Threat, and Support for Social Inequality," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 45, no.1 (2009): 204-210.

⁷⁵ Serge Guimond and Michael Dambrun, "When Prosperity Breeds Intergroup Hostility: The Effects of Relative Deprivation and Relative Gratification on Prejudice," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 28, no. 7 (2002): 900-912.

⁷⁶ See further Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (1990): 291-305.

⁷⁷ Guimond and Dambrun, "When Prosperity Breeds Intergroup Hostility," 910.

processes such as scapegoating, projection, and dehumanisation, which legitimise social inequality and prevent the transformation and fluidity of group boundaries.⁷⁸ In other words, RG prejudice and ideologies are primarily used to justify existing structural inequalities, not to mobilise people. The idea that ideology serves to reinforce existing boundaries rather than motivate people to participate in violence is to some extent also supported by the case literature. Gagnon, for example, argues in connection to the Yugoslav wars, that the ideology of ethnic superiority was not designed to, or did not have the effect of, mobilising people, but only of rendering the masses passive and unaware of the irrationality of elite politics.⁷⁹

Interestingly, Fearon and Laitin, in their qualitative review of “ethnic” conflicts, also argue that the importance of ethnic identities is not so much that they help to provoke conflict with the Other, but that they help extremists win internal conflicts with moderates.⁸⁰ The idea that leaders trigger external violent conflicts to prevent the masses from perceiving domestic problems is of course a well-acknowledged, if inconsistent, finding.⁸¹ For a theory of motivation, and especially for ideational explanations, however, this is somewhat problematic since it seems to indicate that while identity or ideology is present in situations of conflict, it may, after all, have nothing to do with *mobilising the masses*. Rather, the purpose of identity politics seems to be that it allows the leaders and elites to retain a high level of authoritarianism – a leadership style characteristic of and adaptive on the lower levels of needs fulfilment, but maladaptive on the status level.

⁷⁸ J. Sidanius and F. Pratto, *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999); J. T. Jost and M. R. Banaji, “The Role of Stereotyping in System-justification and the Production of False Consciousness,” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 33, no. 1 (1994): 1-27.

⁷⁹ V. P. Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2004), see also chapters 5 and 6.

⁸⁰ Fearon and Laitin, “Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity,” 846.

⁸¹ In social psychology, see J. M. Rabbie and F. Bekkers, “Threatened Leadership and Intergroup Competition,” *European Journal of Social Psychology* 8, no. 1 (1978): 9-20; in sociology for various and opposing findings, see LeVine and Campbell, *Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes and Group Behaviour* (NY: Wiley, 1972); Rudolph J. Rummel, “Dimensions of Conflict Behaviour Within and Between Nations,” *General Systems* 8 (1963): 1-50; Jonathan Wilkenfeld, “Domestic and Foreign Conflict Behavior of Nations,” *Journal of Peace Research* 5, No. 1, (1968): 5-69; John Burton, *Global Conflict: The Domestic Sources of International Crisis* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1984); Coser, “The Functions of Social Conflict,” *passim*.

Strategies of Irrational Collective Violence

What, then, is the real motivation for conflict in relatively developed countries, where people are suffering only from status deprivation? One should assume that as societies develop and leave behind repeated instances of physiological and security deprivation, collective violence should become increasingly difficult to trigger. The broader division of labour and larger pool of alternative status roles should render people unwilling to jeopardize their lives through conflict. Even if one loses one's job and one's status fulfilment, one can usually avoid physiological and security deprivation by adopting an alternative role, or temporarily relying on the state or family for survival. The level of stress also remains relatively low, and violence thus remains irrational.

The case study on Serb mobilisation (Chapter 6) suggests an explanation may be found in the combination of escalation and manipulation. If collective violence is automatic when both deprivation and identity categories are present, or on the middle levels of development, then surely the best way to trigger it must be by convincing people that they are in fact suffering from physiological or security deprivation instead of status PRD. Manipulation is thus not significant because it highlights Otherness but because the Other is seen to constitute an existential threat. As far as Serbian propaganda in the early 1990s is concerned, the threat aspects of Otherness were definitely prominent. Another way to highlight the threat was to use the radical elements of society to trigger actual low-scale conflict. In the Serb case as in others, "easy identifiers"⁸² such as criminals, unmarried and unemployed youths⁸³ were initially mobilised to trigger conflict and persuade the masses that the suggested threat was indeed real.

The Serb case study also suggests that although most individuals are unlikely to resort to collective violence on the status level, they may well choose to do so once they perceive or experience security deprivation after conflict has escalated. Consequently, unlike bottom-up situations, where people tend towards immediate reactions (even if not in any cohesive manner), top-down conflicts usually transpire through gradual escalation. Although escalation is often understood as a mental process connected to the

⁸² M.G. Ehrhart and K.J. Klein, "Predicting Followers' Preferences for Charismatic Leadership: The Influence of Follower Values and Personality," *Leadership Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (2001): 153-79.

⁸³ Greg Procknow, *Recruiting and Training Genocidal Soldiers* (Regina, Canada: Francis & Bernard Publishing, 2011), 4; see also Athens' violent socialization model: Lonnie Athens, *Violent Criminal Acts and Actors* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

supposed need to distinguish between oneself and the other (as per SIT), or a bandwagoning effect of some kind,⁸⁴ it may in fact have everything to do with actual changes in needs fulfilment, or at least with changes in the way people perceive their needs fulfilment to be threatened.

An even more effective way of initiating non-rational conflict, even in the *absence* of PRD, is with the help of professional militaries. Professional groups can be separated from the core ingroup both in terms of needs and identity and can therefore be more effective in carrying out objectively irrational projects. They can be more effectively indoctrinated so as to psychologically distance themselves from the real interests and perceptions of the wider ingroup/nation and can be subjected to such stressful training techniques that violence can become an integral part of their needs strategy.⁸⁵ Professional soldiers can consequently experience stronger group dynamics, especially obedience.⁸⁶ In addition, elite units are often used to carry out the most inhumane attacks and atrocities against both outgroup and ingroup civilians (as was partly the case in the Balkans). The greater the psychological distance between such elites and the masses, the easier it will be for them to ignore the objective interests of the nation as a whole and trigger violence.⁸⁷

One can thus argue that on the higher levels of PRD, manipulation plays an especially important role in triggering collective violence, but the reason why it works is not, as tends to be assumed, because it emphasises collective identities. Quite the opposite: in the first instance, ideological manipulation provides a psychological excuse for the elites to retain intergroup inequalities; second, it helps the elites, including professional criminals and military units, to develop into a sub-group with needs and identities *separate* from the overall ingroup; and third, it sometimes helps the masses acquire a (objectively unreal) sense of security-level deprivation. In a sense, therefore, even in the

⁸⁴ Crawford, "The Causes of Cultural Conflict," 17.

⁸⁵ Procknow, *Recruiting and Training Genocidal Soldiers*, 23.

⁸⁶ Peter Watson, *War on the Mind: The Military Uses and Abuses of Psychology* (London: Hutchinson, 1978).

⁸⁷ Indeed, given the separateness of soldier identity and interests, it is no surprise that the behaviour of military units has become an independent field of research. As regards cohesion, see in particular Guy L. Siebold, "The Essence of Military Group Cohesion," *Armed Forces and Society* 33, no. 1 (2007): 286-295; as regards the behaviour of military units in revolutionary situations see Jesse Lehrke, "While Soldiers Stand By: Military Arbitration of Revolutionary Situations in Soviet and Post-Soviet Spaces," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kent in Brussels (May 2010).

absence of severe deprivation, ideology helps the various classes of people to imagine that collective violence is rational, or at least acceptable. Even in a relatively high needs fulfilment one can say that ultimately “wars occur when those who make the decision to fight estimate that it is in their material interests to do so.”⁸⁸

2.4. PRD and Conflict: Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the synthesis between needs, identity, and leadership developed in the previous chapter must be combined with theories of relative deprivation in order to create a complete theory of collective violence. To the role of deprivation and Otherness, which comes about through the perceived impermeable nature of group boundaries, one must add the role of perception and the role of leader and elite agency, which enables mass manipulation and makes possible irrational collective violence. Conflict thus depends of *perceived relative deprivation*, whose dynamics differ according to needs level. At one end, the realistic aspects of deprivation matter more, while on the other, perception and escalation are the tools by which collective violence is triggered.

As was shown in the latter sections of the chapter, the dynamics of conflict at the two extremes differ significantly. The main elements of each type of conflict are set out in Table 2.1. Cohesive collective action is not automatic at either end: in bottom-up conflicts, mobilisation is automatic, while unity is difficult to achieve. The role of leadership in such conflicts is to create an illusion of common fate, which can be done only by offering material benefits to the masses or through coercion. In top-down conflicts, on the other hand, unity is easy to achieve due to persistent historical categorisation, while mobilisation is irrational due to the high levels of needs fulfilment and thus difficult to achieve. The only way to trigger conflict where it objectively seems irrational is through ideological manipulation and the creation of the illusion of a security-level threat. Opposed to what is commonly believed to be the case, irrational collective violence has little to do with identity, which provides only the frame for manipulation but is not directly connected to mobilisation.

⁸⁸ Ferguson, “Explaining War,” in *The Anthropology of War*, ed. Jonathan Haas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 30.

Since the regularity and severity of deprivation obviously correlates with the level of economic development, the present framework also explains why different types of conflict are historically and regionally specific. Since severe physiological deprivation is a common phenomenon in developing countries but relatively rare in developed ones, rational, bottom-up violence tends to be triggered in the LDCs, while irrational top-down violence prevails in more developed countries. This connection to the needs hierarchy and the change in conflict dynamics also explains why different types of groups trigger conflict in different parts of the globe at different times in human history. Scattered rebel movements are usually found in (historically and regionally) poorer regions due to the ease of mobilisation and the lack of unity, while professional armies and international war are found in more developed countries due to the importance of leadership and combatant manipulation. In the modern world, as Kaldor famously argues, terrorism and “identity” conflicts are the norm.⁸⁹

Ultimately, as also the horizontal inequalities model suggests, conflict is most common in the presence of both realistic and ideational factors. Conflict is thus most ‘natural’ on the security level (see Table 2.1), where both unity and deprivation are automatically present. Historically, such conflicts have taken place for example in Europe, “...the most conflict-prone level of development [being] empirically equivalent to Austria-Hungary at the beginning of World War I, Spain in the 1950s, and Belgium around 1850.”⁹⁰ Today, on the other hand, such conflicts tend to be limited to LDCs. As Clapham writes in connection to Africa, “[...]the most disciplined and effective African insurgencies have arisen in those societies – highland Eritrea, northern Ethiopia, southern Uganda, Rwanda – which have long established traditions of statehood; and [...] in societies which have lacked such traditions – Somalia, Liberia, northern Chad, Southern Sudan – insurgent movements have been far more liable to fragmentation and indiscipline.”⁹¹ Clearly, then, since identity and leadership dynamics change according to the level of needs fulfilment, so are conflict dynamics changing along with societal development.

⁸⁹ Mary Kaldor, in *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002), argues that large-scale inter-state war has disappeared but these regional phenomena have taken their place.

⁹⁰ Bohmer and Sobek, “Violent Adolescence,” 17.

⁹¹ Christopher Clapham, “Introduction: Analysing African Insurgencies,” in *African Guerrillas*, ed. C. Clapham (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), 1-18: 13.

Table 2.1: The Types of Collective Violence

	Bottom-up Conflicts	“Middle” Conflicts	Top-down Conflicts
Natural Aspects	Mobilisation	Mobilisation and Common Fate	Common Fate
Aspects manipulated by leaders	Illusion of Common Fate	Any/Neither	Illusion of Security RD
Leadership Techniques	Coercion, materialism	Any/Neither	Manipulation
Type of Group	Rebel groups	Naturally cohesive interest groups	Professional militaries (and terrorists)

3. The Sudan: Ideology and Identity on the Lower Needs Levels

This chapter examines the inherently rational nature of group identification in lower level needs fulfilment. The nature of identity on these levels is examined in the context of the Sudan, and in connection with the gradual division of the country into two separate and independent entities. In line with the hypotheses of Chapters 1 and 2, it will be suggested that instead of identity directing collective action, physiological and security deprivation lead the relatively deprived groups to create new identities, while the relatively gratified use ideology to justify their positions. In the Sudan as a whole, one can see a correlation between the adoption of identities by various tribes and the core-periphery structure of economic and political relations, which has prevailed between tribes throughout Sudanese history.

The first section of this chapter examines the development and spread of collective identity from the Sudanese economic and political centre in the Northeast of the country towards the peripheral regions. This section suggests a correlation between the levels of relative gratification and the extent to which the centre's ideologies were adopted by various tribes. The second chapter section examines in more detail the rational development of the new Southern Sudanese core identity, linking it to the necessity of developing a new needs strategy in a situation where existing strategies had largely collapsed. The purpose of both sections is to describe the overall historical context of the conflicts between the centre and peripheral regions during the 1980s and 1990s. Following this, the relation to the nature of mobilisation will be examined in Chapter 4.

Since this and the following chapter address the Sudanese nation in history rather than the present context, when talking about "the Sudan," both modern Sudan and modern South Sudan are implied, while Northern Sudan, or the North, is used to denote the area more or less comprising modern Sudan. Southern Sudan, or the South, is used to denote the area more or less comprising modern South Sudan. In regard to South Sudanese names, first names are often used to refer to a person, given that last names actually refer to the father(s) of the given person rather than the family line as a whole. An exception is made with John Garang, who is often referred to only by his last name in the literature.

3.1. The Development of Northern Identity and Ideology

Northern Sudan is inhabited by a variety of peoples and tribes, nearly all of which today adhere to Islam as their main religion. However, as most of these groups are of African origin, only a portion of them have come to adopt Arab identities. The ‘Arabised’ peoples cover primarily the areas surrounding the Nile, Kordofan, and parts of Darfur and are in both centre and periphery, while those categorised as culturally ‘African’ are located in the peripheries only. The Arabised peoples are divided into those claiming direct lineage to the Prophet (the riverine Arabs of the centre) and those claiming lineage to the Prophet’s entourage (the more marginalised Arab tribes). Some of the peripheral Arab peoples have relatively strong traditional Arab identities, such as the cattle-herding Baqqara and camel-herding Abbala tribes of Darfur and Kordofan,¹ while others are more culturally and politically distinct (for example the Beja, located close to the Red Sea, and the Nubians, mainly located in the far north). From among the African peoples, the Fur, Masalit, and Zaghawa, located in Darfur close to the Chadian border, and the various Southern peoples (Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, and others), are the most integral to the examination of Sudanese history in this discussion.

While ample literature describing the Sudanese identity crisis in general already exists,² the aim here is rather to describe how the spread of collective identity and the use of ideology by the various peoples of the Sudan has depended on the level of their relative gratification in the overall core-periphery structure of Sudanese society. Local tribal identities on the periphery have historically competed with the Islam and Arabism promoted by the centre and continue to do so, largely due to persisting class inequalities. The grievances of the various Southern peoples have influenced the development of Northern identity in important ways, and therefore these grievances, and the overall North-South relationship, will be touched upon in this section. However, the section will concentrate on analysing Northern Sudanese identity, for it is in this case that identity-related ideological justifications have played a role in directing collective behaviour.

¹ Including tribes such as the Missiriyya, Rizayqat, and Beni Halba.

² For a good overview, see for example Heather J. Sharkey, “Arab Identity and Ideology in Sudan: the Politics of Language, Ethnicity, and Race,” *African Affairs* 107, no. 426 (2008): 21–43.

The Origins of Disunity

In the 4th and 5th centuries of the Common Era, Christian kingdoms existed in the region of modern Sudan. Islam entered the region from the 7th century onwards, when trade relations were established between North Africa and Arab traders. In the process, Islamic teachings took root, transforming the pre-existing way of life.³ Because the traditions of Arab traders were followed and imitated, their connections to the North helped produce increased wealth. Inter-marriage between Arabs and locals became common, and children born out of such marriages tended to be more culturally Arabic than previous generations.⁴ Arabic language spread in a similar manner, offering a new, universal tool of communication.⁵ For centuries, Christian and Muslim traditions co-existed throughout the region, especially under the powerful Funj (1504-1821) and Fur (1603-1874) sultanates. Although Islam developed into an amalgamation of beliefs, pragmatically speaking, it was also a means of avoiding enslavement and gaining acceptance into cattle-herding communities.⁶ Thus, over time, it was adopted by all Northern peoples. In the 19th century, the integration and practice of Islam in the North was further solidified by the introduction of Sufism to the region, increasing the emphasis of the role of holy men and personal experience as part of Islam.⁷

From the Turko-Egyptian invasion of the Sudan in 1821, law and religion were used to impose a new type of collective identity on the Sudanese. Shari‘a law was introduced and Sufism (the prevailing mystical and personal approach to Islam) was rejected in favour of Salafism (a more puritanical version of Islam). In addition, slave-trading, previously widespread, was gradually repressed in parts of the North. The peoples of the periphery, of course, had little interest in adopting policies promoted through force rather than benefit, and in any case, the Sufi orders had grown too powerful to be toppled. In particular, the Khatmiyya, dominated by the Mirghani family, and the Samaniyya, dominated by the Mahdi family, had created strong followings among the

³ Sharif Harir, “Recycling the Past in the Sudan: An Overview of Political Decay,” in *Short-Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan*, eds. Sharif Harir and Terje Tvedt (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1994), 10-68. This is perhaps the best comprehensive overview of the development of Islam and Arabism in the Sudan.

⁴ Francis M. Deng, *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution, 1995), 39-40.

⁵ See further Sharkey, “Arab Identity.”

⁶ Deng, *War of Visions*, 35; Sharkey, “Arab Identity,” 23.

⁷ Deng, *War of Visions*, 41.

northern tribes. In 1881, Muhammad Ahmad bin Abd'Allah, who proclaimed himself to be the Mahdi, the prophesised redeemer of Islam and successor of Prophet Muhammad, managed to unite the various slave-raiding peoples in western Sudan and overthrow the Egyptians. The popularity of the Mahdi and his movement was a direct consequence of the harshness of Turko-Egyptian rule and its restriction of slavery; in the North, tribal needs strategies and slave-raiding in Southern regions offered a superior means of survival when compared to the restricted Egyptian system. Instead of slavery coming to an end, it was at this time that the concepts of "slave" and "Southerner" became near-synonymous for many Northerners.⁸

However, like leaders before them, the Mahdi, and his successor Khalifa Abdullahi, failed to offer a successful needs strategy for the entire region, and the movement resulted in further bloodshed, increased scarcity, slave-raiding and destruction – and consequent resistance. In particular, the Fur, Masalit, and other borderland tribes proved impossible to govern.⁹ Among the tribes benefiting from the system, however, Mahdism thrived and hero-worshipping reached new heights. In 1898, the British took control of Sudan¹⁰ and toppled the Mahdi's movement by killing some 11,000 Ansar (Mahdi supporters). In Darfur, however, the new Fur Sultanate of Ali Dinar was toppled by the British only much later, in 1916, and neo-Mahdist rebellions supported by both African and Arab tribes continued unabated. The British attempted to pacify the region by increasing the powers of tribal chiefs, but this had little effect. Their failure was the result of resorting to similar methods as their predecessors: policies of limited development and education. While the peripheral tribes were suffering from physiological deprivation caused by desertification and raiding, the British remained unwilling to expand development projects beyond the Nile basin.

In addition, British educational and administrative policies worsened the core-periphery divide as their main purpose was to ensure the creation of a pool of administrators to serve the British governors and avoid increasing the capacities of the population in

⁸ Douglas H. Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, 4th ed. (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), 6.

⁹ This may have had something to do with their history characterised by more successful independence from the Arab tribes; the Fur had after all developed their own, powerful sultanate in the 18th century.

¹⁰ An agreement was in place between Egypt and Britain according to which they would govern the Sudan in cooperation, the British having a mere advisory role. In practice, however, the British soon governed the Sudan like any other imperial colony.

general.¹¹ Such a narrow strategy naturally privileged the peoples around Khartoum and Omdurman – the Ja’aliyyin, Shayqiyya, and Danaqla tribes, which had come to dominate the centre even under the Turko-Egyptian regime. These tribes had access to higher education and jobs in the central administration,¹² while the peripheries remained unable to participate in this elitist needs strategy. This caused the Northern Arab tribes to develop an identity much different from the rest of the country. Similarly, riverine tribal identity developed as a result of connections to the Arab world but with a focus on a scriptural version of Islam, while among the peripheral tribes, the penchant towards mysticism and the continued leadership of the Mirghani and Mahdi lineages retained their strength.

Between the North and South, British policies had even more tragic consequences. In the North, the number of Islamic schools increased, while in the South, education remained almost non-existent, being limited to a number of Christian missionary schools condoned by the British.¹³ In the North, Arabic was made the official language, while English was used in the South. In the North, chiefs were more closely linked to the central authority of Khartoum,¹⁴ while the South was left largely to its own devices and authority continued to reside on the local level with tribal leaders. If in the North political unity was precarious, in the South it was non-existent. Unsurprisingly, therefore, on the eve of independence, only the relatively gratified Northern elites had the intellectual capacity and practical wherewithal to demand independence from the British.¹⁵ Accordingly, in the June 1947 Juba conference, the Northern representatives, while refusing to provide any safeguards for the economically and politically marginalised South, managed to convince the Southerners of the necessity of Sudanese unity. The Southerners could only hope that in a unified and independent Sudan, their grievances would finally be heard.

¹¹ Daly argues that the British deliberately restricted education to some elite groups to prevent the Sudanese from challenging their authority: M. W. Daly, *Darfur’s Sorrow: A History of Destruction and Genocide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 135.

¹² According to Sharkey, the British deliberately directed people of slave descent (the “Africans”) into menial jobs and the army, retaining elite positions for Arab males.

¹³ Robert O. Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 41.

¹⁴ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 11-12.

¹⁵ Independence was achieved through a political alliance with Egypt. Other than the White Flag League, which was founded by a Dinka in the early 1920s, the independence project was developed and carried out by Northern elites.

Due to political considerations connected to Egypt, the British decided to grant early independence to Sudan in 1956. The ease and speed of achieving independence meant that the political forces in the centre and in the North in general – the Mahdi clan's Umma and Mirghani clan's Ashiqqa party (later National Unionist Party and Democratic Unionist Party) – had no need to cooperate to repel the British nor had the time or opportunity to develop into an inclusive national movement.¹⁶ A core-semi-periphery-periphery structure remained in place and upon independence, the identities and cultures of the various peoples reflected this structure. The riverine tribes were in the core: the various colonial governments had created for them a separate, and highly efficient, needs strategy, psychologically disconnecting them from their kinsmen and causing them to develop a unique identity based on a particular reading of Islam and Arabism. Various other Arab tribes remained in the semi-periphery and retained traditional religious and political values based on a more lenient reading of Islam. Southern tribes, which had never really benefited from colonisation, retained a low level of political awareness and consequently maintained their own traditions and identities.

Ideology in the Centre

The disconnection between the centre and the periphery led early on to the rise of justificatory ideologies among the elites. Even before independence, the Graduates Congress, a collection of politically active elites linked to the colonial administration, expressed opposition to tribalism and a desire for a centralist Sudan, including the extension of Islamic education into the South. Despite clear demands for cultural unity in some quarters, others acknowledged the problem of multiethnicity and potential disunity. For a time, ethnic hybridity was highlighted: for example, Bedouin folk customs were used to define the nation as culturally diverse.¹⁷ This hybridity, however, was complemented by racism – in 1941, the nationalist and future Prime Minister Muhammad Ahmad Mahjoub argued that the racially hybrid Sudan “owed its cultural superiority, acquired through reason, intelligence, and courage, to the ‘Arabs’.”¹⁸ According to Sharkey, the timing of this hybrid-racist thinking was essential, for “[...]independence was appearing on the distant horizon, and the educated Northern

¹⁶ Deng, *War of Visions*, 58; Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 22.

¹⁷ Sharkey, “Arab Identity,” 32.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

Sudanese – as ‘Arabs’, nationalists, and colonial government employees – needed to justify their claims for the future assumption of power.”¹⁹

By 1956, when the Sudanese gained independence, the elite desire for continued relative gratification carried the day. As a result, under the successive governments of Ismail Al-Azhari²⁰ and Sayed Abdallah Khalil,²¹ as well as under the subsequent military regime of General Ibrahim Abboud,²² tribal grievances were sidelined and Southern revolts were violently suppressed. In addition, policies aimed at cultural and political unity were carried out in the South.²³ According to Deng, the elites had created a “loathing” for tribalism,²⁴ psychologically distancing themselves from their kinsmen with whom they no longer perceived any common fate. By seeing the peripheries as inferior, they managed to mentally justify their position of superiority. The chosen justificatory tool was pan-Arabism, the ideology of solidarity and unity with the wider Arab world, which was seen as a culturally superior and worthy model for Sudanese nation-building. Deng sees pan-Arabism as a near-inevitable ideological choice for the elites: given their fear of being absorbed by the supposedly primitive ‘Africanism’ prevailing in most of Sudan, the elites decided to adopt the most readily available identity – one which had most effectively countered Western and Christian colonialism.²⁵ Pan-Arabism was a means to differentiate between the elites and the periphery as well as provide a suitable scapegoat (the West) to blame for the many failures of the future Sudan.

The rebellion, and eventually all-out war, that took place in the South, however, constituted a serious economic burden for successive governments. By the time Gaafar Nimeiry²⁶ assumed power in a military coup in 1968, the conflict had become impossible to contain. Going against the ideology of the elites, Nimeiry tried to solve the conflict by enacting a new constitution allowing freedom of religion and identity, putting an end to the first North-South war by signing the 1973 Addis Ababa Agreement. The interests of the centre, however, intervened quickly, and soon all the

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Azhari was the Ashiqqa party leader and Prime Minister in 1954-1956.

²¹ Khalil was the Umma Party leader and Prime Minister in 1956-1958.

²² The Abboud era lasted from 1958 until 1964, when he resigned under pressure created by student and workers' demonstrations in Khartoum and in the provinces.

²³ See next section.

²⁴ Deng, *War of Visions*, 116.

²⁵ Ibid., 116, 422.

²⁶ Nimeiry was in power from 1968 to 1985, first as Prime Minister and then as President.

main concessions of the Agreement were undermined by new policies. In Khartoum, the growing economic and political influence of the National Islamic Front (NIF; previously Islamic Charter Front and Muslim Brothers) led by Hasan al-Turabi forced Nimeiry to change track. Thus, soon after the peace agreement, Nimeiry began transforming himself from a peacemaker into a fervent Islamist in favour of Shari'a law.²⁷

From the late 1970s, the extractive economic policies carried out in the Southern regions intensified and ideological justification became increasingly indispensable. In the absence of viable national economic policies, the new strategy came to use the peripheries' resources to ensure an acceptable standard of living for the masses in the centre, on whose support the regime's future depended.²⁸ The policies of oppression and the suppression of local culture and religion that went hand in hand with resource extraction were portrayed locally, and globally, as an effort to unite the country. In reality, however, their purpose was to highlight the 'African' and 'Christian' identity of the Southerners²⁹ and thus convince the Northern masses of Southern inferiority. Especially as Northern awareness of the wars in the South grew, the use of pan-Arabic ideology helped to hide the inhumane nature of the policies carried out in the peripheries. The use of ideology and the highlighting of Southern Otherness seemed to be a success, for the masses around Khartoum revolted only when their own personal needs fulfilment was threatened by the rise of oil and bread prices – for example in 1985, when demonstrations brought down president Nimeiry.

Given the complete absence of free speech in the Sudan, it is practically impossible to say what kind of national identity, if any, the masses in the centre adopted during independence. The only group among whom a relatively coherent ideological hegemony prevailed were the relatively gratified elites who joined the NIF in the late 1970s and 1980s. Under the leadership of al-Turabi, NIF ideology had various and often

²⁷ Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 138; Harir, "Recycling the Past," 52.

²⁸ David Keen, *The Benefits of Famine: A Political Economy of Famine and Relief in Southwestern Sudan, 1983-1989* (Oxford: James Currey, 2008), 14; Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 125. For a general overview of the dismal economic situation of the Sudan, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, see Karl Wohlmuth, "Alternative Economic Strategies for the Sudan," in *Short-Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (see note 4), 204-247. On the various extractive economic policies, see further next section.

²⁹ As Harir argues, this division was "reductio ad absurdum" – at the time at least the South was a mere amalgamation of various cultures and traditions: Harir, "Recycling the Past," 45.

contradicting dimensions,³⁰ though persistent themes included jihad against non-believers, international Islamic cooperation,³¹ and the strict adherence to Islam and Shari'a law.³² The party rose to prominence with the help of Arab funding and became a magnet for aspiring elites of various kinds. Its connections to Islamic banks allowed it to make credit dependent on politico-religious affiliation and helped force businessmen into a radical Islamic mould.³³ In addition to the riverine elites, the NIF managed to also entice a great number of educated youth into its ranks. Active among the students of Khartoum University and one of the few sources of job opportunities,³⁴ the NIF was the only route to social mobility.

However, not all Northerners shared the radicalism of the NIF, nor their relative gratification and social mobility. Among Northerners in general, the definition of national identity remained confused, for it was based on nothing but competing readings of Islam and a vague connection to the Arab world. The fact that the Umma, DUP, and NIF parties never agreed on what political Islam should actually consist of attests to the fact that it functioned mostly as a justification for authoritarian political decision-making.³⁵ This became increasingly evident as the number of atrocities committed increased in both the North and South along with the intensification of the second North-South war. Under the military regime of General, and later President, Omar al-Bashir, in which the NIF participated,³⁶ bizarre readings of the Koran were used to condone torture and *jihad* against fellow Muslims in the peripheries,³⁷ leading to ethnic cleansing among Darfuri tribes as well as among the Nuba, Ingessana, and others. The DUP and Umma parties, on the other hand, which in the 1960s had advocated for the creation of an Islamic state,³⁸ began talking about democracy and the need for a more

³⁰ For a comprehensive account of how under Turabi politics directed Islam rather than the other way around, see Abdullahi A. Gallab, *The First Islamic Republic: Development and disintegration of Islamism in the Sudan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

³¹ In the 1990s, Turabi's activities included the inviting of international terrorists to train in the Sudan, including Bin Laden, as well as the organisation of large pan-Islamic conferences in Khartoum.

³² In the Turabi era, the most severe Shari'a punishments such as stoning and amputation were commonly used. Political oppression was intense, and torture centres were established around the country.

³³ Deng, *War of Visions*, 174.

³⁴ Ibid., 18; Ann Mosley Lesch, *The Sudan: Contested National Identities* (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), 143.

³⁵ Harir, "Recycling the Past," 19-20, 57.

³⁶ The Bashir-NIF regime lasted from the coup of 1989 until 1999, when Turabi's connections to international terrorists and the economic sanctions imposed against the Sudan as well as Turabi's political competition with al-Bashir led al-Bashir to oust him from the government.

³⁷ This happened in 1992. See Lesch, *The Sudan*, 130; Daly, *War of Visions*, 255.

³⁸ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 35.

inclusive national identity. This, however, was rooted in self interest as it occurred when the Bashir-NIF regime had become too strong to topple without Southern help. Political Islam thus never became an end in itself, and remained a tool for retaining positions of relative gratification at the top of the Sudanese hierarchy.

Ideology in the Semi-Periphery

The role of ideology was different in the semi-periphery among the Northern non-riverine Arab and non-Arab tribes. Some aspects of Salafist Islam were adopted, while the ideological aspects were largely ignored. As far as in the borderlands of Darfur, people adopted increasingly conservative attitudes in relation to dress, the use of alcohol, and the status of women.³⁹ However, state authority in the region was limited, and the peripheral tribes continued to rely on their own needs strategies: agriculture, pastoralism, and local trade. Tribal identities consequently retained their importance, and in cases of threats to needs fulfilment, as with drought and desertification, it was the tribe more often than the nation to which individuals turned for help. On the other hand, the participation of some tribal or regional leaders in the politics of Khartoum allowed peripheral Northerners to continue hoping for real influence and a better future, allowing them to believe in the value of their Muslim, and in some cases Arab, identities.

Rather than resort to immediate protest and violence, Northern peripheral tribes first attempted to solve problems through political means, by establishing various movements aiming at rectifying the disparity in wealth and needs security. In 1957, the Beja Congress, a group of Beja intellectuals opposed to the centralised policies of Khartoum, was created in the extremely poor North-Eastern Sudan. The Darfur Development Front in Darfur and the General Union of the Nuba Mountains were created in the 1960s. These movements argued for improved rights for people living in the periphery, such as rights to land and freedom of movement in the Sudan.⁴⁰ As Khartoum regimes changed but policies did not, however, it gradually became clear that non-violent strategies would not work, and military organisations were created: the Red

³⁹ Julie Flint and Alex de Waal, *Darfur: A New History of a Long War* (London, New York: Zed Books, 2008), 13.

⁴⁰ Yoshiko Kurita, "The Social Bases of Regional Movements in the Sudan 1960s-1980s," in *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, eds. Katsuyoshi Fukui and John Markakis (London: James Currey, 1994), 202-216: 212.

Flame and the Soony (with a wide ethnic basis) in Darfur⁴¹ and the Sudan African Nationalist Union (SANU) in the South. As time went on, the marginalised tribes became increasingly aware of their rights as well as of the intransigence of the Khartoum elites, leading many of these groups to join the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the 1980s, and others to initiate their own struggles.

The long-standing quandary of the peripheral Arab pastoralists, especially those found in Darfur and Kordofan, over whether or not to share a common fate with the Arabs of the centre is reflected in the use of racial Arabism. Although pan-Arabism predominates in Khartoum, the use of Arab genealogies is more common among other Arabs.⁴² Racial Arabism places the various Arab tribes and Others into a status hierarchy irrespective of personal abilities in the Arab language or religious devotion.⁴³ The status structure, as mentioned, consists of supposed descendants of the Prophet (riverine tribes) at the centre, the descendants of the Prophet's entourage (pastoralist Arabs) in the semi-periphery, and Southerners and Muslim but non-Arab Northerners in the periphery. Genealogies are widely used to create a distinction between peripheral Arabs and individuals of African origin,⁴⁴ highlighting the supposed superiority of the semi-peripheral Arabs vis-à-vis the periphery and providing a tool – proof of Arab lineage – for furthering one's social mobility in the prevailing strategy. By attaching the peripheral Arabs to the fate of the centre, such an ideology also serves the status quo, hindering the rise of awareness regarding real differences of need fulfilment. It justifies political apathy vis-à-vis the centre which co-opts local leaders but refuses to promote local development, a combination which in turn causes continuous fluctuation in the perception of common fate.

The use of genealogies, of course, results in racial Arabism, and even more than illustrating an Islamic lineage, they reveal the identity crisis of the Sudanese 'Arabs.' For any outside observer, Sudanese Arabs and Africans are practically indistinguishable from each other, and have uniformly been called "slaves" by the Arabs of the Gulf,

⁴¹ Sharif Harir, "'Arab Belt' versus 'African Belt': Ethno-Political Conflict in Dar Fur and the Regional and Cultural Factors," in *Short-Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (see note 4), 144-185.

⁴² Deng, *War of Visions*, 439.

⁴³ See further Deng, *War of Visions*, Chapter 10.

⁴⁴ Jok Madut Jok, *Sudan: Race, Religion, and Violence* (Oxford: Oneword Publications, 2007), 5; Lesch, *The Sudan*, 213.

quite like Sudanese Arabs call the peoples of western and Southern Sudan.⁴⁵ Interestingly, however, the use of these racial categories seems to be highly situational in the semi-periphery. Unlike the centre, which has continuously appealed to ideology to justify their relative gratification, the peripheral Arabs have found the ideological aspects useful mostly on a temporary basis. For example, during the raids of the 1960s and 1980s when Baqqara Arabs attacked 'African' Dinka villagers with government weaponry, and during the various conflicts in Darfur between the Arab and non-Arab tribes.⁴⁶ In these instances of exaggerated violence, the Arab attackers were known to call their non-Arab victims with demeaning names such as "blacks," "monkeys," and "slaves."⁴⁷ In times of cooperation and peace with the African tribes, on the other hand, racism has been wholly set aside. It thus seems that the racism of the semi-periphery is, like that of the centre, used as a justificatory mechanism for maladaptive collective action. While in the centre, ideology is used on a regular basis, in the semi-periphery it is used only temporarily.

As already mentioned, despite their deprivation, the peripheral Northern tribes long maintained a positive outlook regarding politics at the centre – possibly because the presence of regional leaders in the central administration prevented the rise of transformative leaders. For instance, the pastoralist Arabs of Darfur continued to put their faith in the Umma party, whose leaders were closely involved in the running of the country in times of civilian government.⁴⁸ The Umma Party and its neo-Mahdist followers continued to show their strength in the Nimeiry era, when in 1970 former Prime Minister and Umma Party leader Sadiq al-Mahdi attempted to topple Nimeiry in a coup d'état, leading to a confrontation between government forces and tens of thousands of Ansar fighters. However, during the Nimeiry and Bashir regimes, it became increasingly evident that the Umma and DUP elites were managing to achieve little for their constituencies in Western and Eastern Sudan.⁴⁹ Although the process was

⁴⁵ Sharkey, "Arab Identity," 40.

⁴⁶ During the resource wars of the 1980s, racial Arabism was also promoted by the so-called "Arab Gathering" made up of Libyan militiamen, who fought against non-Arab tribes in Chad and Darfur. The extent to which the ideology offered by this group influenced developments in Darfur, however, remains difficult to evaluate.

⁴⁷ See further the following chapter.

⁴⁸ Notably, Prime Minister Khalil and Sadiq al-Mahdi, who led the Umma Party from the 1960s and was Prime Minister in 1966-1967 and 1986-1989.

⁴⁹ On the issue of the Umma Party abandoning western concerns, see Deng, *War of Visions*, 66. On the DUP being most influential in the East, see Harir, "Recycling the Past," 39.

extremely slow, the diminishing faith in politics and the deteriorating security in the peripheries started to give way to the gradual development of tribal and regional alliances willing to openly and violently oppose fellow Muslims within the regime. In the borderlands between North and South, various Muslim tribes joined the Southern movement, and in Darfur, the Arab and African tribes briefly cooperated in their struggle against the Bashir government in 2003, initiating the Darfur conflict.

Ideology and Class Position

Thus far, this section has described the development and partial convergence of Northern identities, as well as the use of ideology by the relatively gratified Northern elites. The reason why a cohesive national identity has been, and still is, missing in the Sudan can be traced to the core-periphery relations that were created in the country by the colonial powers. The lack of development in the peripheries and the lack of a unifying independence struggle signified that the elites could easily maintain the core-periphery structure after independence. Instead of unifying the country and developing a common identity through political cooperation, successive regimes did their best to maintain inequalities and to justify them through the use of ideological Islam and Arabism.

The extent to which ideology was used seems to correlate with the level of relative gratification of the elites in the core-periphery structure. Ideology was used almost constantly in the centre, and more so in times of conflict. Among the tribes of the semi-periphery, on the other hand, ideology was a less utilised tool. Their incapacity to fully participate in the centre's superior needs strategy caused them to retain traditional identities, and ideological justifications vis-à-vis the periphery were used only during especially difficult times of poverty and conflict. This begs the question of whether it would have been less complicated for the semi-peripheral tribes to acknowledge their marginalisation vis-à-vis the centre and mobilise against it sooner, had Southern Sudan not been part of the core-periphery structure. The fact that there was an even more deprived Other inside the same nation may well have influenced the judgement of Arab tribal leaders regarding the value of a supposed common fate with Khartoum.

3.2. The Development of a New Southern Identity

The effects of the core-periphery structure in societies suffering from a low level of needs security extends to the periphery as well. However, in the case of the periphery, one can perhaps no longer talk about *ideological* effects at all, for the classes suffering from severe deprivation may feel that they do not benefit at all from the needs strategy of the ingroup, in which case complete rationalism prevails (at least as regards group identification). This aspect of class identity will be examined in the present section by describing the development of a new core identity in Southern Sudan. It will be shown that in severe deprivation, the development of new core identities tend to be connected to the collapse of existing needs strategies (common in LDCs) and to the need to create new relationships and group affiliations capable of offering alternative solutions to needs deprivation.

The Origins of Otherness

Northern Otherness began its development during the Mahdist era (about 1881-1899) when the Mahdi's followers raided the lands occupied by Dinka and other Nilotic peoples for slaves and resources. These were the first times when tribal needs strategies temporarily collapsed in the South due to external raids. The raids were mostly carried out by the various Baqqara tribes from the regions of modern Darfur and Southern Kordofan, the closest Arab neighbours of the Southern Nilotic peoples. During the Turko-Egyptian era, the raiding continued, and these distant times are still remembered by the Dinka as an era when "the world was spoiled."⁵⁰ These first incursions, however, were not yet perceived as attacks against the South as a whole since at the time, tribes worried exclusively about their own sufferings and survival. These raids by Northern Muslims (who praised Allah in the course of killing and raiding),⁵¹ however, set the stage for the Southern understanding the Northerners as the main enemy-Other and helped define future incursions and conflicts accordingly.

The British colonisers were nearly as unwanted as their predecessors and thus were also initially called Turks (*turuk*) by the Southerners.⁵² Several Southern tribes resisted the

⁵⁰ Deng, *War of Visions*, 73.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 77.

imposition of British rule, being opposed to interference with their traditional, and still relatively stable, needs strategies. Unlike Turko-Egyptian forces, however, the British actually made an effort to enter and positively affect the region. Despite the violence used to impose the British presence, and despite its failure to provide real benefits such as health services and education to the Southern tribes, a slightly heightened sense of security was created. The British treatment of the North and the South as separate entities also had the effect of supporting the Southern peoples' pre-existing classifications of the world. All-Southern institutions were established, redefining tribal realities. This included separate military units in the South, a common language (English), some interference in judicial matters, and a few development schemes. Although the British never managed to extend their authority to many of the Southern tribes, their presence increased the general awareness of the North-South difference.

A more potent source of material benefit, and thus a source of identity, were the missionary schools that operated among the more sedentary communities. Education increased Southern awareness of their tribes' position inside the Sudan and of their relative deprivation vis-à-vis Khartoum, and functioned as a source of empowerment for those who desired to advance beyond the tribal strategy, creating a desire for increased development.⁵³ Along with the capacity for reading, writing, and mathematics, the students adopted Christianity and Christian names. Along with Christianity came not only religious precepts but also a Western world-view emphasising personal development, and with it the awareness of their imposed inferiority.⁵⁴ However, the effects of the missionary schools were largely limited to a narrow section of the population mainly living in towns. Most people retained tribal identities and traditional perceptions of the world. While remaining less aware of the surrounding world, these people were more likely to avoid feelings of severe deprivation. Christianity consequently spread wider only during and after the sufferings of the first North-South war.⁵⁵

The Southern policy, in any case, was a disaster and failed in any way to prepare Southerners for national politics or independence. As noted above, in the 1947 Juba

⁵³ Ibid., 87.

⁵⁴ Sharon E. Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State* (London: University of California Press, 1996), 30, 41.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 144, 308.

conference Southern representatives were persuaded by the Northern elites and by the British to accept Sudanese unity. Although vague promises regarding self-government were made, they were not kept and Southerners were again treated like colonial subjects. With few exceptions, government posts in the South were filled by Northerners,⁵⁶ and the inhumane treatment of Southerners led to violent rebellion by 1955. Soon, violence above and beyond the usual tribal skirmishes was being associated with Muslims and Northerners, and cultural loathing for Northern peoples developed.⁵⁷ During the Abboud military regime, policies of Islamisation and Arabisation, such as the closing of missionary schools and the building of mosques, were carried out and local cultures eradicated through the imposition of central authority. The more sedentary peoples of the Equatoria province were most affected by these changes,⁵⁸ leading to the rise of separatist guerrilla and political movements in the region. That Islamisation was not accompanied by economic growth or any increase in existential security in the South (in fact the situation was quite the opposite), made Khartoum's supposed goal of cultural and ideological unity entirely elusive.

The First North-South War, 1955-1972

The first North-South war was triggered by the violent oppression of Southerners by Northern Sudanese administrators and soldiers, which included "large military manoeuvres in the countryside and collective punishments such as confiscation of cattle and burning of crops and villages."⁵⁹ In addition, raiding by Arab tribes along the North-South border regions contributed to the widespread physiological and security deprivation experienced by the Southern peoples. The first separatist movements developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s were among Equatorian soldiers,⁶⁰ the Southern group most aware of, and affected by, the injustices. A political movement, the Sudan African National Union (SANU), was created, but it was divided between those favouring self-determination and those willing to cooperate with Khartoum through some sort of federal arrangement. Other regional political movements and various self-declared 'governments' came into existence during the 1960s,⁶¹ but

⁵⁶ Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 65; Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 26.

⁵⁷ Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas*, 33.

⁵⁸ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 28.

⁵⁹ Øystein H. Rolandsen, "A False Start: Between War and Peace in the Southern Sudan, 1956-62," *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 1 (2011): 105-123.

⁶⁰ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 28.

⁶¹ See further Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 31-34.

remained weak due to tribalism. The military wing, the Anyanya, was somewhat more united under General Joseph Lagu and capable of subordinating politicians under the title of SSLM (South Sudan Liberation Movement). However, the military wing was too weak to unite Southerners or to mobilise sufficient numbers outside Equatoria. In fact, the Anyanya achieved some cohesion and increased its numbers (from 5,000 to 13,000 according by one estimate)⁶² in 1969 only after Lagu started receiving military aid from Israel and thus could provide important material benefits for his followers.⁶³ Nevertheless, it was mostly made up of ethnic units.⁶⁴

Although the cattle-herding Nilotic peoples were also affected by Northern oppression, they had yet to be convinced of the necessity of abandoning their traditional independence. Rebel movements did proliferate also among the Dinka and the Nuer when the war spread from the eastern Equatoria to the western Bahr al-Ghazal province,⁶⁵ but movements remained relatively local. According to Hutchinson, during the first civil war, “it took years for some Nuer communities to become convinced that the government army was their principal enemy.”⁶⁶ Also, the Equatorian soldiers were often perceived as Khartoum’s allies.⁶⁷ Although many of the separatist leaders made clear that they were fighting to protect a common Southern, African, and Christian identity,⁶⁸ such a common identity remained feeble during the first war and failed to mobilise people in great numbers. It seems that at this point the destruction caused by Khartoum had not been either complete or long-lasting enough to warrant the abandonment of traditional solutions and needs strategies. Some mobilisation ensued, but unity did not. The leadership of the Anyanya, not to mention the politicians, was not strong enough to overcome the lack of trust between tribes and they were also incapable of offering a viable all-Southern needs strategy as an alternative.

⁶² Robert Collins, “Civil Wars in the Sudan,” *History Compass* 5, no. 6 (2007): 1778-1805: 1780, 1782.

⁶³ Douglas H. Johnson, “The Sudan’s People’s Liberation Army & The Problem of Factionalism,” in *African Guerrillas*, ed. Christopher Clapham (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), 53-72: 56. The same happened with the SPLA after Ethiopian military aid, see the following chapter. The reason why Israel was supporting the Anyanya was the Sudanese government’s declaration of war against Israel during the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1967.

⁶⁴ Collins, “Civil Wars in the Sudan,” 1782.

⁶⁵ Keen, *The Benefits of Famine*, 39.

⁶⁶ Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas*, 133.

⁶⁷ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 28.

⁶⁸ Deng, *War of Visions*, 141, 151.

The consequences of the first civil war, however, were important for the awareness of the Southern peoples, which later affected their readiness to grow into a nation. The spread of Christianity accelerated as a result of the existential dilemmas caused by the war and the Islamisation carried out by Khartoum,⁶⁹ which by now had become a permanent Other for most Southern peoples. At the same time, there was increased awareness of their oppression and political marginalisation in comparison with the North and also with the Western world. The Sudanese government was increasingly blamed for failing to provide better schools, roads, and health services.⁷⁰ For some tribes, the feeling of relative deprivation became overwhelming. The Nuer, for example, by the end of the war, saw themselves as “an ignorant people who know nothing,”⁷¹ which may well have given an impetus for accepting new collective identities. The psychological benefits brought about by the rise in Christianity may have partly compensated for the incapacity of the people to act in concert to repel the Northerners and restore a feeling of existential security, but it hardly eliminated the need for action and change in the long run.

The efforts of the Anyanya, however, were partly successful in leading to peace in 1973, whereby Khartoum allowed the creation of a legitimate Southern government with powers of taxation and the integration of the Anyanya into the Sudanese army’s Southern Command. Despite the influence of tribal and local interests, as well as severe inefficiencies within the regional government,⁷² the creation of this first all-Southern authority provided the opportunity to perceive politics in non-tribal terms, making a unified or federal Sudan a feasible alternative.⁷³ Although the regional government did not prove especially effective due to the easy co-opting of leaders into the political fold of Khartoum,⁷⁴ it was a long-awaited tool for the Southerners to protect their interests and to increase their security vis-à-vis the North.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 31.

⁷⁰ Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas*, 33.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁷² Regarding the problem of tribalism, nepotism, inefficiency and brain drain in the South in the inter-war period, see especially Terje Tvedt, “The Collapse of the State in Southern Sudan after the Addis Ababa Agreement: A Study of Internal Causes and the Role of NGOs,” in *Short-Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (see note 4), 69-104; see also Lesch, *The Sudan*, 69-70.

⁷³ Deng, *War of Visions*, 158.

⁷⁴ See further, Peter Adwok Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation in South Sudan: An Insider’s View* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1997), 17-21.

⁷⁵ Deng, *War of Visions*, 160.

The Second North-South War 1983-2005

As mentioned above, the 1973 peace agreement's concessions regarding political and cultural autonomy in the South were soon undermined by the Nimeiry regime. The collapse of the agreement meant that the Southerners lost their only political means of protecting tribal and regional needs strategies and that survival was consequently again at stake. The collapse of existing needs strategies was also a result of the extractive policies of Khartoum. In the inter-war period, Southern peoples were being displaced and their lands appropriated due to oil exploration and the expansion of mechanized agricultural schemes that provided food for the Northern masses.⁷⁶ The building of the Jonglei Canal, which would have ensured water security in the North but may have resulted in a human and ecological disaster in the South, was being pursued, also causing displacement.⁷⁷ In addition, famished Baqqara herders were armed and encouraged to pillage Dinka lands in Bahr al-Ghazal and Kordofan, resulting in widespread famine in the later 1980s, especially among the Dinka. These policies were further exacerbated by the draught of the 1980s. Thus, already at the beginning of the conflict "[t]he disruption of the rural areas was far more immediate and far more severe than anything experienced during the fighting of the first civil war in the 1960s and 1970s."⁷⁸

The destruction of local needs strategies played an important role in identity change. Even in times of peace, a rural Southerner had few alternative status roles capable of ensuring survival. Once the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) or Arab militias entered the region and carried out their policies of cattle-stealing and field-burning, many Southerners were left without traditional opportunities for needs fulfilment. The only alternatives were working in the mechanised agricultural schemes on appropriated land run by Arabs, working with aid agencies, fighting for the government in the SAF, or joining the SPLA.⁷⁹ The last option was by far the most common of the four, and often resulted in at least a partial abandonment of tribal identities in favour of a Sudanese one.

⁷⁶ See further Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 49.

⁷⁷ Even Egyptian peasants were rumored to settle on its banks, replacing the indigenous tribes (ibid.).

⁷⁸ Douglas H. Johnson, "Destruction and Reconstruction in the Economy of the Southern Sudan," in *Short-Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (see note 4), 126-143:127.

⁷⁹ Wendy James, "War & 'Ethnic Visibility': The Uduk of the Sudan-Ethiopian Border," in *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (see note 40), 140-164: 148. There was, of course, a fifth option, namely moving to Khartoum to find work, relatives, or to beg. See also Eisei Kurimoto, "Civil War and Regional Conflicts: The Pari & their Neighbours in South-Eastern Sudan," also in *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (see note 40), 95-111.

Even peoples who would have preferred to remain outside the conflict were transformed during the war in terms of identity. For the Uduk tribe, for example, identity change from peaceful tribalism to oppositional Southernism became inevitable when even the “relatively neutral rural communities” in the Southern region were classified by the Northerners as Southerners in terms of both culture and religion – “and therefore likely to be rebel supporters.”⁸⁰

The collapse of traditional needs strategies thus triggered a search for alternative affiliations capable of addressing the problem of survival. The reason why an all-Southern group in particular was perceived as a viable alternative was the increased awareness of the possibility of an alternative needs strategy based on the use of Southern resources. By 1983, Southerners were well aware of the plans to refine oil being extracted from Southern territory. Turabi’s attempts to redraw the boundary between North and South so as to make the oil fields part of the Northern Kordofan province had caused demonstrations in the South, leading to the replacement of Southern troops by Northern ones. Clashes occurred as well along the North-South border in other mineral-rich regions.⁸¹ These regions had provided by the peace agreement the right to organise a referendum to determine future status, but this was now revoked. In June 1983, Nimeiry defied the Southern regional government by dividing the South into three provinces without its consent, aiming to politically weaken the South. The vote among Southern representatives on the issue suggests that a common Southern fate had by then become a reality. Only the Equatorians, traditionally opposed to “Dinkaism” in the regional government, still perceived themselves as part of a separate community and voted for the division.⁸²

The cultural oppression that resumed in full after the restoration of Shari’a law in September 1983 is considered another factor contributing to the resumption of war. However, former Anyanya Generals had already started organising the second civil war in the summer of 1983. Although the Shari’a laws may well have contributed to the willingness of Southerners to bolster their common Southern Sudanese identity, the war

⁸⁰ James, “War & Ethnic Visibility,” 142.

⁸¹ Lesch, *The Sudan*, 48.

⁸² Daly, *War of Visions*, 226. For a comprehensive analysis of the discussion on re-division, see Raphael K. Badal, “Political Cleavages within the Southern Sudan: An Empirical Analysis of the Re-Division Debate,” in *Short-Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (see note 4), 105-125.

would likely have taken place regardless due to the severity of deprivation. In any case, the oppressive actions of the North, both relating to economic resources as well as identity, continued year after year, increasing the awareness among the Southern tribes that a permanent alternative to tribalism was needed if physiological and security needs fulfilment was ever to be restored. Even if this had not completely crystallised among the tribal masses at large, by 1983, it was well known among Southern politicians, elites, and the future leaders of the SPLA.

During the war, the common Southern identity was strengthened as the SPLA gradually toppled the SAF and various government-sponsored militias, as well as alternative rebel groups, and extended its presence in the South so as to restore some level of security and justice.⁸³ Significantly, a common identity was being created despite the fact that the original aim of the SPLM/A was not Southern secession but Sudanese unity. The main theme of the SPLM/A *Manifesto*⁸⁴ as well as SPLM/A leader John Garang's public speeches⁸⁵ was the elimination of class differences between the core and periphery. The reason why a new common identity nevertheless crystallised was because after SPLA victories, and given the intransigence of the Khartoum regime in changing its policies, Southern independence was perceived as the fastest way of rectifying physiological and security PRD. Thus, the independence project which came to fruition through the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of January 2005, autonomy in July 2005, and independence on 9 July 2011 originated not in the need to distinguish oneself from the Other, but in the rational need to survive.

Class Position and Identity

This section has shown how a new Southern national identity developed among the peoples positioned in the periphery of the structure of Sudanese society who did not (at all) benefit from the common needs strategy imposed by the centre. The separation of what today is South Sudan from the rest of Sudan happened gradually, due to the severe deprivation and the repeated collapse of traditional needs strategies, caused by the raiding, killing, and political oppression carried out by colonial powers and, after Sudanese independence, by the Northerners. The Southern identity crystallised during

⁸³ See the following chapter for more detail.

⁸⁴ Published 31 July 1983.

⁸⁵ See the following chapter for more detail.

the second civil war for various reasons. First, the severe physiological deprivation caused by Khartoum's policies required that alternative sources of existential security be obtained. Second, the existence of Southern resources meant that Southernism became a viable alternative to tribalism. Third, the war itself forced the Southern peoples to choose sides once they were faced with the Northern SAF or Arab militias. The creation of a new identity was thus not an issue of religion or ideology, but of collective survival.

3.3. Sudanese Identity: Conclusion

This chapter tackled the issue of the rise of identity and the use of ideology in circumstances of low needs efficiency and strong class differences. As Sudanese history testifies and as class conflict theorists have argued, class position in such a core-periphery structure indeed influences identity and also ideology. In Northern Sudan, the relatively gratified elites who most benefited from the ingroup strategy used varying understandings of Arabism and readings of Islam to justify their relative gratification and the core-periphery structure in general. The semi-periphery, which consisted of the Northern Arab non-riverine tribes, remained relatively deprived and continued exercising traditional needs strategies despite significant connections to the centre. The semi-peripheral tribes accordingly adopted only some aspects of the centre's identity and used its ideologies only when needing to justify conflicts with the periphery. The periphery, which did not benefit from the common strategy at all, was not influenced either by the identity or ideology of the centre, and thus could perceive class differences in an objective manner and choose to develop a new ingroup with better chances of ensuring physiological and security fulfilment.

Since new groupness can come about rationally, as a response to ongoing physiological deprivation, so statehood can also be a wholly rational project when it occurs on the lower levels of needs fulfilment. Although statehood is often seen as being driven by collective identity, and although constructivist accounts of nationhood or statehood tend to emphasise the interests of the elites and their manipulation of mass interest in the

state-creation process,⁸⁶ one must acknowledge that the nature of statehood also depends on the overall needs level. Although the Sudanese conflict, for example, is often seen in terms of identity, Northern Muslim ‘Arabs’ versus Southern ‘Africans’ adhering to Christianity and animism, these categories were not the main causes of independence. The independence of South Sudan in 2011 was a consequence of the group identification rationally used to address the existential threat in place since 1956. On the lower levels, statehood may thus be a contingent fact⁸⁷ resulting from necessity, rather than a complex manipulative process.

The assumption that identity has persuasive power across time and space is problematic also for explaining mobilisation. In the Sudan, identity could not possibly have affected mobilisation, given that in the North it remained “far from achieved,”⁸⁸ and because in the South, a Southern identity developed only *during and after* the conflict. Since identities and ideologies are flexible on low needs levels, they cannot have any power in defining mass interest; no ideological hegemony is possible on this level. As was seen in the case of Northern tribes, the elites may adhere to their own ideologies, but imposing them on others is difficult. In societies characterised by physiological deprivation, therefore, ideologies are thus not the “true philosophy” leading to the transformation of reality,⁸⁹ as Gramsci once suggested. Both identity and hegemony can have a persuasive effect only when connected to a beneficial needs strategy. If the needs strategy is ineffective, also identity and hegemony are of no value.

⁸⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* 2nd ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), describes how the state-creation process in various parts of the world have been triggered by the elites whose social advancement has been thwarted in the existing structure. For similar arguments, see also Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

⁸⁷ This approach has been highlighted by Rogers Brubaker, “Rethinking Nationhood: Nation as Institutionalized Form, Practical Category, Contingent Event,” (University of California, October 1994). From <http://works.bpress.com>, last accessed July 20, 2012.

⁸⁸ Jok, *Sudan: Race, Religion, and Violence*, 27.

⁸⁹ Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, quoted in James Martin, *Gramsci's Political Analysis: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Palgrave, 1998), 57.

4. The Sudan: Mobilisation and Leadership in Physiological/Security PRD

This chapter will examine the nature of mobilisation and the role of leadership in physiological and security PRD. This will be done by describing the onset of the second North-South war (1983-2005) and the intertribal conflicts that took place in the Southern region during this time. It will be argued that on the lowest level of needs fulfilment mobilisation is largely automatic and immediate and that individuals accordingly tend to identify with groups and leaders offering immediate means of addressing the experienced deprivation. In line with the hypotheses of Chapter 2, it will be shown that group affiliation in severe deprivation depends on material factors and consequently that the outcome of conflict is largely dependent on the funds and coercive capacities of alternative leaders. A comparison of Southern mobilisation and mobilisation among Northern tribal and semi-professional forces towards the end of the war and during the Darfur conflict (2003-) will further emphasise the correlation between low needs fulfilment and the spontaneous nature of collective violence.

The first section of the chapter will investigate the spontaneity of mobilisation in a situation where traditional needs strategies have collapsed and physiological and security deprivation prevail as a result. It will examine the onset of the conflict, the (un)importance of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement's (SPLM) political ideology for mobilisation, the way in which collective identity in physiological deprivation loses its value, and how materialism alone directs collective behaviour. The second section will briefly introduce the Darfur conflict and describe the nature of mobilisation on the opposite side – the government-led Popular Defence Forces (PDF) and the tribal janjaweed militias – and show how the difficulty of mobilisation increases as one moves up on the needs hierarchy. The conclusion will argue for an evolutionary understanding of conflict dynamics in physiological and security PRD.

4.1. South Sudan: Mobilisation and Leadership

This section will examine the ease of mobilisation and the insignificant role of political ideology in conflicts taking place in physiological and security deprivation. Because

physiological and security deprivation are often experienced in situations of low needs efficiency, where existing needs strategies are under severe threat or collapsing, these two levels are difficult to distinguish and must be examined in the context of the same conflict. As the present section aims to show, survival, and consequently materialism, are the main motivators on these lower levels of needs fulfilment, although a slight difference in the role of political leadership and awareness-raising may be detected between the two needs levels.

The Spontaneity of Mobilisation

Physiological and security deprivation were a reality in Southern Sudan by the early 1980s. The Sudanese government was appropriating the lands of various peripheral tribes and destroying their traditional livelihoods. The decentralisation of the South carried out by Nimeiry had the desired effect of causing disagreements over tribal authority and land use between various Shilluk and Dinka tribes,¹ and inter-tribal peace mechanisms largely ceased to function. From the mid-1980s, the situation worsened, especially in Bahr al-Ghazal, where Baqqara Arab tribes were given weapons by the al-Mahdi government² for the purposes of raiding the Dinka and ensuring their own needs fulfilment in conditions of severe scarcity.³ The arming of militias in already poor regions in turn led to famine and displacement of tens of thousands of people.

Physiological and security-level deprivation caused stress in regard to future survival, triggering a desire to accept alternative needs strategies offered by leaders other than tribal elders. In addition, the collapse of local tribal strategies caused the loss of status fulfilment for young men and boys who previously would have adopted the lifestyles of their forefathers, resulting in a large-scale search for other status-enhancing activities. Severe deprivation and the inability of the masses to rely on traditional survival strategies caused them to accept potentially successful rebel groups as alternative legitimate leaders and allowed for the widespread and immediate mobilisation of resistance among the various Southern peoples. Given the low needs efficiency and limited number of roles available for individuals in the traditional context, the collapse

¹ Peter Adwok Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation in South Sudan: An Insider's View* (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1997), 23-24.

² Umma Party Sadiq al-Mahdi was Prime Minister in 1986-1989, during the brief period of democratic rule between the military regimes of Gaafar Nimeiry and Omar al-Bashir.

³ David Keen, *The Benefits of Famine: A Political Economy of Famine and Relief in Southwestern Sudan, 1983-1989* (Oxford: James Currey, 2008), passim.

of local strategies happened easily and affected whole generations of men. Lack of security and status together made it possible for existing collective identities to be devalued and alternative ones to be adopted based solely on the immediate benefits they provided.

Some authors have described the Southern Sudanese conflicts as generational,⁴ being essentially driven by the desire of younger men to find useful status roles. The generational nature of the conflicts in South Sudan cannot, however, be separated from the collapsing of the group survival strategies, which made it impossible for anyone within the community to retain traditional roles. Hutchinson describes this process among the Nuer: in the traditional community, the only source of empowerment was the group, and the traditional source of status was cattle. This began to change during the 1970s when awareness rose regarding alternative and individualistic means of empowerment. During the 1980s, however, the local economy collapsed and the tribal elders found it impossible to provide even the basic coping resources for members of the community. At this time, the possession of guns developed into a new source of empowerment.⁵ Many of the eastern Nuer even joined the rebel movement for the explicit purpose of acquiring guns,⁶ often for raiding purposes.⁷ The subsequent alienation of young men from their original tribes led to the abandonment of tradition, which was also supported by SPLA leaders.⁸ The collapse of the fragile tribal needs strategies thus caused not only security but also massive status deprivation, which consequently led to wide-scale mobilisation and in the long run to the potential adoption of new group identities.

Southern mobilisation has also been described as largely unnatural, given that the SPLA mobilised, or even abducted, young boys by force, or lured them to the SPLA training camps with promises of education in Ethiopia.⁹ According to some testimonies, this was

⁴ This is a widespread understanding of African conflicts in general, but in connection to the Sudan, see especially Eisei Kurimoto, "Civil War & Regional Conflicts: The Pari & Their Neighbours in South-Eastern Sudan," in *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, eds. Katsuyoshi Fukui and John Markakis (London: James Currey, 1994), 95-111.

⁵ Sharon E. Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State* (London: University of California Press, 1996), 247.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁹ Cherry Leonardi, "'Liberation' or Capture: Youth In Between 'Hakuma' and 'Home' During Civil War and Its Aftermath In Southern Sudan," *African Affairs* 106, no. 424 (2007): 391-412.

sometimes true, but according to others, mobilisation was often also a result of the absence of alternative means of needs fulfilment. Boys and men joined the SPLA to gain access to arms and to protect local communities;¹⁰ some even returned home for a while and then voluntarily left again.¹¹ In essence, “the majority of Southerners fought or supported those wars to protect the home and to overcome their sense of powerlessness in relation to the military.”¹² This was especially common in communities with individuals of a higher level of awareness of the situation, given that:

[...]it was very difficult for young men who had completed intermediate and senior high school to find a job or to continue their studies in higher institutions. Most of them were forced to return to their villages, and the rest stayed in the towns, still hoping for employment. Later, almost all of them joined the SPLA and played a leading role in its military operations.¹³

For many, therefore, the second North-South war was a question of survival. Even before the war officially began in 1983, the masses were plagued by insecurity, collapsing commerce,¹⁴ and oppression by the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF). Mobilisation began simply because there were few alternative routes to needs fulfilment. In the early 1980s regional rebel movements proliferated¹⁵ and “[t]he insurrection that ensued throughout the South was spontaneous and, apart from the general contradiction and antagonism of the North, every tribal grouping in the South had its own agenda for joining the insurrection.”¹⁶ These agendas included everything from protection of local strategies, to revenge against neighbouring tribes (whether Arab or Southern), and the settling of old scores.¹⁷ Ideology thus played practically no role. As Nyaba writes, “[... the] majority of the people who joined the SPLM/A did so not out

¹⁰ Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 24.

¹¹ Wendy James, “War & ‘Ethnic Visibility’: The Uduk of the Sudan-Ethiopia Border,” in *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa* ((see note 4), 140-164.

¹² Leonardi, “‘Liberation’ or Capture,” 400.

¹³ Kurimoto, “Civil War & Regional Conflicts,” 106.

¹⁴ On the topic of the collapse of trade relations in the Sudan in the early 1980s, see Douglas H. Johnson, “Destruction and Reconstruction in the Economy of the Southern Sudan,” in *Short-Cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan*, eds. Sharif Harir and Terje Tvedt (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1994), 126-143.

¹⁵ Douglas H. Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan’s Civil Wars* 4th ed. (Oxford: James Currey, 2007), 60; Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 22.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁷ M. A. Mohamed Salih and Sharif Harir, “Tribal Militias: The Genesis of National Disintegration,” in *Short-cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (see note 14), 186-203: 188.

of political awareness or revolutionary zeal alone but out of anger with the regime,”¹⁸ and as per Collins, the “SPLA was a peasant army with little political consciousness.”¹⁹

The Role of the SPLM/A's Political Ideologies

There were originally various rebel movements in the South but the individuals who managed to forge a cohesive movement were the ones with the highest level of political awareness and clear personal grievances against the government. These were mainly former Anyanya rebels who had remained in the bush during the entire inter-war period and others unhappily incorporated into the SAF.²⁰ Violent incidents between Southern and Northern troops in the South had occurred since 1974,²¹ although the second civil war is usually understood to have been triggered by the revolt of the 105th Bor battalion in April 1983 and subsequent mutinies in May and June. Consequent clashes between Northern army units and the soldiers of the Southern Command led to the defection of about 3,000 Southern soldiers by July 1983, many of whom crossed the border to Ethiopia²² where the SPLA began to train recruits and develop a political platform.

It is important to note that the rise of John Garang to SPLA leadership was not automatic, and that it was not him or the other commanders, often calling themselves Anyanya 2, who really initiated the civil war. Conflict was already a reality in various parts of the South, and the commanders simply attempted to unite the various rebel movements. The reason why Garang and the SPLA became victorious in the struggle for leadership was because of the military and ideological support provided by the Ethiopian Mengistu regime. This regime was Marxist, and favoured a clearly socialist and non-secessionist movement in Southern Sudan.²³ The influence of Ethiopia ensured that the SPLM manifesto came to include Marxist phraseology, although these remained without any influence in the daily functioning of the movement and were soon dropped entirely.²⁴ For several years, Garang's speeches in public and on Radio SPLA emphasised the economic challenges of Sudan, the marginalisation of the peripheries,

¹⁸ Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 25.

¹⁹ Robert O. Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 203.

²⁰ See further, Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 139.

²¹ Ann Mosley Lesch, *The Sudan: Contested National Identities* (Oxford: James Currey, 1998), 49.

²² Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 139-40.

²³ See further Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 29-33; Øystein H. Rolandsen, *Guerrilla Government: Political Changes in the Southern Sudan during the 1990s* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2005), 40.

²⁴ See especially Rolandsen, *Guerrilla Government*, 41, 53.

and the corruption in Khartoum.²⁵ Far from rejecting Northern culture or highlighting Southern superiority, he suggested that Arabic be retained as the official language of the entire Sudan,²⁶ and instead of attacking the North as a whole, he attacked Khartoum elites, his worst insult perhaps being calling Nimeiry a “dictator and monster.”²⁷

In addition to Ethiopian support, Garang’s own background and personality prevented the SPLA leadership from emphasising the growing Southern identity. Unlike most Southern leaders of the time, Garang chose not to take refuge either in his tribal identity (so as not to promote a tribal followership) or in his Southern identity (which he might have done in the hope of one day becoming leader of an independent South Sudan). Instead, during the course of his life he developed a non-tribal and modern way of thinking, leading him to prioritise development over identity and equality over superiority. He was well aware of Southern grievances; his years of study in the United States and Tanzania included a Ph.D. on the Jonglei Canal and its potential environmental effects on the Sudd wetlands. Having been part of the Anyanya movement and thereafter rising to rank of Colonel in the SAF, Garang had seen the sufferings of the Sudanese peripheries, which likely contributed to his chosen rhetoric of a “New Sudan”²⁸ characterised by racial equality and freedom of religion. In short, he wanted to save the whole of Sudan from its sufferings, not only the Southern peoples.

However, it is unclear whether Garang’s idea of a “New Sudan” had any real effect on mobilisation among the tribal *masses* at large.²⁹ The idea of a “New Sudan” was disseminated through radio and in SPLA training camps, which combined hard physical training with political indoctrination. While the training camps did produce a division of motivated soldiers yearly,³⁰ the ideological side left something to be desired. Violence

²⁵ Mansour Khalid, ed., *John Garang Speaks* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), passim.

²⁶ Statement by John Garang at the opening session of the Koka Dam negotiations, 20 March 1986, in Khalid, *John Garang Speaks*, 134.

²⁷ Speech by John Garang, 9 April 1985, in Khalid, *John Garang Speaks*, 39-49.

²⁸ See especially Rolandsen, *Guerrilla Government*, passim.

²⁹ Salih and Harir argue strongly that both the Northern definitions of the conflict and religious and cultural, as well as the socialist ideologies of the SPLA were completely irrelevant to the masses: M.A. Mohamed Salih and Sharif Harir, “Tribal Militias: The Genesis of National Disintegration,” in *Short-cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (see note 14), 186-203. See also Salih, “The Ideology of the Dinka & the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement,” in *Ethnicity and Conflict in the Horn of Africa* (see note 4), 187-201.

³⁰ Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 172.

was not limited to Northern army units, but extended to Southern civilians.³¹ In their testimonies to anthropologists and NGO representatives, SPLA soldiers have almost never referred to political motivations besides the need to be protected from the ‘Arabs.’ It is possible that few Southerners, both due to their age and their peasant background, never came to understand or much care for the ideologies offered. According to a Nuer recruit who had trained at Bonga camp:

He [Yusif Kuwa, SPLA commander in the Nuba Mountains] used to give us political lessons [...] I don’t recall much of what he said, nor of what my political commissar at the training centre told me. I just hated how we were made to sit down for a long time, listening to words that I didn’t understand! However, all revolved around freedom for the marginalized people in the Sudan, and that we were fighting for our right! In fact I was aware of the two objectives of the SPLA/M: justice and equality, but it wasn’t a big deal by then...³²

If SPLA ideology *did* have an effect on recruits, this would suggest that awareness-raising in physiological or security PRD need not be racist or ideological to allow for mobilisation, and that no element of manipulation need to be present. If it did *not*, this would suggest that awareness-raising is wholly unimportant in physiological/security PRD. It can be argued that both alternatives apply. Where individuals suffered from *security* PRD, as in the South in general and parts of the North, the overall political context did play a role and awareness-raising carried out by the SPLA thus was of use in mobilising people, or at least in forging acceptance for the movement in principle. Where individuals suffered from *physiological* deprivation, on the other hand, the content of ideology played no role. The latter situation can be exemplified by the Pari (in Equatoria), who did not understand the Arabic or English broadcasts of Radio SPLA (or did not even own a radio). They were thus largely unaware of the ideas of a “New Sudan” as well as of the various information and disinformation provided,³³ and of the extent of common grievances against the Arabs (presented in vernacular broadcasts).³⁴

³¹ Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 37.

³² Interview of Koang Tut Jing by Nanne op’t Ende, August 19, 2006, on the op’t Ende Nuba Mountains Homepage. From www.occasionalwitness.com, last accessed December 2, 2011.

³³ Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 66.

³⁴ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 65.

They were aware only of their own deprivation. Still, among the Pari, about 2,500 out of a population of 11,000 sought out the SPLA and joined the movement by the end of 1984.³⁵

Given that SPLA units were regional and often worked independently under their commanders, it is no surprise that Garang's ideology did not reach the masses, or was ignored by them. Instead, the ideology which developed in the various units came to reflect the necessity of empowerment under new leaders. According to Nyaba, SPLA songs were designed to create a cult around the SPLA leadership, and "[...] instead of praising the revolution or liberation struggle, the soldiers idolised and mystified the leaders."³⁶ However, some songs also reflect the pride of finding a new, if inevitable, means of empowerment in the struggle against the Other. Some songs highlighted the persistence of the Southerners in opposing suffering and humiliation. This is the case in the SPLA songs reproduced by Deng:

O, the liberation struggle of my country/ When I rose and hoisted my
weapon high/ To shoot and chase away the one who has transgressed on me/
And has betrayed the pride and dignity of my nation!/ Man, rise and shoot to
kill the coward who has betrayed the cause of your life/ And the virtues of
your nation/ Prove to him your existence.../ Rise, sister and shoot the
coward/ Prove to him your existence./ O, land of our Forefathers/ We have
dedicated to you our blood and our last breath/ Let it be liberation or death/
Let the struggle continue until victory is won/ Martyr after Martyr/ The
struggle will continue until victory is won.³⁷

In these songs, as in the ideology of the movement in general, the mythology of identity or culture, or the dehumanisation of the Other, did not play a role. The need to find a way of opposing Northern oppression was so clear that individual experiences were more than sufficient cause for mobilisation. Hatred need not be incited, because the necessity to act against Northerners was self-evident. Therefore, for individuals suffering from physiological deprivation, joining the movement was inevitable. On the

³⁵ Kurimoto, "Civil War & Regional Conflicts," 99.

³⁶ Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 50.

³⁷ Francis M. Deng, *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan* (Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution, 1995), 227.

other hand, for individuals suffering from security deprivation, as well as for the leaders of various communities in general, Garang's ideology had the very important effect of highlighting their awareness of Northern Otherness and the rational benefits of joining the movement. This was especially important on the Northern side of the border among the Nuba, Ingessana, and Beja peoples. These were Muslim but non-Arab peoples, all of whom had for several decades suffered from the appropriation of land by the government and incursions by Arab tribes.³⁸ Due to the rational, all-Sudanese approach promoted by Garang, the leaders of these peoples could decide to put aside the clear cultural differences between the North and South and temporarily ally themselves with the SPLA against fellow Muslims.

The Materialism of Identification

The SPLA was for many years hindered by the same problems as the Anyanya during the previous insurgency. The SPLA was initially perceived as a Dinka, or at best a Nilotic movement, because its leader, John Garang was a Twic Dinka and the other founding members were either Dinka or Nuer. In particular, the Equatorians' attitude towards the movement was dismissive due to their opposition to Nilotic domination during autonomy.³⁹ In the early years, the SPLA had to fight various government militias among the Mundari, Murle, and Toposa tribes.⁴⁰ The internal weakness of the movement also resulted in a complete division by 1984 of Garang's SPLA and Nuer units (including those calling themselves Anyanya 2 under the leadership of William Abdallah Chuol, Paulino Matip Nhial, and others.⁴¹ The Nuer faction intermittently fought against the SAF as a parallel organisation to the SPLA, sometimes in cooperation and sometimes not, but also occasionally hindered SPLA progress by committing massacres of SPLA recruits.⁴² Eventually, in 1991, despite the overall success of the SPLA under Garang,⁴³ several SPLA commanders in the Nuer-populated Nasir area (Riek Machar, Lam Akol, Gordon Kong Chuol) sided with Khartoum.

³⁸ Lesch, *The Sudan*, 91. See also Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 132-5, 137-8, and Jok Madut Jok, *Sudan: Race, Religion, and Violence* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2007), 96.

³⁹ See further Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 51-3.

⁴⁰ In several cases such intertribal conflicts were a result of the irresponsible and violent behaviour of SPLA soldiers: see Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 68.

⁴¹ Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 43-48.

⁴² From 1984 William Abdallah Chuol began accepting military supplies from the Nimeiry regime in a power struggle against Garang; see Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 65-66; Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 45.

⁴³ The SPLA managed to ally itself with various guerrilla movements along the North-South border and make peace with both Arab and Equatorian militias (Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 69, 86, 93). By 1989, the

Despite claiming opposition to Garang's authoritarian tendencies⁴⁴ and preference for Southern independence over unity, the Nuer commanders were driven by their hunger for status and resources in the absence of rewarding status roles. After the collapse of the Ethiopian Mengistu regime, the main benefactor of the movement during the 1980s, the SPLA had grown weaker. The NGOs in the Nasir area, in turn, had developed into a new source of authority for the competing Nuer leaders.⁴⁵ In August 1991, they decided to publicly dismiss Garang as SPLM chairman. After Garang refused to give up his position, these commanders formed a separate faction of the SPLA, SPLA-Nasir (by its other name SPLA-United, as opposed to Garang's SPLA-Torit/Mainstream). Failing to gather political support among Southerners at large, however, Riek relied on Khartoum's material and military aid to retain his position among his Nuer constituency. To punish Garang for retaining leadership of the movement, Riek in 1991 led the Nuer-Nasir fighters against their Dinka neighbours, leading to the Bor massacre in which thousands of Dinka civilians were killed and enslaved.⁴⁶ In return for Khartoum's support, Riek also welcomed the SAF back into the South and cooperated with government forces in 1993 and 1994 to topple SPLA-Torit in the Equatoria and Bahr al-Ghazal regions.⁴⁷

What is more interesting than Riek's questionable strategies of personal fulfilment, though, is that his followers (comprising mostly Bul Nuer, Luo Nuer, and the diminished Anyanya 2 of Chuol⁴⁸) accepted them as long as their basic needs were met with Khartoum's provisions. In conditions of low needs efficiency, the availability of an alternative source of material benefits became an immediate source of mobilisation. This further supports the conclusion that quite opposite to being motivated by tribal identity, the Nuer, as well as the various other tribal militias of the South, were motivated by the necessity of finding alternative needs-fulfilling strategies. Even the Dinka and Nuer leaders did not appeal to tribal identities, but to necessity. Riek and Garang both constantly appealed to political, rather than tribal, awareness, and Riek

SPLA controlled nearly 90% of the South and by some accounts had about 40,000 men in 1984-5 (Lesch, *The Sudan*, 91) and between 100,000 and 120,000 men in 1991 (Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 35).

⁴⁴ In the late 1980s Garang had had many prominent SPLA leaders arrested, imprisoned and even executed; see Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 175.

⁴⁵ See in particular Rolandsen, *Guerrilla Government*, 44-48.

⁴⁶ Lesch, *The Sudan*, 158.

⁴⁷ Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 207.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 205.

even tried to turn his Nuer-dominated SPLA-United into a more ethnically diverse South Sudan Defence Force (SSDF) to convince people of his political potential. The conflict was purely about needs, both of the masses and of the leaders. As one Dinka soldier explained: “We don’t care about their political careers, at least not to the point of killing ourselves. They know this and that is why they have to make it sound as if tribal wealth [cattle] is under threat from the rival tribe in order to persuade people to wage war.”⁴⁹

The masses were thus not interested in following political or ethnic categories, but only in figuring out the party to the conflict capable of offering the best material resources for survival, whether it was the government or a Southern entity. These motivations are exemplified by the case of the so-called ‘White Army’. This group was made up of young Nuer men from various tribes living in challenging conditions characterised by existential scarcity.⁵⁰ The fact that it fought not only against the Dinka but raided also Nuer villages suggests that it was not motivated by political or tribal ideology as much as by the easy access to weapons in the Nuer region, caused by the alliance between Riek and the government.⁵¹ Given that the movement served only the accumulation of wealth and status among its members,⁵² “[i]n the competition for support from the white army between the SSDF and the SPLA, the SSDF won out, in essence, because it provided more weapons.”⁵³ The decision of the young Nuer men to choose individualistic criminal needs strategies over traditional status roles also entailed a refusal to respect Nuer tribal elders. This caused them to be spurned by their own communities, leading them to become even more estranged from their tribes and to further undermine traditional culture.

Thus, although collective action during the civil war was most often based on tribal affiliation, the emphasis was on action itself rather than the importance of the tribe. Once the situation deteriorated into physiological deprivation, even traditional tribal identifications started to collapse into smaller concentrations of common fate, as

⁴⁹ Jok Madut Jok and Sharon Elaine Hutchinson, “Sudan’s Prolonged Second Civil War and the Militarization of Nuer and Dinka Ethnic Identities,” *African Studies Review* 42, no. 2 (1999): 133.

⁵⁰ According to Young, lack of dry season grazing and of water made especially the Lou likely to trigger conflict with neighbouring tribes. John Young, *The White Army: An Introduction and Overview* (Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007): 15.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 17.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 18.

became evident in the intra-Nuer civil war. The unconvincing needs strategy offered by Riek and the government could not fully compensate for the meagre harvests in the Nuer region, and the acquisition of Khartoum-provided firearms by the Luo Nuer precipitated open warfare between the Luo and Jikany Nuer.⁵⁴ The availability of firepower and the consequent opportunity to escape from existential scarcity through raiding and stealing had more motivational force than any pre-existing Nuer identity. Group identification on this level of scarcity was thus wholly connected to the present challenges of needs fulfilment and the material benefits offered by alternative group affiliations. Any potential unity arising from shared culture and identity, and a shared future, was rendered non-existent due to the pressing nature of needs fulfilment.

The Role of Authoritarianism

The materialism of identification in severe deprivation meant that the success of leadership and the cohesion of the Southern movements depended wholly on the capacity of the leaders to maintain a position of control regarding the sharing of material resources. Garang lost this material hegemony when the Mengistu regime collapsed in 1991, and had to rely instead on international relief organisations and the resources of the local people.⁵⁵ The increasing dependence on the local population and the impossibility of continuing the war indefinitely also forced Garang to address the question of self-determination and grievances against the movement, essentially creating a complete shift in SPLM/A ideology.⁵⁶ As Riek's movement gradually collapsed due to its ineffectiveness and leadership struggles,⁵⁷ the SPLM/A had the chance to recover. It arranged a National Convention in 1994 in which far-reaching decisions were made regarding the organisation of administration in the South.⁵⁸ However, the movement fully regained its authority only after it had again managed to restore some level of intertribal security through traditional dispute resolution

⁵⁴ Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 208.

⁵⁵ Rolandsen, *Guerrilla Government*, 48.

⁵⁶ See especially Rolandsen, *Guerrilla Government*, passim.

⁵⁷ Riek Machar and Kerubino Kuanyin Bol, a Dinka, committed the ultimate affront to the movement in April 1996 by signing a peace agreement with Khartoum, accepting all Northern demands, including federalism, changed boundaries, and use of Shari'a in the South: see Lesch, *The Sudan*, 164.

⁵⁸ According to Rolandsen, *Guerrilla Government*, 13, 516 delegates attended the convention, although these were not chosen in any ethnically balanced manner.

mechanisms⁵⁹ and a certain level of commercial activity in the South,⁶⁰ thus lifting the masses from the physiological level back to security needs fulfilment.⁶¹

Nyaba, the main authority on the SPLA split, argues that the SPLM/A could have avoided many of its problems through openness and democracy in its early years. Yet, in the same book, he describes why democracy failed to work in the inter-war era. Southern politicians proved incapable of maintaining consistent political ideologies and cohesive political parties because “[t]he weak economic base of many South Sudanese could not allow them to remain long in opposition politics.”⁶² For example, politicians who had demanded freedom and self-determination were, in the inter-war period, in the regional government and soon supporting the status quo.⁶³ As Nyaba himself states, “[a]fter attaining what they had been clamouring for over the years, i.e. access to the resources of the state through ministerial portfolios, this elite forgot about what the people of South Sudan had sacrificed their lives for in the seventeen-year war.”⁶⁴ The same pattern, unfortunately, applied to the elites of the SPLA. Given the desire of the elite to escape the deprivation plaguing Southerners in general, political ideologies serving mass interest could be maintained only by the most resolute individuals.

Given the level of basic needs deprivation in the South, it is somewhat difficult to understand how democratisation and looser control over the movement could have helped. The SPLM/A was primarily a military movement, and Garang’s authoritarianism, even if unfortunate in humanitarian terms, was key in preventing the movement from being completely destroyed by competing leaders and strategies. The easy rise of alternative leaders would not have been so dangerous had they all prioritised the unity of struggle over their self-interest – but it was almost certain that they would not. The masses suffering from physiological deprivation – as Nuer behaviour testifies – did not possess the capacity to evaluate the long-term value of ingroup strategies or the

⁵⁹ Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 105; for practical importance, see Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas*, 147. The SPLA administration came to be most developed in Bahr al-Ghazal, Upper Nile and parts of the Lakes and Jonglei regions; see Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 91.

⁶⁰ Johnson, “Destruction and Reconstruction,” 137-139.

⁶¹ Especially in Bahr al-Ghazal and Equatoria this was important: see further Keen, *The Benefits of Famine*, 73, 80, 91; Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 82, 83, 87, 114, 117.

⁶² Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 17.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

suitability of leader personality or ideology.⁶⁵ The spontaneity of collective action on the low needs levels means that the SPLA would have been better off not with democracy, but with even harsher elimination of alternative factional leaders.

The way that unity in the SPLM/A could be forged was thus not through ideology as both Garang's calls for unity and Riek's calls for independence had little, if any, effect on the Southern masses. Unity could be achieved only through awareness-raising, military successes against various Others, and the capacity to offer superior material benefits and needs fulfilment strategies in the long run. Leadership also necessitated the ability to see the big picture and the unwillingness to succumb to Khartoum's nepotistic politics. Contrary to many Southern leaders since independence, Garang consistently refused to join the central government until the 2005 peace agreement, by which time it had become clear that toppling the regime was unlikely to succeed in the foreseeable future and that secession was the easier path. Without Garang's violent authoritarianism, the South would have for a much longer period been plagued by regional militias, such as those active during the early years, and leaders fighting for alliances with the Other.⁶⁶ As Nyaba argues, "[t]he SPLM/A's internal cohesion was stronger, not because of political or ideological awareness, but because the contradiction of the South and North was stronger than the internal contradictions."⁶⁷ This was largely thanks to Garang's effort.

Mobilisation in the South: Conclusion

The events of the second North-South war make clear the immediate nature of mobilisation in physiological and security PRD. Since survival is at stake, ideology, as well as group identity, loses its significance, and identification becomes possible with groups or leaders offering superior survival strategies. Especially in physiological deprivation, the mere fact of deprivation is sufficient to mobilise people, and practically anyone can become the Other. One could thus argue that in severe deprivation, the value of *perception* regarding the relativity of deprivation is practically zero: creating a

⁶⁵ It also did not seem to bother Southerners in general, given that he was accepted as South Sudan's vice-President upon independence.

⁶⁶ One such conflict arose between Riek Machar and Paulino Matip (after the latter defected from the SSIM/A, and created the South Sudan Unity Movement, which protected the Bentiu oil fields for the government). Also many other factions separated from Riek's disintegrating SSIM/A (later named SSDF – South Sudan Defence Force), many of which existed on paper only. See Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 175; Johnson, *The Root Causes*, 123.

⁶⁷ Nyaba, *The Politics of Liberation*, 65; see also Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 201.

cohesive movement against a particular enemy cannot be achieved through persuasion, but only through authoritarianism and coercion. Also in security PRD, rationality matters a great deal. Nevertheless, on this level, political ideology may play an important role in defining existing class differences in terms of a certain dichotomy. Garang used the (realistic) dichotomy between elite and marginalised tribes, which, despite being ignored by the masses of the South, had much persuasive power among the Southern elites as well as among various Muslim, but non-Arab, tribes along the North-South border.

4.2. Comparison: Mobilisation in the North

On the other side of the core-periphery conflict, the Sudanese government mobilised various groups made up of Northerners, the main ones being the SAF, the PDF, and the janjaweed⁶⁸ militias. While the behaviour of the SAF is largely left out due to the meagre amount of information available, the mobilisation of the PDF and janjaweed militias is examined through comparison with the mobilisation among the Southern tribes. It is argued that although political ideology has played a slightly greater role in the behaviour of these Northern militias than in the South, mobilisation among these groups can be better explained by the level of needs fulfilment in the Sudanese core-periphery structure. It should be noted that since the data available on these groups is limited, so are the conclusions that can be drawn.

Types of Mobilisation

The military strategy of the successive Khartoum governments against the peripheries consisted of two main elements: sending Northern troops into the periphery to fight the insurgents and, at the same time, providing weapons and resources to chosen peripheral tribes in order to trigger intertribal conflicts. These strategies were used against the Southerners during both North-South civil wars, and also more recently against fellow Muslims in Darfur. The Darfur conflict displays similar dynamics as the one in the South. Being economically marginalised within Sudan,⁶⁹ Darfuri tribes have

⁶⁸ The word comes from the Arabic words denoting gunmen.

⁶⁹ See further M. W. Daly, *Darfur's Sorrow: A History of Destruction and Genocide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 224-226.

experienced long-term physiological and security deprivation caused by desertification, governmental neglect, and the war between Chad and Libya (during the 1970s and 1980s).⁷⁰ These factors have caused repeated intertribal conflicts between the sedentary Fur and pastoralist Arab tribes as each tries to fulfil its needs.⁷¹

The Southern and Northern peripheries have, however, offered different types of opponents in terms of identity. Although the SPLM/A's political platform was based on economic marginalisation and injustice and in no way highlighted Southern identity,⁷² the history of Southern Otherness allowed Northern troops to find easy justifications for collective violence. Religion played an especially important role: many Northerners supported the extension of Shari'a law to all of Sudan and were consequently exhorted by the Ulama in 1992 to kill apostates and non-Muslims.⁷³ In Darfur, however, the dichotomy was less clear. The main insurgent groups, namely the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM, with a largely Zaghawa tribal constituency) and the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A, made up of Fur, Zaghawa, and Masalit tribesmen) were, despite their close links to the SPLM,⁷⁴ fellow Muslims. Although the African tribes of Darfur too have a history of deprivation-driven conflict, they have not historically fought against the elites of the centre but primarily with the equally physiologically deprived Arabs of Darfur. Such conflicts took place in the 1980s and 1990s and were mainly over land and resources.⁷⁵

Given that the PDF and tribal militias were mobilised on mostly tribal lines, they are often difficult to distinguish from each other. Nevertheless, it seems that the role of ideology was greater among the more formal PDF, which was more widely used in the

⁷⁰ Gaddafi's Libya was promoting the development of an "Arab belt" in Northern Africa, which involved the spread of Islamism through occupation; Libya was accordingly arming also Darfuri Arab tribes, while the non-Arab tribes were acquiring their weapons from ethnic allies in Chad.

⁷¹ See especially Sharif Harir, "'Arab Belt' versus 'African Belt': Ethno-Political Conflict in Dar Fur and the Regional and Cultural Factors," in *Short-cut to Decay: The Case of the Sudan* (see note 14), 144-185, and Julie Flint and Alex de Waal, *Darfur: A New History of a Long War* (London: Zed Books, 2008), 43-45. For further detail of the inter-tribal wars, see Daly, *Darfur's Sorrow*, 262-264.

⁷² See previous chapter.

⁷³ Lesch, *The Sudan*, 130.

⁷⁴ In 1991 SPLA officer Daud Bolad tried to gather support for the Southern cause in Darfur, but with little success. He was captured and killed by the government in 1992. Nevertheless, the political programs of the JEM and SLA in the early 2000s closely followed SPLM ideology. See Victor Tanner and Jerome Tubiana, "Divided they Fall: The Fragmentation of Darfur's Rebel Groups" (Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007), 15. See also the Justice and Equality Movement's "Black Book," (originally published in 2000). From http://www.sudanjem.com/sudan-alt/english/books/blackbook_part1/20040422_bbone.htm, last accessed April 10, 2011.

⁷⁵ For further detail of the various inter-tribal wars, see Daly, *Darfur's Sorrow*, 262-264.

second North-South war and also involved individuals from the riverine tribes. In Darfur, on the other hand, the unruly janjaweed force was more effective at carrying out violent acts, while its motives seem to be less ideological.

The Popular Defence Forces

Both the PDF and the janjaweed originated from the tribal militias of the 1980s. During the drought of 1985, the poverty-stricken and land-deprived Rizayqat and Missiriyya Baqqara Arabs were armed by the government, the purpose being to allow them to avoid physiological deprivation through the raiding of Dinka lands. This, of course, had the additional effect of protecting the government from an imminent peripheral Arab uprising. Then called the “murahileen”, these group’s common needs strategy was to cooperate with the regime in depriving rebellious tribes of their livelihood. Under the Turabi-Bashir regime, the use of such militias expanded, especially among the Baqqara of northern Bahr al-Ghazal, South Darfur, and South Kordofan, and in 1989 they were institutionalised as the PDF.⁷⁶ Later, Abbala Rizayqat (camel-herding) Arabs of Darfur joined the fray,⁷⁷ although many of these tribes “[...] insisted on campaigning according to their seasonal agenda instead of following the army’s strategic priorities.”⁷⁸

As the war in the South raged on, the Bashir-Turabi government began to transform the PDF into a religious populist movement and compelled the more privileged masses to participate in its activities. In 1990, the government sent thousands of students from NIF-affiliated institutions to PDF training camps near the capital.⁷⁹ Also, military officers from the SAF, which by the early 1990s was collapsing internally and unwilling to continue fighting in the South, were integrated into the PDF and “re-educated.”⁸⁰ The PDF soon largely replaced the SAF ground forces, necessitating large-scale recruitment through mosques, educational institutions, and the media.⁸¹ In the PDF, the rebellious non-Arabs were portrayed as a threat to the northern Arab tribes.⁸² Around Khartoum, PDF recruits spent anywhere from 45 to 60 day periods in training, half of which were

⁷⁶ Jago Salmon, “A Paramilitary Revolution: The Popular Defence Forces” (Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2007), 14.

⁷⁷ Flint and de Waal, *Darfur: A New History*, 44-45.

⁷⁸ Salmon, “A Paramilitary Revolution,” 14.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁸² Greg Procknow, *Recruiting and Training Genocidal Soldiers* (Regina: Francis & Bernard Publishing, 2011), 85.

used for indoctrination through Islamic lectures on jihad and prayers, and religious songs. In addition, martyrdom, tinted with a supernatural perspective, was celebrated through ceremonies and media coverage.⁸³ This level of indoctrination, however, applied primarily to the masses in the centre. Rural PDF militias were either trained locally with little or relatively simplistic indoctrination or not trained at all.⁸⁴

Compared to recruitment into the janjaweed, achieved mainly through material perks, PDF recruitment was a failure. Recruiting for the SAF had been difficult enough to compel the government to abduct people off the street,⁸⁵ and recruiting volunteers into the PDF was nearly as dismal. According to one source, in 1997, less than 6% of those leaving school who were required to attend PDF training had done so, while some of those in training ended up escaping, rebelling, or being killed.⁸⁶ The failure to mobilise the masses at the centre led to the intensification of recruitment among the tribal militias in the Southern and Western parts of the country and the redevelopment of the SAF. According to Salmon, the PDF lost what little appeal remained after Turabi was ousted from the Bashir government in 2000 and consequently allied with the arch-enemy of all Islamists, the SPLA. The religious nature of the PDF no longer corresponded to the needs of the regime, or the ousted Turabi, and the alliance between Turabi and the SPLA effectively destroyed the illusion of martyrdom of the PDF volunteers.⁸⁷

Ideology thus played an important role for some recruits, but primarily those near enough to Khartoum to *not* be subjected to physiological or security deprivation. More significantly, however, while such ideology was likely to have affected the overall patterns of thinking among recruits, it did not lead to their wide-scale mobilisation. Identity may have convinced the relatively gratified masses around Khartoum that attacking the SPLA and its allies, often equated with Western Christians and Zionists, was somehow justified,⁸⁸ but it did not convince them that their own survival was at stake or that they should mobilise to protect their own interests. Consequently, among

⁸³ Salmon, "A Paramilitary Revolution," 17, 18, 25.

⁸⁴ John Hagan and Wenona Rymond-Richmond, "The Collective Dynamics of Racial Dehumanization and Genocidal Victimization in Darfur," *American Sociological Review* 73, no. 6 (2008), 893; Salmon, "A Paramilitary Revolution," 19, 25.

⁸⁵ Collins, *A History of Modern Sudan*, 210.

⁸⁶ Salmon, "A Paramilitary Revolution," 19-20.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 22-23.

⁸⁸ Jok, *Sudan: Race, Religion, Violence*, 227.

these better-off groups subjected to intensive training, only about 25% wanted to participate in “moderate Islamic action” and a mere 5% volunteered for combat.⁸⁹

The Janjaweed

In contrast to the PDF, recruitment into the tribal janjaweed was of a radically different sort and followed a very different pattern. In the periphery, militia troops were usually controlled by local leaders, mobilised around local issues, and sometimes even harboured sympathy for the non-Arab rebel movements, as they were well aware of the failures of the government in the region.⁹⁰ Being poor but Arab, the mostly nomadic peoples of the periphery have been repeatedly forced to decide who is the most salient Other. Given that the janjaweed includes former criminals and bandits, as well as demobilised soldiers and unemployed young men⁹¹ suffering from the collapse of or personal exclusion from the traditional community, the group inevitably worried more about survival than politics. Therefore, although a number of Arab tribal chiefs in control of sufficient land resources for collective survival (such as the Beni Hussein of North Darfur and some southern Baqqara with their own homelands) refused to cooperate with the government,⁹² many young Abbala men joined the janjaweed, against the desires of tribal elders, due to the financial benefits offered by the government.

Although the government has used the Arab-African divide to define the Darfur conflict, portraying it, for example, as a plan of the Zaghawa peoples to push the Arabs out of Darfur altogether,⁹³ ideology has clearly not been the main motive for conflict. The primary source of mobilisation was instead the money flowing into Darfur. Depending on their resources (often a camel or horse), tribal affiliation, and training, the janjaweed fighters were paid anything between US\$30 to US\$120 per month, or separately for each operation.⁹⁴ They were also given cars, property, and phones by the

⁸⁹ Salmon, “A Paramilitary Revolution,” 26.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 31.

⁹¹ Gérard Prunier, *Darfur: A 21st Century Genocide* 3rd ed. (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008), 97; Julie Flint, “Beyond Janjaweed: Understanding the Militias of Darfur” (Geneva: Small Arms Survey, 2009), 17.

⁹² Flint, “Beyond Janjaweed,” 14, 20.

⁹³ Ibid., 23-24. The situation became polarised already after the tribal wars of the 1980s.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 20, 25; Prunier, *Darfur: A 21st Century Genocide*, 98; Greg Procknow, *Recruiting and Training Genocidal Soldiers* (Regina: Francis & Bernard Publishing, 2011), 79.

government.⁹⁵ During the first year of the conflict, the Sudanese government managed to recruit as many as 20,000 men into the tribal janjaweed, but when the government could no longer afford paying them, participation decreased rapidly.⁹⁶ Mobilisation was thus directly connected to survival and only those who had received sufficient pay proved willing to continue the fight in the ranks of the government. Meanwhile, others turned against it by carrying out attacks against government property and through the creation of their own anti-Khartoum movements.⁹⁷

Given the level of deprivation, one can argue that among the parties to conflict, only the PDF and SAF did not act in self-defence. It was these groups that also most extensively used ideology to justify their actions. Although non-Arab tribes were, during the ethnic cleansing, called by both the PDF and the janjaweed anything from slaves, to donkeys, dogs, and monkeys,⁹⁸ such names were used primarily in situations where the atrocities committed clearly surpassed what was necessary for survival – for example, in towns where the SLA/JEM rebels were not present during ethnic cleansing.⁹⁹ Although it is impossible to examine the exact content of PDF and janjaweed ideology, the frequency of the using racial epithets seems to differ between the two groups. During combined janjaweed/PDF/SAF operations, the use of racial epithets were prevalent, while during independent janjaweed attacks, their use was less common.¹⁰⁰ The behaviour of the janjaweed thus resembles the material and non-ideological tendencies of the equally deprived Southerners. As one janjaweed recruit testified about the use of racist slogans, “No it does not mean anything to me. Just we were fighting with no object... The slogans mean nothing to them. These are fighters, just fighters. They are saying the slogans, they don't understand anything about it, and they just go on killing.”¹⁰¹

Mobilisation in the North: Conclusion

The core motivation for individuals to mobilise for violent conflict in the Sudan has been the protection of their own interests. This was the case also in Northern Sudan, where the relatively gratified PDF was somewhat more difficult to mobilise than the

⁹⁵ Procknow, *Recruiting and Training*, 79.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 75, 80; Flint, “Beyond Janjaweed,” 21.

⁹⁷ Flint, “Beyond Janjaweed,” 33-37, 259.

⁹⁸ Flint and de Waal, *Darfur: A New History*, 67; Hagan and Raymond-Richmond, “The Collective Dynamics,” 882.

⁹⁹ Hagan and Raymond-Richmond, “The Collective Dynamics,” 888.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 886.

¹⁰¹ Procknow, *Recruiting and Training*, 87.

tribal janjaweed. Ideology has not been the main cause of mobilisation but a tool used to justify violence against people who do not, in reality, constitute an immediate threat. Ideology has also not been sufficient to create cohesion among the Northern Arabs themselves. Although the Arab Baqqara and Abbala peoples have usually taken the side of the government in local conflicts, the physiological deprivation experienced by all tribes in the region has recently caused even them to fight each other¹⁰² and prompted some to oppose the policies of Khartoum politically, as well as through violent means. Perhaps the evident failures of the Umma party,¹⁰³ continuing marginalisation under the NIF and Bashir governments, the rise of the JEM and SLA, and the degradation of local needs strategies to the level of physiological deprivation, are forcing the Arab tribes to finally acknowledge class reality.

4.3. Sudanese Mobilisation: Conclusion

As argued in Chapter 2, the flexible nature of collective identity in physiological deprivation tends to cause problems for collective mobilisation. It was hypothesised that in physiological deprivation, leaders must possess greater material and coercive resources than alternative leaders if they are to forge a cohesive movement. On the security level, on the other hand, leaders may resort to slightly more ideational strategies to motivate the masses. Although it is difficult to separate physiological and security deprivation from each other in the various conflicts of the Sudan, the findings of this chapter support the hypotheses.

Physiological deprivation has been a reality for at least some groups involved in the Sudanese wars. In particular, the environmental circumstances experienced by the Nuer and janjaweed militias, and the nature of their mobilisation, suggest that in physiological deprivation, everyone, even members of one's own tribe, can be perceived as Others, and the only thing motivating individuals is personal survival. On this level, people care only for material benefits to support their individual survival and tend to affiliate with groups and leaders with the most material resources, irrespective of their

¹⁰² See further Flint, "Beyond Janjaweed," 41, 135.

¹⁰³ For example during the second premiership of Sadiq al-Mahdi 1986-1989; see Daly, *Darfur's Sorrow*, 241.

ideological credentials. As the case of SPLA-United shows, weak or self-interested leaders can be temporarily accepted and followed, but the only way in which the group can retain cohesion and rise from physiological deprivation to the security level in the long run is through military success. In physiological deprivation, only coercive power works, and thus only military leadership is truly effective.

Security PRD, on the other hand, can be said to characterise the Southern and Darfur conflicts more generally. This is the level at which identity change can occur and where alternative perceptions of class differences may prevail. It can be suggested that in regions characterised by security PRD, mobilisation was likely to involve more awareness-raising and the use of political ideology. On the side of the rebels, this was, for example, the case with the various tribes on the North-South border. On the side of the government troops, this was the case with PDF soldiers. On the security level, the role of leadership was to convince the masses of the usefulness of a particular strategy in the long run. In the South, the SPLA managed to do this through its military successes and due to the existence of common resources, which thereafter allowed the common Southern identity to crystallise. In Darfur, on the other hand, the insurgency failed due to weak leadership¹⁰⁴ and the absence of material resources to enable a separate needs strategy.

In short, on the physiological level, materialism is decisive, while on the security level, rationalism prevails in determining collective action. On the physiological level, due to the complete collapse of needs fulfilment strategies and high stress, mobilisation is automatic but unity is lacking. On the security level, mobilisation is also rather easy and identities are flexible. On the physiological level, leaders can forge unity through material and coercive means, and on the security level, through the creation of an alternative strategy. Therefore, on the lower needs levels, leaders are best seen as entrepreneurs of strategy rather than of identity. The existence of natural resources or external aid is not necessary for mobilisation, although they are essential for the long-term *success* of the movement against a particular Other and for the creation of a new needs strategy once the group is lifted from physiological to security PRD. As the group

¹⁰⁴ See Flint and de Waal, *Darfur: A New History*, Chapter 4 and 105-115; Tanner and Tubiana, "Divided they Fall," 23-24, 34, 44. One of the factions even ended up fighting alongside government troops, resulting in the loss of followership, quite like happened with Riek's movement in the South.

advances on the needs hierarchy, materialism slowly begins to leave space for reason and idealism – and to new collective identities with independent motivational power.

5. Yugoslavia: Identity and Ideology on the Status Needs Level

The case study on the former Yugoslavia concentrates on evaluating the nature of identity and mobilisation in status PRD. The present chapter, which examines collective identity in the former Yugoslav republics, has two purposes. First, it illustrates that in status PRD, the persuasive effects of identity are significantly stronger than has been seen to be the case on the lower levels of needs fulfilment. Second, it is argued that on the status level, leaders possess the capacity to manipulate mass perceptions and thereby direct collective action, which in turn suggests that whether groups cooperate or not depends largely on the perceptions created by leaders. The chapter also functions as an introduction to the wars of the 1990s and Serb mobilisation in particular, examined in the next chapter. The present chapter concentrates on developments in Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia only up to and through the early 1990s, given that the largely similar events in Kosovo and Montenegro would be repetitious.

The first section of this chapter examines the Yugoslav project as a whole, and the way in which both historical identities and leader-created ideologies were used to define alternative needs strategies on the security and status levels. The second section examines the use of identity and ideology in Serbia and the ways in which an ideological version of national identity came to hide the realistic (class) aspects of intergroup relations and trigger competition between nationalities. The third section looks at the independence projects of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This section can be seen as a comparison to the Serbian case, examining how the interaction of leadership and traditional categorisation can lead to outcomes ranging from competitive to cooperative intergroup relations, depending on leader/elite orientations. The conclusion will draw together the findings and complete the framework for perceiving the nature of identity in an evolutionary manner.

5.1. Yugoslavism – Illusions of an Ideological Homeland

From antiquity to the 20th century, the Balkans were controlled by various kingdoms and empires: the Illyrian kingdoms from the 8th century BC to 167 BC, the Roman and

Byzantine empires thereafter, and more importantly, for the present chapter, by the Hungarian Kingdom from the 12th century, the Ottoman Empire from the 15th century, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1867. Due to the history of warfare and power politics in the region, the constituent nations of the first Yugoslavia, which came into being in 1918, likely suffered from near-constant security PRD. The birth of Yugoslavia can therefore be seen as a common South Slav response to the threats posed by the international environment.¹ Although by the time Yugoslavia came into existence its constituent nations had already developed a certain level of national awareness, this awareness was sacrificed for the sake of security fulfilment. Serbia, having gained independence in 1878 from the Ottoman Empire, had a strong military capable of providing internal and external security for the other republics, and was temporarily accepted as the leader of all South Slavs. Demands for the respect of national identities and more equitable leadership were voiced only when status PRD no longer prevailed in the international system.

Realism versus Common Fate

The problems causing security PRD in 1918 were multiple. Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Slovenia were eager to rid themselves of Austro-Hungarian domination and saw a common South Slav state as the only alternative to secure their interests: Slovenia its territorial integrity, Bosnia-Herzegovina relative peace between ethnic groups, and Croatia the Adriatic coast coveted by Italy. The idea of a federative alliance was thus natural, although the practical outcome was far from what many desired. A South Slav federation, providing equal rights to all ethnic groups, was supported by most Croats, but the clandestine plotting of Serbians and Croatian Serbs eventually led to the proclamation of a hereditary kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under King Aleksandar Karadjordjević from Serbia. Arguably, the reason why none of the other national groups broke away from such an uneven alliance was that Serbian military capacity and security needs were at the time more important than any status-level concerns such as ethnic equality or free political hierarchy.

¹ John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 106. Most of the general historical background in this chapter is based on this book, although other books and articles have been used for deeper analysis, as referenced.

The new Yugoslav kingdom was, however, clearly comprised of regions with different traditions and legal systems, and thus of entities with high expectations regarding intergroup equality. Although a degree of centralised authority was inevitable, the Croats' longing for independence, as well as their disinterest in participating in Serb-dominated institutions, clashed with Serb leadership from the beginning. Due to strong Croat identity, which had developed since the 11th century, and the relative lack of common fate with Serbia, Croats perceived themselves as a separate entity forced only by circumstances to cooperate with the dominating Serbs. The same applied to Serbia, with the exception that Serbia perceived itself to actually be the legitimate leader of the conglomeration, mainly because of the firepower it possessed, but also bolstered by its ethno-nationalist mythology.² Serb domination was institutionalised in the constitution of 1921, but the parliamentary system proved to be ineffective between ethnic blocs. As a result, ethno-nationalism rose on all sides. The possibility of Croatia and Slovenia seceding was discussed, prompting King Aleksandar to suspend the constitution and institute an autocratic Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929.

In the interwar period, as security PRD temporarily subsided and status PRD became the prevailing needs level, the Yugoslav identity forged under King Aleksander disintegrated and pre-existing identities took over. Status concerns triggered demonstrations and opposition, especially among the Croats. Although the Croats and Slovenes had originally accepted Yugoslav unity under the Kingdom of Yugoslavia for the sake of security, achieving that security then allowed them to turn their demands towards collective *status* concerns, such as equal representation in state institutions. However, Serb domination prevented such equality and cohesion, emphasising pre-existing prejudices between the different ethno-national identities. The consequent status PRD led to the rise of radicalism (but notably *not* to wide-scale violence) among some Croats, and to the creation of the infamous Ustaša movement.³ Far from easing tensions, King Aleksandar polarised the situation by dividing territory so as to create regional Serb majorities.⁴ After his assassination in 1934, the situation continued to deteriorate. Croatian representatives in 1939 convened independently in Zagreb and the Kingdom had no option but to agree on Croatian autonomy. The result was the

² See section 5(2) below.

³ The Ustasa will be discussed in more detail in section 5(3).

⁴ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 167.

Sporazum Agreement, which gave 30% of Yugoslav territory to the Croatian population, creating strong opposition among the dominate Serbs.⁵

Consistent with the security-level threshold regarding the rationalism of collective violence (see Chapter 2), large-scale violence erupted, not in status PRD, but only after the fascist invasions of World War II (WWII) gave rise to wide-scale security PRD. The Nazis allied themselves with the most radical elements of Croatian society: Pavelić's Ustaša. The Ustaša was an ultra-nationalistic Croat movement whose members sought the creation of an ethnically pure and Catholic Croatia. As leaders of the new Independent State of Croatia (NDH) created under the Nazi occupation,⁶ primary Ustaša mission was the extermination and expulsion of the Serb population, leading to the killing of at least 300,000 Serbs in concentration camps⁷ and to the emigration of many more.

As an answer to German and Croat fascism, two Serb-dominated resistance movements were born: the Communist Partisans under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito from Croatia, and the Chetniks, led by Draža Mihailović.⁸ While the Partisans wanted to create a multiethnic and socialist Yugoslavia, the Chetniks sought to create a monarchist Greater Serbia. Although the Chetnik movement's initial purpose was fascist resistance, they ended up cooperating with the Nazis in the elimination of Croats and Muslims, as well as Serb Partisans in Serb-dominated regions. As security PRD began to take over, ethno-national identities again became flexible: the two Serbian resistance movements now fought not only the fascists, but also each other, vying for political power as Nazi withdrawal became imminent. Croats and Slovenes were equally divided between fascist collaborators and moderates who aligned mainly with the Partisan movement,⁹ contributing to the rise of a new Yugoslavism.

⁵ Marko Bulatović, "Struggling with Yugoslavism: Dilemmas of Interwar Serb Political Thought," in *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe*, eds. John Lampe and Mark Mazower (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004), 264.

⁶ The NDH came to cover also most of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

⁷ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 211.

⁸ Mihailović was a Yugoslavian Serb general. He was assassinated by the communist regime after the war.

⁹ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 223-224.

Strategy and Identity

Given that the era of constant security PRD was drawing to an end in Europe, authoritarian leadership was increasingly constrained by democratic and international institutions. However, in Yugoslavia, Tito and his victorious Partisans, much like their Soviet and Eastern European counterparts, did not foresee the impact this would have. Elites who rose to power in the war's aftermath held fast to the illusion that the coercion and manipulative leadership that played upon xenophobic tendencies would allow them to hold on to power. Tito and the Partisans, despite talking of 'brotherhood,' killed thousands of people for opposing their agenda and executed fascist collaborators without trial. Opposition parties and free media were suppressed to ensure a seamless assumption of power by the Communist Party in the new Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. A new collective identity was introduced which theoretically was supposed to overcome the ethno-national divisions that had plagued the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and in the long-term bring stability to the multiethnic state.

The new identity was founded upon concepts of brotherhood and unity and accompanied by a needs strategy in the form of Communism. The identity failed along with the inefficient needs strategy it offered. The planned economy aimed to force upon people equality rather than offer them equality of opportunity – a strategy which already *in principle* prevented the fulfilment of personality-dependent status needs. Instead of allowing personalities and innovation to flourish and encouraging 'brotherhood' through material benefits, tactics of harassment and manipulation were used to control the political and economic identity of the masses. The reason, of course, was the desire of the elites to keep the needs of the masses on the security level, where fixed political hierarchies and coercive leadership were natural and acceptable. Allowing the masses to fulfil their status needs would have necessitated a change in power structures, including the introduction of relationship-oriented leadership and the respect for multiple (traditional) identities. However, the elites' attempts at indoctrination were too weak to render the masses unaware of the status RD which they suffered from, leading to the gradual disintegration of the strategy, as well as the Yugoslav identity.

The failure of Yugoslavism was largely a result of Tito's conflicted attempts to reconcile Edvard Kardelj's¹⁰ relatively liberal and ethnic "organic Yugoslavism" and Aleksandr Rankovic's¹¹ centralist "integral Yugoslavism."¹² Arguably, Yugoslavism could have been maintained only by eliminating status PRD in practice or in perception: either by embracing a free market structure and economic growth in line with Western Europe, or by closing off Yugoslavia from the rest of the world entirely and thus preventing the *perception* of status deprivation from coming into being. Although a supporter of indoctrination of workers and youth, Tito did rather little in practice. Educational systems were not merged, ethnic affiliations and various, competing perceptions regarding the Yugoslav project persisted.¹³ The media remained affiliated with the separate Yugoslav republics, and Western consumer-oriented influences. Also, rather than presenting the West as the primary Other, the USSR, another Communist country, filled this role beginning with the Tito-Stalin split in 1948.¹⁴ As a result, the West became the only model whose needs efficiency could be freely admired.

During Tito's reign status PRD only worsened, while at the same time the individual republics' authority grew. Economic decentralisation brought businesses and industry under republican control, yet economic power lay in the hands of politico-economic oligarchies and inefficient enterprise managers,¹⁵ thus preventing free enterprise among the masses. Although the economy was further liberalised in the 1960s,¹⁶ this only served to highlight disparities between the republics. Economic disparity between the wealthier republics (Slovenia and Croatia) and poorer republics was becoming a problem, as the wealthier regions shouldered the cost of development in the poorer ones.¹⁷ Political power was also shifting from Belgrade to the individual republics: separate Communist Parties were established in the republics under the League of

¹⁰ The Slovenian Edvard Kardelj was one of the main ideologues of Tito's communism.

¹¹ Aleksandr Ranković was the overly authoritarian head of the secret police, responsible for various atrocities, especially in Kosovo.

¹² Sabrina P. Ramet, *Balkan Babel: Politics, Culture, and Religion in Yugoslavia* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), 156.

¹³ See further Stjepan Malović and Gary W. Selnow, *The People, Press, and Politics of Croatia* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2001), 47-53.

¹⁴ See further, Dejan Jović, "Communist Yugoslavia and its "Others"," in *Ideologies and National Identities: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe* ,(see note 5), 277-302.

¹⁵ See further Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 256-257.

¹⁶ On the economic reforms, see Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 277-278; Dennison Rusinow, *Yugoslavia: Oblique Insights and Observations*, ed. Gale Stokes (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 305.

¹⁷ Rusinow, *Yugoslavia: Oblique Insights*, 304.

Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in the early 1960s, and in 1966 an end was put to the oppressive policies (especially in Kosovo) of the federal secret police. Such liberalisation led to the assumption of power by liberals in most republics, including Serbia, and to the transfer of power from the Serb minority to the Albanian majority in Kosovo. In 1970, the 'sovereignty' of the republics and provinces was recognised by the Yugoslav party presidium, allowing for a collective (ethnically balanced) state presidency and republican militias.¹⁸

This liberalisation was never allowed to take full effect given that it went against the elites' desires of continued centralism and personal gratification. After the 1968 student revolts in Belgrade against unemployment and social inequality, Tito redefined the existing grievances in Marxist terms.¹⁹ Despite promising reforms he excluded the most liberal initiatives in order to safeguard his own authoritarian leadership. Nevertheless, liberalisation had allowed the republics to develop their own powers and identities, and to define their grievances in increasingly ethnic terms. When the Croatian Spring arrived in 1971, demands were made for liberal economic policies, which in turn translated into demands for national sovereignty, a national army, and territory.²⁰ Tito answered by prioritising his own authority over mass demands for higher needs efficiency, implicitly threatening Croatia with military force. The Croats backed down, once again rationally avoiding a potentially worse outcome (sliding into security PRD) than the prevailing status PRD.

Although Tito later returned to the path of decentralisation,²¹ he maintained an authoritarian leadership style and allowed the Serbs to continue to dominate government institutions,²² which was anathema to the status fulfilment sought by the masses. As the international environment started moving towards status fulfilment and liberalism, it became evident to the masses that experimentalist socialism was obstructing their social mobility – in other words, preventing them from improving their status opportunities vis-à-vis the Yugoslav elites, as well as relative to the West. Had Tito really wanted to

¹⁸ Ibid., 156.

¹⁹ Ibid., 85-86.

²⁰ See further Rusinow, *Yugoslavia: Oblique Insights*, 105-136.

²¹ The 1974 constitution gave the provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina near-republican status, creating a nationalist backlash among the Serb masses which previously had benefited from the uneven centralism of the federation.

²² Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 314.

hold on to his malfunctioning communist needs strategy, he would have needed to take the masses back to the security-level of the 1920s, either through triggering a war against Others, or by more intense manipulation (as was later done by the Serbian leadership). As he did not, it was inevitable that a plethora of alternative values and identities (based on existing ones) were recreated in the republics as an alternative to the existing strategy. In the battle between ideology and national identities, the latter won because they were perceived to better promote status fulfilment. Consequently, once Tito and his charisma died in 1980, little was left of the brotherhood and shared common Yugoslav identity he strove for.

5.2. Heavenly Serbia – Myth and Martyrdom in RD and RG

If the history of the former Yugoslavia showed how traditional ethno-national categorisations can be useful and ready tools for challenging maladaptive strategies and ideologies on the status level, then the history of Serbia tells an even more convincing story: how collective identities can be used to manipulate intergroup status inequalities for political gain. Serb history illustrates the makeover of identity into ideology, and gives some credence to the idea of a “cultural trauma,” or, a perceived “threat to culture with which individuals in that society presumably have an identification.”²³ Unlike the histories of the other former Yugoslav republics (see next section), Serbian history can be described as a period of power and independence followed by one of severe security and status PRD, caused by the Ottoman invasion in the 14th century, which was in turn followed by collective struggles lifting the Serb elites out of status RD to status RG in the Yugoslavia. In the last stage (of Serb hegemony and RG), the history of suffering was used to justify atrocities against Others – in other words, the trauma was politicised. Compared with the elites in the other former Yugoslav republics, Serb elites found it easier to manipulate mass perceptions due to the common Serb past – although, as will be shown in the next chapter, this led only to abnormally strong Serb unity, not to mobilisation.

²³ Neil J. Smelser, “Psychological Trauma and Cultural Trauma,” in *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, ed. Jeffrey Alexander (University of California Press, 2004), 31-59: 40.

The Collapse of Strategy

Unlike the other former Yugoslav republics, Serbia had by 1918 experienced both long-term independence and imperialism. The first relatively stable and independent Serb state was formed by Stefan Nemanja in 1180. One of his sons became the still much-venerated Saint Sava, founder of the independent Serbian Orthodox Church. During the 14th century, the size of the Serbian state was doubled by Tsar Dušan the Mighty, although this territory was lost by Dušan's successors. The Ottoman Empire invaded Serbia in the late 14th century and through a series of battles, concluding with the fall of Smederevo in 1459, came to occupy the whole of the country. The Battle of Kosovo in 1389 would become, in later versions of history, the mythical defeat marking the oft-lamented "five hundred years of Turkish oppression."²⁴ The invasions led to mass Serb migrations to the northern and eastern parts of their native lands, and Kosovo became a multiethnic and religiously diverse frontier region with a growing number of Albanians. This was the first stage of Serb trauma: independence followed by outside rule.

The Creation of Trauma

The second stage of Serb trauma was the creation of an ethno-nationalist mythology to compensate for the absence of political power. Despite the myth of heroic suffering, the Serb way of life under the Ottomans was not as culturally oppressive as is often presented: the invaders were religiously tolerant²⁵ and the Serb Orthodox Church was allowed to expand its authority. The people also experienced an increase in local autonomy. Religion became important, a tool of local organisation as well as a source of mythical understandings of the origins of the Serb nation. The Church promoted religious ethno-national events and the Battle of Kosovo was celebrated as a myth of religious heroism, becoming the subject of epic poetry in later centuries.²⁶ Gradually, Ottoman influences in the region weakened, leading to two Serbian uprisings in the early 19th century. The first, led by George Petrović (Karadjordje) from 1804 to 1813 led to naught, but the second, organised by Miloš Obrenović in 1814, resulted in Turkish administrative withdrawal and Serb autonomy, with the centralisation of Serb authority.

²⁴ The Battle of Kosovo became the subject of myth perhaps because it took place at Vidovdan (celebration of the sun-god Vid) on the 28th June. See further Branimir Anzulović, *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide* (New York, London: New York University Press, 1999), 81-3.

²⁵ Anzulović, *Heavenly Serbia*, 33-36.

²⁶ Ger Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics of Identity in Kosovo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 182.

Serb nationalism bloomed in the mid-19th century when the Kosovo myth also experienced an epic transformation. Originally, the Kosovo myth was a story of heroism in the face of adversity. With the growth of Serb nationalism, however, the narrative began to emphasise a need to avenge the loss of Kosovo and recover what “rightfully” belonged to the Serb nation.²⁷ The heroes of the myth are Miloš Obilić, the killer of Turks, and Prince Lazar, leader of the Christian forces who, according to the myth, was captured by the Turks and beheaded.²⁸ Epic poetry, standardized by Vuk Karadžić in the 20th century, interprets the death of Lazar as a choice between a heavenly and earthly Serb kingdom. Martyrdom for the greater good of the Serb nation implied the importance of achieving the earthly kingdom at a later date.²⁹ The Kosovo myth is considered a means of coming to grips with defeat and the loss of independence – in other words, a means of empowerment through ideology in the absence of real political authority in status PRD.

The myth took on an increasingly aggressive nature along with important literary works of the mid-19th century, most importantly *The Mountain Wreath* published in 1847 by Petar Petrović Njegoš, a Montenegrin state and religious leader. An epic story about a massacre by local Christians – otherwise known as ‘baptism by blood’ – of Muslim Montenegrins who refused to convert, *The Mountain Wreath*’s vitriol illustrated the fervour behind the nationalism of the time. Interestingly, this story of allegedly justified bloodshed of the Other became the most widely read literary work among the Serbs up to World War I (WWI) and was never viewed as polemical before the wars of the 1990s.³⁰ If there thus ever was a tradition of national hatred and violence, it was to be found in pre-independence Serbia. Epic poetry promoted a belief in the superiority of the Serb nation and aided its path towards independence and changing power relations.

The long-awaited Serbian independence in 1878, however, did not completely bring an end to Serb security/status PRD or to the need for Serb mythology. In Bosnia, where

²⁷ Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics*, 184.

²⁸ Ibid., 182.

²⁹ Ivan Čolović, *Politics of Identity in Serbia: Essays in Political Anthropology*, trans. Celia Hawkesworth (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 12.

³⁰ Anzulović, *Heavenly Serbia*, 61, 65.

Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats had been subjected to a history of serfdom,³¹ the Serbs remained under the domination of the Hapsburg and Muslim elites. Despite efforts to improve the lot of the Serb and Croat masses in Bosnia,³² Muslims still constituted 91% of landlords in 1911 and the Serbs remained relatively much poorer.³³ When political organisation was finally allowed in 1910,³⁴ parties based on ethno-national affiliation became the norm in Bosnia. This Serb nationalism in Bosnia gave rise to the creation of pro-Serb and pro-Yugoslav military organisations, which would later provide the spark that led to the outbreak of WWI. Inside Serbia, nationalism was also on the rise, characterised by close relations between the state and the Serbian Orthodox Church.³⁵ Serbs increasingly perceived of themselves as not only the “original” people from whom all South Slavs derived and whom they should emulate,³⁶ but also the chosen people whose destiny was ordained by God.³⁷

Given their significant military and ideological resources, Serbian leaders chose to direct the national consciousness, via education and mass communication, towards a desire for territorial expansion.³⁸ Since rescuing Bosnian Serbs from Muslim and Austro-Hungarian domination was militarily impossible, Serb leaders directed their attentions south, where the Ottoman Empire was disintegrating. In the Balkan wars of 1912-13, Serbia annexed Kosovo, representing the culmination of the national project laid out in the dominant mythology. One might assume that with the demands of the Kosovo myth having been fulfilled, the Serb nation might have discarded its imperial obsessions and some of its hatred for its neighbours. This, however, was not to be. The annexation of Kosovo led in Kosovo to the installation of a sort of colonial apartheid administration and to Albanian emigration.³⁹ While Albanians were accused by the Serbian media of ethnic cleansing during the previous decades, this policy was actually

³¹ Paul Mojzes, *Yugoslavian Inferno: Ethnoreligious Warfare in the Balkans* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 31; Lampe, *Yugoslavia as Identity*, 24.

³² Notably by Istvan Burian, from 1903.

³³ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as Identity*, 82.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Sabrina Ramet, “The Serbian Orthodox Church,” in *Balkan Babel: Politics, Culture, and Religion in Yugoslavia* (see note 12), 145-163: 146.

³⁶ Čolović, *Politics of Identity*, 67.

³⁷ Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics*, 192.

³⁸ A good example of how at this level of needs efficiency the balance of power did not depend on military power alone, but also on the capacity of leaders to mobilise the masses into violence or to the acceptance thereof.

³⁹ Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics*, 8.

carried out by Serbia.⁴⁰ A similar ignorance for regional status concerns continued under Aleksandar, whose authoritarianism was perceived by the Serbs as a legitimate effort to maintain the previously so elusive integrity of the state.⁴¹

From Real to Imaginary Deprivation

The years after the Kosovo annexation and creation of the Yugoslav kingdom represent the third step in the creation of the Serb trauma. Serb authoritarianism continued despite the fact that all Serbs had been integrated into one state and even after the assassination of King Aleksandar had brought the problem of ethnic Serb domination into the open.⁴² With a history of suffering ensuring the acquiescence of the Serb masses, the elites found it impossible to give up their hegemony vis-à-vis their weaker neighbours. Instead of nationalism diminishing, Greater Serbian ideology flourished within the Serbian Cultural Club and the Democratic Party, especially after the Sporazum agreement.⁴³ In the aftermath of WWII, the desire for a Greater Serbia was present also in Mihailović's royalist Chetnik ideology. Even the Partisan victory did not bring Serbian elite RG to an end. Serbs ended up dominating the Communist Party of the multiethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the staffing of federal ministries without regard to ethnicity allowed Serb domination to continue in Belgrade. The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), despite a socialist identity, retained its mostly Serb-Montenegrin constitution. Serb hegemony was also sustained by Ranković's pro-Serb secret police.⁴⁴

Despite their domination of federal institutions, the Serbs continued to believe in their relative deprivation. As Ramet writes, "Serbs remember the years of communist rule as years in which Kosovo was the beneficiary of a disproportionately large portion of special federal funds to stimulate the province's economy[...]" and increase its political power.⁴⁵ Tito's pro-Albanian policies were perceived to be deliberately weakening Serbia,⁴⁶ while Serb emigration from Kosovo, promoted by better social mobility in

⁴⁰ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 97.

⁴¹ Marko Bulatović, "Struggling with Yugoslavism: Dilemmas of Interwar Serb Political Thought," in *Ideology and National Identity: The Case of Twentieth-Century Southeastern Europe* (see note 5), 262.

⁴² Bulatović, "Struggling with Yugoslavism," 265.

⁴³ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 197.

⁴⁴ Ranković's private funeral service in 1983 was attended by some 100,000 Serbs, according to Dusko Doder and Louise Branson, *Milosevic: Portrait of a Tyrant* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), 31.

⁴⁵ Sabrina P. Ramet, "The Kingdom of God or Kingdom of Ends: Kosovo in Serbian Perception," in *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings, 1983-2007*, ed. Sabrina P. Ramet, (Berlin & Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2008), 95-110: 98.

⁴⁶ Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia in the 1990s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 34.

other regions and the high birth rate among Kosovo Albanians⁴⁷ helped to create an illusion that Serbian territorial integrity was once again threatened by ‘Turks.’ Demonstrations by Kosovo Albanians in the spring of 1981, Serb petitions to boost Serb political power sent to Belgrade in 1982 and 1985, the portrayal of the Albanians as rapists and genocidal maniacs,⁴⁸ and support of the Serb Orthodox Church desiring to recover its lost popularity⁴⁹ promoted PRD. The Serb elites polarised the situation to the extent that the illusion of status and security PRD started to become a reality – at least for Kosovo Albanians, who were increasingly persecuted for their supposed crimes.

The nationalist surge of the 1980s was enabled by an alliance of elites who had been incapable of free status fulfilment under Tito.⁵⁰ These included nationalist intellectuals, politicians, and the Serbian Orthodox Church, whose clergy had suffered from vilification and demoralisation for decades.⁵¹ Aiming to create a new authoritarianism in Serbia, these elites allied themselves with rural Kosovo Serbs,⁵² “a ready-made audience for a populist appeal.”⁵³ As Ramet shows, Dobrica Ćosić, one of the main ideologues behind Milošević’s nationalism and a future president of rump state of Yugoslavia, and Vuk Drašković, future leader of the Chetnik and Greater Serbian Serbian National Renewal (SNO) and the Serbian Guard paramilitary group, as well as several other ‘intellectuals’ from Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, published bestselling novels about the anti-Serb atrocities of the two World Wars.⁵⁴ These writings not only provided intricate depictions of tortures and killings supposedly committed by enemies, but also predicted the final settling of scores between the Serbs and their neighbours.⁵⁵ Past struggles and heroes also abounded in other fields of culture, including new “turbo-folk” music.⁵⁶ Through such fiction and exaggeration, the elites promoted the illusion of an existential threat applicable to the entire nation.

⁴⁷ The percentage of Albanians rose to about 75% in the 1970s and nearly 80% in the early 80s.

⁴⁸ Viktor Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History of Its Demise*, trans. Sabrina Ramet (London: Routledge, 1999), 33; Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics*, 106, 109; for more detail see Julie A. Mertus, *Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), chapters 3 and 4.

⁴⁹ Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics*, 179-80. See further next chapter.

⁵⁰ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 36-39.

⁵¹ Ramet, “The Serbian Orthodox Church.”

⁵² The GNP of Kosovo was a mere quarter of that of the Federation as a whole. James Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1992), 68.

⁵³ Ramet, “Nationalism and the ‘idiocy’ of the countryside: the case of Serbia,” in *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings, 1983-2007*, (see note 45), 77-93: 84.

⁵⁴ Anzulović, *Heavenly Serbia*, 131-140.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 136, 140.

⁵⁶ Čolović, *Politics of Identity*, 62.

Politicisation of the Trauma

Politicisation was the last phase of the development of the cultural trauma. Serb nationalism and Other-hatred culminated in 1986 with the publication of extracts from the infamous *Memorandum* of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences.⁵⁷ The *Memorandum* was “a composite of tearful self-pity, aggressiveness, and animosity toward all the other inhabitants of Yugoslavia,” and lacked any real political insight.⁵⁸ The 1974 Communist constitution was considered the source of all evil, leaving Serb minorities without cultural or political rights within the other republics.⁵⁹ Kosovo Serbs were allegedly subjected to genocide and forced conversion, assimilation, and indoctrination.⁶⁰ The Communist regime was attacked for its incompetence and apathy – and demands were made for a new constitution and federation which would ensure the “equality” of Serbs with the other Yugoslav nations.⁶¹ Despite talk of federalism, the wish for a Greater Serbia was clear in the *Memorandum*, as it demanded self-determination through a referendum without regard to existing borders of the republics or the rights of other ethnic groups.⁶² Milošević, who rose to power within the Serbian Communist Party from 1987,⁶³ silently accepted the contents of the memorandum.⁶⁴

Although Milošević is often held responsible for the polarisation of the Yugoslav conflict, he in fact only exploited the ethno-nationalist tendencies already in existence among the intellectuals and Serb masses. Before he assumed control of the Communist party, a tendency to define the imminent federal collapse in nationalistic terms already prevailed; even in the absence of political pressure, the press already in the early 1980s was highlighting Serb suffering during WWII and failing to criticise the nationalist authors who were responsible for promulgating these historical exaggerations.⁶⁵ What Milošević did was allow the national discourse on Serb martyrdom to develop into a conscious national policy through further manipulation of the masses via the Belgrade

⁵⁷ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 41.

⁵⁸ Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History*, 50.

⁵⁹ See further: Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, “Memorandum 1986,” in *Greater Serbia. From Ideology to Aggression – Croatia in Yugoslavia 1918-1991* (Zagreb: Croatian Information Centre, 1993), 61-80; for a good review see also Mertus, *Kosovo: How Myths*, 137-141.

⁶⁰ The *Memorandum*, 75.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁶² Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History*, 50.

⁶³ See the following chapter.

⁶⁴ Mertus, *Kosovo: How Myths*, 141.

⁶⁵ Ramet, “The Press,” 57-80.

media and the mobilisation of rural Serbs. He used the existing platform of hate and aggression to polarise inter-republican political and ethnic relations, which in turn created a sufficient level of PRD in the whole of Yugoslavia so as to allow for the maintenance of authoritarian political structures. Yet again, cultural trauma was harnessed to further elite gratification.

Lessons from Serbia

Serbian history has at least three lessons to teach about collective identity. The first relates to the polarisation that took place in Serbia in the 1980s. While polarisation is generally understood as a natural and wholly psychological process – one aptly described by SIT and the supposed ‘need’ for identity – an important element in the Serbian campaign was the perception created through traditional categories and experiences of an *existential, security-level* threat. The past was equated with the present, and past atrocities were equated with the present illusory threat. The polarisation of the Serb nation was thus not an outcome of intergroup comparison, but one enabled by *security* PRD, which was manipulated by the intellectuals and clergy who directly benefited from rendering the masses psychologically unaware of actual power relations within Yugoslavia.

The second lesson is that the ‘cultural trauma’ was specific to the Serbian experience. As will be seen below, such trauma never developed in the other former Yugoslav republics. It developed amongst Serbs because they experienced severe deprivation after they had already established a strong, functioning state and needs fulfilment strategy in the 12th century, and consequently experienced the sufferings through their pre-existing collective identity. Security and status PRD under the Ottomans thus led to the intensification of identity as opposed to assimilation (as was the case of many Bosnians). When the Serbs had recovered their unity and strength, this cultural trauma was a ready tool for the elites to create an *imaginary* perception of security PRD among the masses. This was done after independence, while part of Yugoslavia, and intensified after the death of Tito. Supposed security-level threats among the masses were the perfect tool for the elites to retain security-level leadership styles and relative gratification at the top of the hierarchy.

The third lesson relates to ideological hegemony, which in the Gramscian sense becomes a reality on the higher levels of needs fulfilment. On the status level, the nature of action is not determined exclusively by mass needs but also by the intellectuals' and leaders' definitions of reality. In status PRD, conflicts between parties are not about action (war of movement) as much as about perception (war of position). One condition must be added, however: for ideological hegemony to last, the manipulated perceptions must be based on traditional identities. Just any ideology-strategy will not do: maladaptive strategy-ideologies such as Communism and unity where none exists can be maintained only temporarily on the security level. If hegemony is to be lasting, it must thus either be based on the manipulation of long-term collective identities, or on the actual realistic superiority of the ingroup strategy.

5.3. Comparison: Smooth and Violent Change on the Status Level

The independence projects of the former Yugoslav republics also demonstrate the relationship between needs, identity, and leadership in status PRD. Here, the events leading to the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina will be briefly examined. At the beginning of the federal collapse in the 1980s, these various groups suffered primarily from status PRD. The western republics experienced status PRD vis-à-vis the Serb elites who largely controlled the federal institutions and also compared with liberal Western Europe. In contrast, the poorer Kosovo Serbs, Albanians, Macedonians, and Montenegrins experienced status PRD vis-à-vis the better-off republics. All of these groups experienced a certain level of internal common fate, which for the Croats was strong, for Slovenia was relatively strong, and in the case of the Bosnian Muslims was relatively weak. As it happened, the leaders of all these groups closely followed the demands of history in defining the future of the nation; otherwise they would hardly have been prototypical.

In the cases of Croatia and Slovenia, due to their relatively long history and strong economies, the independence movement easily gathered popularity when status PRD became a reality in Yugoslavia. Only in the case of the Bosnian Muslims, who had for some time preferred assimilation over religious nationalism, did independence come about in a similar fashion as in South Sudan: through physiological deprivation and

threat of annihilation. The *nature* of change at independence, however, depended largely on the leaders and elites. While the adaptive leaders determined their leadership strategies according to the level of needs fulfilment, the maladaptive ones followed the common fate tradition alone.

Slovenia: The Rational Search for Needs Efficiency

For the Slovenes, the Otherness of the other Yugoslav republics became eminently clear during the 1980s. An economic crisis had caused the cost of living to rise enormously⁶⁶ and in 1989 inflation topped 1,000%.⁶⁷ When serious reforms were finally enacted by Prime Minister Ante Marković, it was already too late. Slovenia had reason to complain: being the wealthiest of the republics,⁶⁸ it paid for nearly one-fourth of the federal budget while constituting only 8% of the population;⁶⁹ border tariffs and currency regulations also affected the social mobility of workers and limited the remittances from Slovenes abroad. In 1982, every private person travelling abroad was required to deposit several thousand dinars in the bank for a year,⁷⁰ hindering the free needs fulfilment of the mobile Slovenes.

The rational approach to Slovenian independence was a result of a tradition of cooperation necessitated by the small size of the nation and of prototypical leadership. Unlike the Serbs and Croats, Slovenes had not developed an intensive state- and ethno-centric mythology during their short history. After being governed by a number of empires, the idea of a Slovenian nation came into being only in the 18th century.⁷¹ Even then, the nation aimed at friendly alliances: under the Hapsburgs, the Slovenes aimed at federalism; in the 19th century, towards Illyrianism;⁷² and during the 20th century, towards Yugoslavism. As part of Yugoslavia, however, Slovenia grew disappointed with the lack of economic freedoms and increasingly looked to Europe for an economic

⁶⁶ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 322.

⁶⁷ Neven Anđelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina: The End of a Legacy* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003), 136-137.

⁶⁸ See further John K. Cox, *Slovenia: Evolving Loyalties* (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), 65.

⁶⁹ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 350.

⁷⁰ Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History*, 14.

⁷¹ This happened mostly via the medium of an own language, through patriotic meetings and Slovene-language newspapers.

⁷² The Illyrian movement was a mostly Croat movement, promoting unity between Croats and its neighbours. The movement was strongest in the Western Balkans, the regions where Illyrian kingdoms existed in antiquity.

model.⁷³ The discontent was reflected in literature, which centred on the condemnation of oppression and slaughter, and lamented the lack of freedoms.⁷⁴ After Tito's death, the idea of a federation remained acceptable as long as it efficiently and equitably served Slovenian economic interests. Yugoslavian institutions, however, did not meet this condition.

In Slovenia, the independence project did not follow the common Andersonian model where leaders seeking to improve their status fulfilment force statehood on the masses, later manipulated towards nationalism. Instead, the change in Slovenia was triggered by civil society, particularly by newspapers such as *Nova Revija*, *Delo* and *Mladina*, which openly discussed the lack of democratic control over the JNA and the corruption of leading military figures.⁷⁵ This led to the trial of four journalists, which further highlighted Serbian domination and the authoritarian nature of the JNA,⁷⁶ and brought together the Slovenian opposition. The Slovenian Communist leaderships' siding with the people led to a stand-off with the JNA and Serbia. When demonstrations staged by Milošević further highlighted Yugoslav Otherness, the Slovenian Communist party leader Milan Kučan in February 1989 attended a rally organised in support of Kosovo Albanians and sent Slovenian TV crews to cover events in Kosovo so as to ensure the dissemination of accurate information in Slovenia.⁷⁷ Having chosen to become prototypical relations-oriented leaders, the Slovenian leadership was on a clear collision course with the still-authoritarian Serbia and JNA.

Despite the overall dynamics towards liberalism, the Slovenian Communists, content with their power and RG, could have either chosen to side with the federal centre in order to maintain their own positions or to whip up national fervour to do the same. The fact that they did neither proves that adaptive and capable leaders do exist, and that sometimes leaders seek to honestly serve mass needs rather than their own. On the status level, therefore, personality and individual agency matters a great deal. Of course, choosing liberalism over authoritarianism can be seen as a natural alternative for

⁷³ Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History*, 58.

⁷⁴ Cox, *Slovenia: Evolving Loyalties*, 58-60.

⁷⁵ For an overall description, see for example Cox, *Slovene: Evolving Loyalties*, 77 onwards or Ramet, "Democratization in Slovenia – the second stage," in *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings, 1983-2007*, 223-247.

⁷⁶ Holding the trials in Serbo-Croatian rather than Slovenian did not help.

⁷⁷ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 351.

Slovenia given the high level of mass awareness, which was largely a result of their collective historical experience. Listening to the people, the Slovenian officialdom decided to mimic the even more liberal Slovenian opposition in writing up a “Fundamental Charter of Slovenia,”⁷⁸ which spoke of sovereignty, self-determination, political plurality and ethnic equality, making an association with the federation contingent on the respect for human rights.⁷⁹ Constitutional changes were carried out which limited Slovenia’s federal financial obligations and asserted the right of the republic to secede from the federation.⁸⁰ This was perceived as the most appropriate course of action, especially after the JNA and Serb leadership responded to the constitutional changes with threats and cut first economic, and then political, ties with Slovenia.⁸¹

The fact that needs fulfilment rather than some need or desire for collective identity determined Slovenian policy at the time is evident in the fact that Slovenia suggested the creation of “an association of independent states” in the last party congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) in January 1990. However, Serbian opposition caused the plan to fail and the collapse of the LCY ensued. The new Slovenian democratic government, chosen in April 1990,⁸² was thus left with no choice but to prepare for independence and begin preparing for the defence of an independent Slovenia. A plebiscite for independence was arranged in December 1990 and six months later, on 25 June 1991, the Slovenian parliament declared independence – triggering, in turn, the 10-day war between the JNA and Slovenian troops (see next Chapter).

Although the Slovenian independence project drew the wrath of Serbia and the JNA and set the stage for later collective violence, it is a model case of rational state-creation on the security level. What was needed for the project was not violence to protect essential resources for survival, but mere pressure and the free mobilisation of opinion. What

⁷⁸ This was after the opposition had put together a “May declaration” with a similar content.

⁷⁹ Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History*, 114.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁸¹ See further Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History*, 117: The Otherness of Yugoslavia perhaps reached its height when Slovenes in September saw on TV an LCY Central Committee meeting in which Slovenian representatives voiced their legitimate national and economic grievances, receiving in return hateful and aggressive responses from the Serb members.

⁸² The former communist leader Milan Kučan was rewarded for his prototypical behaviour by being voted to become president of the republic.

sufficed was not action-oriented leadership capable of overcoming obstacles, but relations-oriented leadership willing to listen to the people and modify the institutional structure accordingly. What was needed was not the manipulation of identity or ideology, but respect for old classifications combined with a free competition of ideas. In its peacefulness, it was as rational as the South Sudanese project was rational in using coercion and violence: both projects centred on needs efficiency rather than any supposed demands of identity. Had Tito chosen the path of political and economic liberalism, Slovenes would have had nothing against remaining in a federation. It seems, after all, that what matters also on the status level and beyond is personal status fulfilment rather than the group through which it becomes possible.

Croatia – The Irrational Search for Escalation

Unlike Slovenia, Croatia had a much longer and more powerful tradition of common fate, starting with independent Croat kingdoms in the 10th and 11th centuries. As described in the section on Yugoslavia, however, most of its subsequent history was a balancing act between the rational-realist necessity of alliance and the desire to ensure status fulfilment as an independent nation. As part of the Hungarian kingdom and then the Hapsburg Empire, Croatia was largely autonomous, although the military border between the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires created a national Serb minority inside the nation. Despite some calls for Croatian independence in the 17th and 19th centuries, full independence was generally acknowledged as an insufficiently secure option. The pan-Slavic Illyrian alternative was considered in the 1830s, as well as a federation with Serbia in the 1860s.⁸³ Hard-line nationalists, however, rejected any connection with Serbia and even began classifying Croatian Serbs and Slovenes as “Orthodox Croats” or “mountain Croats”⁸⁴ The opposing South Slav and anti-Serb orientations governed Croatian politics ever since.

Security PRD repeatedly prevented the rise of an independent Croatia: at the end of the 19th century, Austro-Hungarian repression led to peasant revolts and a rise in “Yugoslavism,” and from 1906 the Croatian Sabor (parliament) was dominated by a Serb-Croat coalition which decided to politically confront Austria-Hungary. The

⁸³ The project met with little success, as the parties already then disagreed on the proper political and geographical centre of the federation.

⁸⁴ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 62.

massacres of WWI again confirmed the necessity of a Yugoslav alliance, although extremist Croats took the war as an opportunity to eliminate Croatian and Bosnian Serbs. The frustration caused by the elusive nature of independence continued under King Aleksandar, giving rise to the Ustaša⁸⁵ and the fascist NDH massacres during WWII.⁸⁶ In the Republic of Yugoslavia, the alliance originally based on the Croatian security needs came under increasing pressure. Awareness of status PRD vis-à-vis the Serbs became evident, especially during the Croatian Spring in 1971, when information about the number of Serbs in “Croatian” jobs became public.⁸⁷ The environment, however, was still not conducive to status concerns: through Tito’s decade-long oppression, Croatia had transformed itself into a pragmatic “silent republic,”⁸⁸ with minimal media criticism of party policies.⁸⁹

A significant change, however, had taken place between the Ustaša era and the Croatian Spring. The international environment had changed from one dominated by empires to one of emerging cooperation, at least in Europe. Croatia was no longer plagued by constant security PRD and calls for nationalism could thus draw less on tradition and more on rational needs evaluations. Being one of the wealthier republics, the masses started defining their independence project in terms of economic efficiency. Polls from 1990 show that the electorate’s primary values included peace and security and a European orientation,⁹⁰ a far cry from the past Croatian nationalism. The new leaders who emerged after multiparty elections (enabled by the new liberal party leader Ivica Račan) could thus relatively freely choose whether to draw on the rational or the ideological side of the Croatian people. Unfortunately, the weakness of Croatian civil

⁸⁵ The Ustasa rejected even the Sporazum agreement which would have provided Croatia with wide autonomy within a federation based on Serbian military power and protection, which was exactly what Croatia needed.

⁸⁶ According to Mark Biondich, Croat culpability for the atrocities was never recognized, which furthered an illusion of one-sided victimization and perpetrated the idea of the Ustasa government acting in self-defence against the Serbs. See Mark Biondich, “We Were Defending the State”: Nationalism, Myth, and Memory in Twentieth-Century Croatia,” in *Ideology and National Identity: The Case of the Twentieth-Century*, (see note 5), 66-70.

⁸⁷ Rusinow, *Yugoslavia: Oblique Insights*, 161.

⁸⁸ Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, 2nd ed. (Yale: Yale University Press, 2001), 208; Malowić and Selnow, *The People, the Press*, 108.

⁸⁹ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation*, 206.

⁹⁰ Ivan Silber, “The Impact of Nationalism, Values, and Ideological Orientations on Multi-Party Elections in Croatia,” in Jim Seroka and Vukasin Pavlović, *The Tragedy of Yugoslavia: The Failure of Democratic Transformation* (New York, London: M. E. Sharpe, 1993), 147.

society,⁹¹ silent for years, meant that the choice would essentially remain in the hands of politicians – they grabbed the opportunity and continued with authoritarianism.

The media was divided in their approach to the changing political environment. Some continued traditional leader-worship and idealism, while others tried to be more critical and independent of the political elites.⁹² In retrospect, some Slovenian-style soft Communism might have been a good option, allowing the masses and intelligentsia time to get accustomed to the novel political situation. Instead, Croatia in 1990 experienced a nationalist surge. The breakup of the LCY had allowed the participants of the Croatian Spring to return to politics, and among these was Franjo Tudjman, an historian and nationalist author who had twice been imprisoned for his subversive activities. In a situation characterised by a power vacuum, an aggressive Serbia, and unfortunate electoral rules benefiting the largest party, he led the nationalist Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) to a clear victory and Croatia to independence. The elections were portrayed as a choice between Croatian statehood (at this point confederalism) versus malfunctioning Communism,⁹³ the restoration of national dignity being a central slogan.⁹⁴

Until the HDZ victory, Serbs and Croats had perceived interethnic relations as generally positive, without any general perception of threat to one's national rights.⁹⁵ The Tudjman regime, however, did its best to escalate interethnic tensions. The regime decided to change the Serbs' constitutional status from a constituent nation to a minority, angering the Serb population.⁹⁶ The Croatian flag acquired the NDH checkerboard symbol, which for some Serbs was a reminder of the Ustaša era and was

⁹¹ See further Mirjana Kasapović, "The Structure and Dynamics of the Yugoslav Political Environment and Elections in Croatia," in *The Tragedy of Yugoslavia: The Failure of Democratic Transformation*, (see note 90), 36-7.

⁹² See further Malović and Selnow, *The People, the Press*, 111; Ivana Djurić and Vladimir Zorić, "Foreclosing the Other, Building War: A Comparative Analysis of Croatian and Serbian Press Discourses During the Conflict in Croatia," in *Media Discourse and the Yugoslav Conflicts: Representations of Self and Other*, ed. Pål Kolstø (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2009): 64.

⁹³ Malović and Selnow, *The People, the Press*, 116.

⁹⁴ Djurić and Zorić, "Foreclosing the Other," 65.

⁹⁵ V. P. Gagnon Jr., *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 36.

⁹⁶ Laura Silber and Alan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* 3rd ed., (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 97.

rejected by many Serb policemen.⁹⁷ Tudjman also changed the names of public places to use only the Latin form of the Serbo-Croatian language in public spaces (Milošević was doing the same with Cyrillic in Serbia). At the same time, Serbians started to lose their jobs. The only reason for highlighting the Otherness of the Serb minority was Tudjman's personal preference for nationalism and centralism. Rather than be a prototypical leader of the Croats as a whole, Tudjman decided to represent only Croats, and in a dubious prototypical manner. To ensure polarisation, he accepted the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) as the legitimate representatives of the Serb minority and repressed non-ethnic parties capable of offering an alternative, more liberal vision to the masses.⁹⁸

Nationalism and centralism, however, were tools reserved for security-level leaders. Tudjman's centralist tendencies and preferences for ideology over reason, identity over needs fulfilment, and his belief in a personal historical role as the saviour of the Croat nation, polarised the nation and led to security PRD in regions with mixed Serb-Croat population – which in turn aided Milošević in his corresponding authoritarian project. Given Croatian history, Tudjman had extensive ideological material to draw on, and people were easily persuaded by old categorisations. The fact that Tudjman and the HDZ cared little for mass needs efficiency and prioritised their own status through authoritarian mechanisms meant that change and the transition to independence would not be as smooth as in Slovenia, but instead be competitive and violent.

Bosnian Muslims – The Surprising Dangers of Liberal Identity

Unlike its neighbours, the Bosnian Muslims never developed a strong common fate. Development of the region was hindered by the presence of surrounding nations with changing frontiers. Medieval Bosnia had been an important power until the Ottoman conquest in 1463, also in addition to being culturally and religiously heterogeneous, with the Orthodox, Catholic and Bogomil Churches all present. After the Ottoman invasion, much of the population converted to Islam, for doing so ensured them freedom

⁹⁷ It should be noted that according to Ramet, that the checkerboard symbol was a socialist, not only fascist, symbol, and that Tudjman expelled Serb policemen only after that had refused to obey orders from Zagreb: see Ramet, "Politics in Croatia Since 1990," in *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings, 1983-2007*(see note 45), 193-220: 199, 200. This does not, however, disprove the idea that many Serbs perceived threat due to Tudjman's nationalism.

⁹⁸ Nina Caspersen, *Contested Nationalism: Serb Elite Rivalry in Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s* (New York, Oxford: Bergham Books, 2010), 49-50.

from slavery, guaranteed citizenship rights, and gave them tax exemptions.⁹⁹ Thus was created a new 'ethnic' group, the Bosnian Muslims, whose chosen needs strategy was one of assimilation with the surrounding states and empires. During the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires, the various ethnic groups of Bosnia were forced to cooperate, but the mass politics of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia allowed ethnically defined deprivations to come into the open¹⁰⁰ highlighting ethnic differences rather than peaceful coexistence.

Throughout Yugoslavia's history, only Bosnian Muslims failed to develop a strong national identity and continued to take interethnic assimilation as the norm. Although in the 1940s Tito made Bosnia into a separate republic and the Bosnian Muslims into an official minority, this furthered, rather than prevented, Bosnian Yugoslavism. Bosnia became the largest producer of military equipment due to its location and natural resources and developed prosperous multicultural cities. However, at the same time, the Serb population in the countryside remained politicised along ethnic lines. The result was an untenable alliance, in which the Serbs veered towards Serb nationalism, Western Herzegovina veered towards Croat nationalism, and the Muslims alone remained consistently attached to a multiethnic solution. The strict prohibition of free expression and association also hindered any emerging perception of a common fate. Nationalists were forced to leave the republic, or, as in the case of Alija Izetbegović and other intellectuals, were sentenced to prison for alleged Islamic fundamentalism.¹⁰¹ The Communist Party consequently remained popular until the late 1970s, especially among the Muslims; it represented all ethnic groups equally and enabled the prospering of large semi-monopolies, providing secure employment for a significant proportion of the people.¹⁰²

The development of a common Muslim identity began only in the late 1980s after the Communist monopoly of power was broken by the Agrokomerc scandal, a case of wide-scale fraud resulting in the resignations of many important party members. The scandal weakened party authority and membership and resulted in a severe power

⁹⁹ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Andjelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 13.

¹⁰¹ This happened in 1983. In reality, though, Izetbegović's writings emphasised coexistence and could hardly be described as fundamentalist.

¹⁰² Andjelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 31.

vacuum in the republic.¹⁰³ The federal economic crisis and the failure to pay workers brought many in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the verge of (individual, but not collective) security PRD, leading to hundreds of strike actions in 1988 and 1989. Only at this time was “brotherhood and unity” challenged by the Muslims. Articles criticising Milošević appeared and the behaviour of the party and police was discussed.¹⁰⁴ The aggressive propaganda emanating from Serbia was adopted by local Serbs and polarised the Bosnian republic’s media. Clashes between ethnic communities became common in 1989 and 1990. Often these were triggered by local Serb nationalists instigated by Serbia proper.¹⁰⁵ While the Croats and Serbs had ready-made programmes and leaders in Zagreb and Belgrade, Izetbegović’s Party of Democratic Action (SDA) was only created in March 1990 and became quickly affiliated with the Islamic faith.¹⁰⁶

The fact that the republic’s parliamentary elections in 1990 turned out to be a contest between ethnic parties was a consequence of polarisation and lack of truly reformist, non-Communist and non-nationalist alternatives.¹⁰⁷ Several authors suggest that ethnification of politics in Bosnia-Herzegovina was a result of “fear” experienced by all ethnic groups.¹⁰⁸ This is true: while in 1989-1990 a vast majority of Bosnians saw nationalist divisions and ethnicity as unimportant, perceived of themselves primarily as Yugoslavs,¹⁰⁹ and supported the Marković reforms,¹¹⁰ the ethnification of politics by the Serbian and Croatian leaderships had by 1992 given rise to wide-scale security PRD and the dominance of ethnic categorisations. The lower needs efficiency of Bosnia-Herzegovina¹¹¹ likely also contributed to the radicalisation of Bosnian Serbs and Croats. Given the security threats, Bosnia required strong, even coercive, security-level leaders capable of uniting the people. Unfortunately, it was instead plagued by factional ideologues. As the federation was collapsing on both sides, President Izetbegović had

¹⁰³ For a splendid review of the case and its political consequences, see Andjelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 56-69.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 72, 81-83.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 112-114.

¹⁰⁶ This despite the fact that the SDS of Bosnia-Herzegovina was created only in July 1990, when Belgrade itself changed course from its pretended socialism to nationalism (Andjelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 131).

¹⁰⁷ Steven L. Burg and Paul S. Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (New York, London: Armonk, 1999), 48.

¹⁰⁸ For example, Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia*, 56-57; Wes Johnson, *Balkan Inferno: Betrayal, War, and Intervention 1990-2005* (New York: Enigma Books, 2007), 228.

¹⁰⁹ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 41.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 42.

¹¹¹ GNP per capita in the republic was at 35% below the Yugoslav average in 1981 (Andjelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 43).

no alternative but to organise a referendum of independence in February-March 1992, against the basic interests of the various communities and their peaceful status fulfilment.

Given that Izetbegović was a liberal and prone to following the multicultural and cooperative path that historical tradition had set for him, he was incapable of offering the security-level leadership that Bosnians needed in time of imminent conflict. Although the SDA electoral platform was religious, it emphasised the need for a “modern federation,” democracy, and economic reforms.¹¹² Even as the situation worsened, the civic-minded Izetbegović wanted to solve the crisis through negotiation rather than mobilisation of the Muslim population. In a situation in which the various ethnic groups had already been politicised and perceived security RD, this was a seriously maladaptive approach. Incapable of transforming his status-level leadership to one addressing the existential threat, Izetbegović allowed alternative leaders to take the lead in organising the common defence of the Muslim community. In addition, the media was equally slow in mobilising support for Bosnian Muslim nationalism, in effect “psychologically disarming” the group for the coming war.¹¹³ Such liberal civic-mindedness was near-lethal to the newly-emerging nation.

Although Bosnian independence was undermined by the Bosnian war and the Dayton Accords of November 1995, which split Bosnia into separate Croat-Muslim and Serb entities, the development of Bosnian statehood can in many respects be likened to that of South Sudan. Independence was declared because collective survival necessitated such an arrangement, and collective identity began to develop during and after the ensuing fight. Unlike in South Sudan, however, some level of historical common fate did exist and old categorisations therefore defined the boundaries of the group that mobilised for self-defence. On the other hand, however, the liberal collective identity of the Bosnian Muslims hindered their leaders from acting in an adaptively coercive and authoritarian manner. The fact that Izetbegović, despite failing to efficiently protect his own ingroup, maintained his position even after the war, was thus not a result of his own prototypicality but of the intervention of the international community, which came

¹¹² Andjelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina*, 163.

¹¹³ Mark Thompson, *Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 1999), 231.

to the rescue and enabled parts of the Bosnian community to cling to its multiethnic identity.

5.4. Identities in the Former Yugoslavia: Conclusion

The history of Yugoslavia and its breakup demonstrate the power of identity in security and status PRD. As the section on the Kingdom and Republic of Yugoslavia showed, both (Communist) ideology and traditional (national) identities could be used to define a common fate group. However, the reason why nationalism eventually won over ideology was because the Communist strategy was not conducive to status needs fulfilment and independence offered just such opportunities. The shift from security to status PRD also created new demands on identity and leadership. As the sections on Serbia and the other former Yugoslav republics testify, leadership in status PRD was expected to be increasingly relations-oriented and accepting of various identities. On the other hand, when traditional identities and categories were respected by leaders, they could be used to influence mass perceptions and determine the nature and direction of change, as well as the choice between cooperation or competition in the intergroup environment.

As the case of Slovenia showed, when mass desires are clear and leaders agree to follow them in a manner prototypical of a status-level leader, the nature of change in status PRD can be smooth. If status concerns are respected, categories do not matter; in the Slovenian case, either independence or a federal strategy would have been acceptable, as long as it was free and efficient. However, change on the status level is by no means always rational or unidirectional. As the Serbian and Croatian cases show, a direct correlation seems to exist between a historical common fate and the ability of leaders to hide actual class relations, and in such circumstances, leaders often choose manipulation over rationalism for the purposes of personal gratification. In historically tormented Croatia, for example, the masses achieved free status mobility only in 2000, after the death of Tadjman,¹¹⁴ and in Serbia, the shift to status fulfilment became real only after

¹¹⁴ Even after the war Tadjman's regime continued to be corrupt, nepotistic and elitist. See in particular Ramet, "Politics of Croatia Since 1990," in *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings, 1983-2007* (see note 45), 193-220.

the Kosovo war and NATO intervention leading to the toppling of Milošević in 2000. Thus, while the direction of change in all republics was clearly towards mass status fulfilment, the level of common fate had an important effect in preventing the ingroup from perceiving the economic and political environment in realistic terms, hindering the establishment of a free society.

The Yugoslav case study thus shows that contrary to physiological deprivation, security and status PRD allow identity to define collective interest and makes a certain level of ideological hegemony possible. Interestingly, however, identity again has rather little to do with the mobilisation that took place during the wars of the 1990s. As will be described in the next chapter, the manipulation of identities was not as essential for mobilisation as it was for rendering the masses lethargic and accepting of actions by the more radical elements of society who had materialistic motivations for violence. As Sekulić, Massey, and Hodson have written, “Yugoslavs did not hate their neighbours when the first fears and opportunities arose. Rather, their hatred and intolerance increased along with the violence of war.”¹¹⁵ As argued before, collective identity does ensure unity, but bias and mobilisation are different issues altogether – issues not connected to collective identity but to realistic differences in needs fulfilment.

¹¹⁵ Duško Sekulić, Garth Massey and Randy Hodson, “Ethnic Intolerance and Ethnic Conflict in the Dissolution of Yugoslavia,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29, no. 5 (2006): 797-827.

6. The Serbs: Mobilisation and Leadership in Status PRD

This chapter addresses the question of how Serbs in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia, as part of various armies and militias, and as volunteers, were mobilised into conflict during the Yugoslav wars from 1990 to 1995. The purpose of this chapter is to examine whether mobilisation is as easy or immediate in status PRD as on the lower needs levels, or whether it is more difficult to achieve. The chapter also addresses the issue of whether identity and mobilisation are in any way connected on the status level. It will be suggested that mobilisation in status PRD is difficult indeed, and that while mobilisation necessitates both ideology and threat perceptions, it tends to be limited to a relatively small group of people, at least until the conflict escalates. Mobilisation in status PRD will be analysed by way of concentrating on Serb involvement in the Yugoslav wars, given that the Serbs are usually understood as the initiators of the conflict. When the war began, the Serbs were not (objectively thinking) suffering from physiological or security deprivation and thus cannot be said to have acted in self-defence, which is why their behaviour requires a deeper explanation.

The first section of this chapter explores the way in which Serbian history was used to create threat perceptions among the masses and how this failed to lead to large-scale mobilisation. The second section addresses the limited mobilisation of the JNA, the third section the limited mobilisation of the Croatian Serbs, and the fourth section that of the Bosnian Serbs. Each section attempts to show that mobilisation was triggered by local elites who benefited from polarisation, rather than by the ideologically manipulated masses. The fifth section describes in more detail the mobilisation of Serb radicals, whose acts of violence helped make the illusory security threat a reality. The findings, it will be suggested, support the hypothesis that while strong collective identities on the status level do affect intergroup unity, mobilisation in status PRD is mostly driven by personal interest.

6.1. Milošević and the Serbian Serbs: Illusions of Existential Threat

As described in the previous chapter, the rise of nationalism and the use of Serb mythology did not begin with Milošević. However, Milošević did politicise the prevailing ideological nationalism. This was especially easy regarding the Kosovo Serbs, who had lost the most as a result of the decentralisation and shifts in political power in Tito's time. Given the mythology connected to Kosovo and the fact that Kosovo was also one of the poorest regions of the federation,¹ Kosovo Serbs were likely to perceive themselves as severely status or even security deprived in relation to the other ethnicities of the federation.² There was a clear difference between mobilising the Kosovo Serbs and those of Serbia proper, however. While Milošević's nationalistic manipulation rendered all Serbs submissive to his authoritarianism, it did not lead to wide-spread mobilisation among Serbs at large. In particular, the Serbs of Serbia not suffering from security PRD were hardly interested in volunteering for violent conflict. The nationalist fervour thus did create unity, but not wide-scale radicalisation or mobilisation. This began only after the conflict had escalated and real security PRD arose around 1992, and even then it was primarily limited to the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs, in whose republics the conflict was triggered.

Creating Leader Prototypicality

Milošević had risen to prominence within the League of Communists of Serbia (SKS) with the support of Ivan Stambolić, the previous party president, and became party leader in May 1986. During 1987, he managed to discredit moderates within the party and wrest power from Stambolić. With help from loyal friends and supporters, he also assumed control of the state television and the main newspapers (the most important being *Politika* and *Politika ekspres*). By the end of the year, Milošević had acquired near-dictatorial powers within the party and adopted a clearly nationalist platform. His nationalism became public knowledge after his appearance in a local Party meeting in Kosovo Polje in April 1987, where he told the local Serbs to stay firm, and uttered his famous words "no one should dare beat you" to local Serbs demonstrators – a phrase

¹ JNP was in 1980 a mere quarter of that of the federation as a whole. James Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military: The Yugoslav Crisis* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1992): 68.

² One could hardly argue that the very survival of the Serbs was really at stake, given that the Albanian majority was even worse off (making up only 60% of the workforce despite constituting over 75% of the population (Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military*, 69)).

thereafter regularly repeated by the Milošević-controlled media.³ Despite the general image of Serb suffering in the province, however, the demonstration (characteristic of status, not security PRD) was organised by local Serbs and Belgrade together.⁴

From then on, Milošević began to speak in terms that catered to the Kosovo Serbs, promoting the idea of an existential threat, which immediately transformed him into a prototypical and venerated leader for marginalised Serbs.⁵ The challenge, however, was to maintain the centralism of the federation yet become representative for the entire Serb nation, of which not all were nearly as status deprived as Kosovo Serbs. Thus, Milošević decided to draw on Serb mythology so as to create an image of him being a national saviour and hide the real political issues from sight. This combination of nationalism and conservatism drew the support of the masses by offering the perception of change without actual improvements in the state or economy.⁶ The people's attention was directed towards Kosovo through hysterical media accounts of the Kosovo Albanian's activities and through presenting the federal economic and political collapse as a historical Serb struggle.⁷ From 1987, Serbian history, including its battles and sufferings, was featured in the Belgrade media,⁸ and Muslim Otherness was emphasised by referring to them with Ottoman names.⁹ Through such language, "Serbian discourse had formed a system of evocative terms that can most accurately be called an absolute terminological construction of the Ottoman period and hence of the oral heroic epic[...]"¹⁰

³ Dusko Doder and Louise Branson, *Milošević: Portrait of a Tyrant* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), 44.

⁴ Robert Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia on the 1990s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 44; Wes Johnson, *Balkan Inferno: Betrayal, War, and Intervention 1990-2005* (New York: Enigma Books, 2007), 215.

⁵ Laura Silber and Allan Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation* (New York, Toronto, London: Penguin Books, 1997), 40.

⁶ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 48.

⁷ For details on the media accounts on incidents in Kosovo, see especially Julie A. Mertus, *Kosovo: How Myths and Truths Started a War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), chapters 3 and 4. These incidents included the shooting of fellow soldiers (including one Serb) by a Kosovo Albanian and the poisoning of Albanian schoolchildren, allegedly carried out by the Albanians themselves.

⁸ Mark Thompson, *Forging War: The Media in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina* (Luton: University of Luton Press, 1999): 65; see also Sabrina Ramet, "The Press," in Ramet, *Balkan Babel: Politics, Culture, and Religion in Yugoslavia* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), 57-80.

⁹ See further section 6(3) on Croatia and 6(4) on Bosnia.

¹⁰ Ivo Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain: A Political Anthropology of War in Croatia and Bosnia* (London: Saqi, 2007), 150.

In 1988 and 1989, frequent mass rallies were organised by Milošević supporters,¹¹ drawing on Serb mythology and history to promote an image of inevitable struggle and unity. The rallies were designed to boost the popularity of the Serbian Communist Party and create the illusion of wide-spread support for the centralisation of power. This centralisation included constitutional amendments revoking the autonomous status of Kosovo and Vojvodina and a forced change in the Montenegrin leadership.¹² The purpose of these changes was to bring the smaller republics/provinces into line with Serbian policy and thereby increase the Serbian leadership's powers within the federation.¹³ Milošević's pro-socialist and pro-Yugoslav approach was promoted in the media, which exaggerated the popularity of the rallies and censored the Chetnik insignia from the footage shown,¹⁴ thus portraying them as socialist rather than nationalistic. However, it was clear from the beginning that the protesters held fast to the ideal of a 'Greater Serbia'. Individuals participating in the mass rallies held posters of Milošević together with those of epic heroes.¹⁵ They had placards with verses referring to national epics such as *The Mountain Wreath* and others expressing the desire to create a Greater Serbia, declaring for example the desire to "[...] seek nothing new – only the empire of Dušan."¹⁶

The Church, starting in 1988, also stepped up its participation in the revival of the Serb cultural trauma. Its authority was boosted by the Milošević press and new religious policies.¹⁷ Prince Lazar's bones toured the country and the construction of Belgrade's St. Sava Cathedral resumed.¹⁸ The activities and statements of Church dignitaries added further legitimacy to the authoritarian policies of the leadership, creating an analogy between the absolute authority of past heroes and the modern ones. Through intense

¹¹ These were organised by the Committee for the protection of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins: see Sabrina Ramet, "War in the Balkans," in Ramet, *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings, 1983-2007* (Berlin & Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2008), 29-46.

¹² See further Viktor Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History of Its Demise*, transl. Sabrina Ramet (London: Routledge, 1999), 77-83.

¹³ The revocation of Kosovo's and Vojvodina's autonomy was motivated by the desire to bring into completion the historical unification of the Serbian people (irrespective of the rights of other nationalities in the regions), while a change in the Montenegrin leadership ensured that Serbia would have an extra vote in the federal presidency.

¹⁴ Thompson, *Forging War*, 79. At the time Milošević spoke in terms of Yugoslavism and unity, though nationalism and polarisation ended up becoming his long-term goals, given that they alone could ensure his continued authoritarianism (see below).

¹⁵ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 45.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁷ Sabrina Ramet, "The Serbian Orthodox Church," in *Balkan Babel: Politics, Culture, and Religion in Yugoslavia* (see note 8), 145-163: 161.

¹⁸ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 50.

media coverage, Milošević was recreated as the modern equivalent of Dušan, Lazar, or Obilić.¹⁹ His first name was transformed into “Slobo” (meaning freedom) and new epic songs were composed on the virtues of this saviour of the Serb peoples.²⁰ As ethnic polarisation increased within the federation, other heirs to Lazar and Dušan were created and songs were written on the virtues of radical politicians such as Radovan Karadžić and Vojislav Šešelj, and later military leaders including Ratko Mladić and Arkan.²¹

In March 1989, Milošević ensured through military threats the resignation of the Albanian Kosovo party leadership, gaining control over the province. This was followed by the violent suppression of protests by Kosovo Albanians in the spring of 1989 and the gradual exclusion of Albanians from significant political, economic, and academic posts.²² The culmination of Milošević’s nationalist rhetoric came on 28 June 1989 in Gazimestan, during celebrations of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, an event receiving special treatment in the Belgrade media.²³ This is where Milošević provided the first indications that his violent intentions extended beyond Kosovo, stating that “[s]ix centuries later we are again involved in battles, and facing battles. They are not battles with arms, but these cannot be excluded[...].”²⁴ Reclaiming Kosovo was, of course, not enough, for it was only through polarisation and security-level threats that political centralism and authoritarianism could be maintained in the long run.

The manipulation of the masses was a means to ensure that people would not too loudly object to the coercive, authoritarian measures taken by Milošević. Despite opposition within both federal and republic institutions, the polarisation within the federation ensured that the chosen policies were not wholly rejected or capable of being thwarted.

¹⁹ See for example Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 220; Doder and Branson, *Milosevic: A Portrait*, 4, 72, 129.

²⁰ Ger Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics of Identity in Kosovo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 197; Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 317.

²¹ Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics*, 198-202. Šešelj was the leader of the most nationalist of Serbian political party and the leader of his own paramilitary group; he personally committed atrocities against non-Serbs – see for example Paul Mojzes, *Yugoslavian Inferno: Ethnoreligious Warfare in the Balkans* (New York: Continuum, 1995), 49. Regarding the others, see sections below.

²² See further Meier, *Yugoslavia: A History*, 98-99.

²³ Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 466.

²⁴ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 50; from *NIN*, 2 July 1989; Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 37; from *Politika* 29 June 1989.

Although the collapse of the LCY in 1990 and rapid democratisation in Slovenia and Croatia eventually forced Milošević to allow additional political parties also in Serbia, his campaign of threat and mythology carried his power through the democratic transformation. Importantly, a referendum was organised prior to the Serbian presidential and parliamentary elections in December 1990 whereby constitutional changes giving wide powers to the future president were approved – Milošević's continued authoritarianism was thus ensured.

Serbian Mass Demobilisation

Although the media campaign was effective in preventing alternative, more rational definitions of the political situation from coming to the fore, it could not capitalise on this and triggered very limited voluntary mobilisation in Serbia proper. In fact, despite their nationalism, most Serbs still preferred moderate national strategies, and most were interested in internal economic prosperity rather than radicalism and military endeavours. In addition, Yugoslavism and Marković's reforms were popular among many Serbs, and his popularity was greater than that of Milošević.²⁵ Despite the Milošević and media created illusion of an existential threat, the majority of the population followed their needs instinct: their security needs were not endangered and the threat to their status needs was also doubtful, except in poverty-stricken Kosovo. Thus, for most, nationalism was fine, but there was no need for violence in its name.

Given the relative moderation of the Serbian electorate, the Milošević-dominated SKS, which changed its name to Serbian Socialist Party (SPS) in July 1990, developed a platform of economic development and interethnic peace²⁶ – the exact opposite of its actual aims. Milošević pretended to offer the moderate Serbian majority what they wanted, but at the same time was mobilising the radical elements of society for the anticipated future conflict. During the course of 1990, several opposition parties were created, though none were capable of building a convincing alternative national strategy. In fact, several opposition parties portrayed themselves as significantly more nationalistic than the SPS. This “ethnic underbidding,”²⁷ combined with near-exclusive control of the media and an electoral system magnifying the gains of the largest party,

²⁵ V. P. Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 91.

²⁶ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 75; Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 97-98.

²⁷ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 46.

allowed the SPS to take 78% of the National Assembly seats and Milošević to take 65% of the presidential vote²⁸ in the 1990 elections. As the federal situation became more precarious, it became increasingly evident for many Serbians that the SPS was not aiming for interethnic peace. In March 1991, there was a clear peak in opposition protests and demonstrations,²⁹ but these protests came too late to prevent the escalation of conflict.

Given the moderate stance of Serbian Serbs, the way for Milošević to maintain authoritarian structures was to adopt a Greater Serbia strategy and concentrate on triggering security PRD and violence among the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia. This also allowed him to shift pressure away from Belgrade to the Serb leaders outside Serbia proper.³⁰ When his attention was directed towards Croatia, another historical reference was evoked to provide Serbians a way to make (non)sense of the situation. While the Albanians, and even the ethnically Slav Bosnian Muslims, had become Turks in the Serbian press, Croats were now repeatedly called Ustaša fascists.³¹ Since Serb-Croat animosity had a shorter history than Serb-Turk animosity and it had been significantly diluted during communism, the media had to resuscitate the events of the civil war, equating Tadjman's regime with the NDH³² and inflating the numbers of WWII Serb victims. Like the anti-Albanian media campaign, this too drew on an existential threat but was equally inefficient in creating large-scale or voluntary mobilisation inside Serbia. In late 1991, over half of reservists avoided the draft despite forced mobilisation and some 200,000 reservists left Serbia in 1991.³³ In several regions, 40,000 reservists mutinied in protest of not having been clearly informed of the war aims.³⁴ In addition, about 50,000 deserted.³⁵

²⁸ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 194.

²⁹ Ibid., 82-83.

³⁰ Ibid., 86.

³¹ See further section 6(3).

³² See further Thompson, *Forging War*, 66-70.

³³ Steven L. Burg and Paul S. Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (New York, London: Armonk, 1999), 84; Miroslav Hadžić, *The Yugoslav People's Agony: The Role of the Yugoslav People's Army* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2002), 143; Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 108; Doder and Branson, *Milosevic: A Portrait*, 98.

³⁴ Ofelija Backović, Miloš Vasić and Aleksandar Vasović, "Who Wants to Be a Soldier? The Call-Up Crisis – An Analytical Overview of Media Reports," in *The War in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina 1991-1995*, eds. Ivo Žanić and Branko Magaš (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2001), 330-331.

³⁵ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 109.

Despite the unwillingness of Serbians to mobilise, however, authoritarianism became easier to maintain as the wars in Croatia and Bosnia escalated. Mythology and hero-worship in society increased to absurd levels,³⁶ as the “political authorities [came to] rely almost more on poetry and poets than on state, economic, social, and other national interests.”³⁷ Along with this, the Serbian people were radicalising: in the parliamentary elections held in the (rump) Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in April 1992, the SPS, with its continued rhetoric of moderation, received 43% of the votes, while Šešelj’s ultra-national SRS won 30%,³⁸ assuring them a place in a coalition government. As increasing numbers of Serbs were forcibly conscripted, dragged into war, and killed, and as also the international community became involved, the perception of threat among Serbians grew significantly. Deceptive media coverage also aided in the manipulation of public opinion: the war was portrayed as defensive; real footage of the war was rarely shown in the news; and the atrocities of other parties were exaggerated while the ethnic cleansing, massacres, and rapes committed by Serb troops were hidden.³⁹ As the situation escalated towards security deprivation, support for action-oriented leaders grew.

The Effect of Ideology in Status PRD

This section attempted to show that nationalism, even nationalism characterised by a “cultural trauma,” has rather little to do with mobilisation when the population suffers from status PRD only. Milošević was successful in creating ideological hegemony in Serbia through the exclusion of alternative (more rational) perceptions of reality, thereby ensuring his own authoritarian hold on power. The media campaign also helped in rendering the masses politically acquiescent to Milošević. The ideological hegemony, however, did not automatically transform into wide-scale mobilisation. On the one hand, a certain level of mobilisation was achieved among the relatively poorer Kosovo Serbs. As opposed to the Serbian Serbs, Kosovo Serbs suffered from security PRD early on due to their poverty and the media campaign attacking Kosovo Albanians. Therefore, they were more willing to rally around Milošević. On the other hand, the Serbs of Serbia were more critical and much less radical. As was illustrated, the radicalisation of

³⁶ Ivan Čolović, *Politics of Identity in Serbia: Essays in Political Anthropology*, transl. Celia Hawkesworth (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 132, 166.

³⁷ Čolović, *Politics of Identity*, 149.

³⁸ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 121.

³⁹ Thompson, *Forging War*, 89-94.

the Serbians became a reality only in 1992 when the war in Croatia and had been going on for some time and the situation in Bosnia was escalating.

The purpose, or at least effect, of manipulation was thus not the mobilisation of Serbians as a whole, but the creation of the ideological and structural prerequisites of war. Authoritarian use of power and resources enabled the mobilisation of the few individuals who *wanted* to be mobilised, while nationalist identity and ideology provided the ex-post facto justification for the activities of such individuals. The Serbs who mobilised were thus not to be found among Serbian Serbs at large, for whom status PRD was the prevailing needs level, nor from Kosovo, which was annexed to Serbia proper in 1989. Instead, they were found among the Serb elites, in particular in the professional army, which desired violent action for organisational and status reasons, among the volunteers who sought violence for personal reasons (both status and security PRD), and perhaps among some of the Serb masses in Croatia and Bosnia, among whom the creation of security PRD was still possible. These groups are examined below.

6.2. The Yugoslav National Army

Of the elites benefiting from and participating in collective violence, perhaps the most vital were the officers of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA). The JNA was the successor of Tito's Partisan 'liberation' army created during WWII for the purposes of resisting German occupation. During and after the civil war, the army participated in the elimination of tens of thousands of Party opponents and in the 1950s, after the Tito-Stalin split, it likewise targeted pro-Soviet party members.⁴⁰ After this repressive phase, the JNA played two important roles: it ensured the security of the state against external threats, the most important of these being the USSR, and it was an integral part of upholding the rule of the Communist Party through military authority. The party organisation was strong within the JNA. After the weakening of centralism in the 1970s,

⁴⁰ Anton Bebler, "Political Pluralism and the Yugoslav Professional Military," in *The Tragedy of Yugoslavia: The Failure of Democratic Transformation*, eds. Jim Seroka and Vukasin Pavlović (New York, London: M. E. Sharpe, 1993), 106-108.

the JNA was transformed into the “guardian of the revolution.”⁴¹ Favouring continued centralism, the JNA assumed a political rather than a mere supportive security role. The 1974 constitution gave it almost equal say in federal matters as the republics and provinces.

The Serb-Montenegrin majority in the JNA,⁴² present from its inception, remained an important trait throughout its existence. The legally determined ethnic balance of the officer corps and higher commands was never achieved in practice. Instead, throughout its history, the JNA officers were about two-thirds Serb and Montenegrin, while the least represented nationalities were the Slovenes (who often had better routes of social mobility) and Albanians (who were considered ideologically unsuitable).⁴³ The ethnic balance only worsened in the 1980s, after Branko Mamula in 1982 became Minister of Defence.⁴⁴ In addition to ethnicity, JNA officers and soldiers were chosen according to their ideological, rather than military, credentials.⁴⁵ The ideology promoted in the JNA was originally that of Titoism and socialist revolution, but there was a gradual change towards nationalist categorizations that ran counter to this.⁴⁶ After the collapse of the LCY, the ideological emphasis shifted towards patriotism and the defence of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY).⁴⁷ The JNA values that were best preserved in the transformation were unity and centralism.⁴⁸

The JNA came to be gradually involved in the political conflicts between Serbia and the Western republics, to protect its own existence and the status gratification of the JNA officers. During the last decades of the Yugoslav Republic, JNA generals had been relatively independent political actors⁴⁹ and benefited from special material benefits and awards.⁵⁰ This elitism, not to mention the continued existence of the JNA as a whole,

⁴¹ Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military*, 58-59.

⁴² Serbian and Montenegrin history and identity are closely related. In Yugoslavia, Montenegro was politically and ideologically closest to Serbia, which allowed Montenegrins to occupy important positions in the federal institutions. Montenegro remained a staunch supporter of Serbian policies even after Tito's death until the collapse of the LCY.

⁴³ John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 345; Gow, *Legitimacy and the Military*, 76.

⁴⁴ Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History*, 345.

⁴⁵ Hadžić, *The Yugoslav People's Agony*, 59.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 52, 61; Bebler, “Political Pluralism,” 129.

⁴⁷ Hadžić, *The Yugoslav People's Agony*, 88.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 61-3.

⁴⁹ Bebler, “Political Pluralism,” 124.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 110.

became endangered when the economic crisis of the 1980s forced the JNA budget to be cut. The new Minister of Defense, Veljko Kadijević, refused to depoliticise the JNA and relied on its alleged constitutional role of protecting the existing political system, arguing that party pluralism would be a “step backward.”⁵¹ The top generals assumed that centralism imposed by the JNA was the only way to resolve the Yugoslav problem – the ethnic divisions that threatened to tear the country apart.⁵² Although Kadijević himself was a strong proponent of traditional Socialist values, the desire for continued centralism caused many of military leaders to side with the Serbian political elites.⁵³ After the collapse of the LCY, JNA soldiers were forced to join the new Milošević-affiliated League of Communists – movement for Yugoslavia (SK-PJ) and spread the ideology of Yugoslav unity among the people.⁵⁴ This movement never grew into a serious political force.

The JNA began participating in the Yugoslav political conflict from 1990 when it denounced the legitimacy of the Democratic Opposition of Slovenia (DEMOS) election campaign and the HDZ in Croatia.⁵⁵ In early 1991, the JNA seized arms in the republics to prevent the formation of republican armies and ordered the detention of the Croatian Minister of Defense, Martin Špegelj. It also distributed arms to Croatian and Bosnian Serbs and eventually mobilised JNA troops from Croatia. While it is difficult to say whether these actions were meant to support Serb centralism or true Yugoslavism, the JNA’s last attempt to hold on to a Yugoslav identity definitively took place in the summer of 1991. At this time, despite official constitutional sanctions, the JNA briefly occupied Slovenia after Prime Minister Marković declared illegal the Slovenian and Croatian declarations of independence and ordered the securing of federal border crossings. The JNA acted immediately because failing to do so would have implied an end to its own meaningful existence.⁵⁶ The occupation, however, lasted for no more than ten days (27th June to 7th July). The orders given to the deployed troops were vague, the new Slovenian army was fighting back, and despite the hopes of a number of

⁵¹ Bebler, “Political Pluralism,” 130; from *Narodna Armija*, July 1989.

⁵² Hadžić, *The Yugoslav People’s Agony*, 53.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁵⁴ Bebler, “Political Pluralism,” 137.

⁵⁵ Hadžić, *The Yugoslav People’s Agony*, 81.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 197-8.

JNA officers for a wider intervention (including a putsch of the Slovene leadership), full-scale conflict was not supported by Serbian leaders.⁵⁷

After intervention in Slovenia, the JNA became increasingly Serbianised: the federal system of mobilisation was replaced by the in-take of Serb volunteers.⁵⁸ The JNA mobilised its troops in Croatia and Bosnia, ostensibly to protect the Serb minorities (see next sections). The change in policy was also reflected in the army magazine, *Narodna Armija*, where the civil war frame (JNA Partisans versus Ustaša Croats) became prominent.⁵⁹ The Yugoslav-minded Kadijević resigned in January and many others (including Chief of Staff Blagoje Adžić) in the spring of 1992. The Milošević-led transformation of the JNA into the Yugoslav Army (VJ) and Bosnian Serb Army (VRS) had begun. Both the internal transformation and the violence carried out by JNA troops was accepted by the military, for in the context of a collapsing federal system, it was the only viable way for the JNA elites to retain their relatively gratifying status roles.

The behaviour of the JNA is an example of how leader personality can determine whether a conflict will occur. In the case of Slovenia, much conflict was avoided due to the personality of Kadijević, who refused to start an all-out war without constitutional sanction. Adžić, on the other hand, would have been prepared to keep the federation together at any cost, including a full war against Slovenia and, in his own words, “extermination of tens of thousands of Croats.”⁶⁰ For many generals, status gratification was more important than the interests of the former Yugoslav citizens, which caused them to follow Milošević’s orders and to change their identities accordingly.

6.3. Serb Identity and Mobilisation in Croatia

The development of Serb nationalism and the difficulty of mobilisation among the Croatian Serbs largely followed the model of Serbia as a whole, wherein manipulation

⁵⁷ Milošević and Kučan had agreed in January 1991 that Serbia would allow Slovenia to secede peacefully. By this time Milošević had adopted a Greater Serbian orientation, Yugoslavism having become impossible to maintain as a base for continued authority.

⁵⁸ Hadžić, *The Yugoslav People’s Agony*, 139.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁶⁰ Sabrina Ramet, “Brotherhood and Unity,” in *Balkan Babel: Politics, Culture, and Religion in Yugoslavia* (see note 8), 50; see also Silber and Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*, 187.

of existing identities in status PRD created a new unity among the Croatian Serbs and a wide-scale redefinition of collective identity, but did not lead to wide-scale mobilisation. Notably, the lack of a cause-effect relationship between ethnic hatred (ideology) and violence (mobilisation) in the case of Croatia has already been investigated in detail by Sekulić and others.⁶¹ These authors show how ethnic hatred and intolerance among Croats could not have been the cause of the war, for intolerance reached its peak not before, but during and after the war years.⁶² While proving the absence of connection between ideology and mobilisation, as well as pointing out that identities become more flexible only after the escalation of conflict, these authors leave unresolved the question of what, if not ethnic hatred, *is* the real cause of mobilisation. As will be shown in this and the next sections, violence in security PRD was initially triggered by the status desires of an alliance of elites and radicals for whom the process of escalation provided new opportunities of needs fulfilment.

Creating Serb Unity

Despite the deep crisis in the federal economic and political institutions, the interethnic relations between Croatia's Croats and Serbs were cordial until after the HDZ victory in April 1990. Even at the end of 1989, Serbs and Croats perceived interethnic relations as generally positive, and there was no general perception of threat to national rights.⁶³ The events in Kosovo and Milošević's propaganda created a negative perception of interethnic relations in the federation as a whole, but not on the local level. Perceptions thus corresponded with reality: there was no actual difference between the needs fulfilment of the two ethnic groups. Neither did there seem to be any immediate desire for the breakup of the federation, separation of ethnicities, or separate cultural orientation.⁶⁴ Also, up to the summer of 1990, the economic reforms of Marković remained popular,⁶⁵ suggesting support for some kind of continued federal arrangement.

The liberalisation of political space within the federation did give rise to the Croatian branch of the SDS in Knin in February 1990. The party was initially moderate,

⁶¹ Duško Sekulić, Garth Massey and Randy Hodson, "Ethnic Intolerance and Ethnic Conflict in the Dissolution of Yugoslavia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29, no. 5 (2006): 797-827.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 805.

⁶³ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 36; Sekulić et al., "Ethnic Intolerance," 809-810.

⁶⁴ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 38.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

advocating national equality, cultural autonomy for Croatian Serbs, and Yugoslavism.⁶⁶ In the republic's April 1990 parliamentary elections, non-ethnic parties were, however, more popular among the Serb minority. The majority of Serbs voted for the reformed Communist Party, and the SDS received only 13.5% of the Serb vote.⁶⁷ Due to election rules favouring the largest party, however, the HDZ took 67.5% of the seats in the Croatian Sabor. As mentioned, the polarisation caused by Tudjman's policies contributed to the demise of non-ethnic parties and politics and the rise in SDS popularity.

As described in the previous chapter, the HDZ platform emphasised nationalism over the economic liberalism prioritised by the electorate. The nationalistic orientation of the HDZ only grew after the elections, arguably causing an increasing number of Serbs to take seriously the anti-Croatian propaganda of the Serbian media. The definition of the federal political situation in ethnic terms by both Tudjman and Milošević meant that the Serbs were prevented from identifying with the Croatian state. Also, the material support flowing from Belgrade to the SDS caused an increase in SDS authority despite its original unpopularity. In the summer of 1990, the SDS was further radicalised when Rašković's negotiations for a political agreement with Tudjman became public. He was forced to transfer power to Milan Babić, the more radical leader of the newly created Serb National Council and preferred recipient of Belgrade's material favours.

The perceived status RD among the Croatian Serbs led not to wide-spread mobilisation but only to support for the SDS. For the Serbs as a whole, security PRD became a realistic possibility only after the first violent incidents. These were committed in August 1990 by Serb extremists in Northern Dalmatia, where the JNA sided with the Serbs by distributing weapons to them, and in Knin and Lika, where Serb extremists clashed with Croatian police. Due to the escalation of the conflict, the SDS predictably continued to acquire more members and authority during the summer and fall of 1990, and according to plans enacted with Milošević, initiated the process of declaring autonomous Serb regions in the Krajina. This search for autonomy was not initiated by the Serb masses, but by the top SDS elites: several local leaders were even unaware of

⁶⁶ Nina Caspersen, *Contested Nationalism: Serb Elite Rivalry in Croatia and Bosnia in the 1990s* (New York, Oxford: Bergham Books, 2010), 48.

⁶⁷ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 35.

their region's being autonomous until they read about it the media.⁶⁸ After a referendum in which allegedly 100% of local Serbs agreed to autonomy, the Autonomous Province of Serbian Krajina was created, and independence was proclaimed in March of the following year.

Demobilisation and Mobilisation

During 1990, violent incidents were limited, and despite the actions of the HDZ, the threat to Serb security needs was not sufficient to initiate a revolution from below. The Serbs participating in violence against the allegedly Ustašoid Croats were only a radical minority, while the majority were simply kept docile through "constant tension and by frequently changing the political framework."⁶⁹ The more restrained Serb population that opposed SDS policies was demobilised through threats and by destroying the reputation of moderate Serb politicians in local papers.⁷⁰ Later on, moderate opponents were eliminated by ordering them to the front lines.⁷¹ Even after the ethnic cleansing of Krajina, murders of moderate Serbs continued in order to ensure the consolidation of new power relations.⁷² One telling fact is that while Babić was allowed to lead a violent path towards autonomy, enjoying the support of a personal militia and the material backing of Milošević, the discredited negotiation-preferring Rašković continued to be the slightly more popular leader of the two.⁷³

As mentioned, the local Serbs' perception of the Croats was strongly influenced by the increasingly derogatory portrayal of Croats by the Belgrade media. Croats were derogatorily referred to as Ustaša, animals, sadists, demons, and racially inferior barbarians.⁷⁴ Croat actions were continuously misreported and the history of Croat-Serb violence was rewritten through exaggerated discourse and documentaries about past atrocities,⁷⁵ civil war casualties, and the opening of mass graves of Serb Ustaša

⁶⁸ Ibid., 123-124.

⁶⁹ Caspersen, *Contested Nationalism*, 69.

⁷⁰ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 146.

⁷¹ Ibid., 108.

⁷² Ibid., 5. A similar phenomenon took place on the Croatian side; see Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, 2nd ed. (Yale: Yale University Press, 2001), 246.

⁷³ Caspersen, *Contested Nationalism*, 62.

⁷⁴ Ivana Djurić and Vladimir Zorić, "Foreclosing the Other, Building War: A Comparative Analysis of Croatian and Serbian Press Discourses During the Conflict in Croatia," in *Media Discourse and The Yugoslav Conflicts: Representations of Self and Other*, ed. Pål Kolstø (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 75.

⁷⁵ The Documentary *Occupation in 26 Scenes* by Lordan Zafranović was shown during the main attack on Croatia by TV Belgrade. See further Žanić, *The Flag on the Mountain*, 267.

victims.⁷⁶ Through this, the impression of a renewed existential threat was created: a threat to basic and security needs caused by the “new NDH.” Also the local SDS leadership used this frame to appeal to the public.⁷⁷ Almost incredibly, this indoctrination, while increasing Serb unity and enhancing the perception of Croat otherness, was not powerful enough to eliminate the Serb masses’ reluctance to resort to violence in status PRD.

Given the rational inaction of the Croatian Serbs, Milošević tried to mobilise the JNA instead. The army, however, refused to intervene with full force without constitutional sanction. In January 1991, the federal presidency had refused to allow military intervention in Croatia by the JNA, and in March a federal state of emergency was similarly rejected. After this, Milošević gave up on the federal institutions altogether and opted for the use of paramilitary groups to trigger an escalation of the conflict. In February and March 1991, the violence intensified owing to the activities of local Serb radicals as well as volunteers and Serbian paramilitary troops flowing in from Serbia, organised and controlled by Belgrade.⁷⁸ Clashes between Croatian police and Serb paramilitaries became frequent as the Serbs tried to establish authority in multiethnic towns. By this time, some Croat paramilitaries had also become active.⁷⁹ Still refusing all-out war, the JNA sent in tanks, while the Belgrade media reacted to the events by talking about alleged massacres and genocide by Croat Ustaša militias.⁸⁰

Meanwhile, in Knin, the former local Police Chief, Milan Martić, who was dismissed by Croat authorities, developed his personal militia (Martićevci) with significant material and organisational help from the Serbian Security Service. The Martićevci, organised by the infamous Captain Dragan (Vasiljković), later developed into the Krajina Serb Army (SVK) and came to share a common officer corps with the JNA.⁸¹ Despite the paramilitary activities, however, it was only after the Slovenian and Croatian declarations of independence that the JNA submitted to Milošević’s will and the sporadic violence became an all-out war. The JNA moved its troops and equipment to

⁷⁶ This happened in April 1991: see Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 104.

⁷⁷ Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 278.

⁷⁸ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 106.

⁷⁹ Johnson, *Balkan Inferno*, 59-61.

⁸⁰ Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation*, 241.

⁸¹ James Gow, *The Serbian Project and its Adversaries: A Strategy of War Crimes* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2003), 76, 80.

Croatia and by June the various Serb paramilitaries attacked in Slavonia and undertook massacres in Croatian towns. The actions of the paramilitaries triggered further conflict between the ethnic groups and initiated ethnic cleansing of the 'Serb regions.' By September, when the JNA started a large-scale invasion of Croatia, it had largely become a homogenous Serb Army.

The Croatian war furthered the transformation of the JNA, separating the true believers of a Greater Serbia from the rest. However, while the majority of Serb officers remained in the military, troops on the ground were not often motivated by the Greater Serbian ideology. Indeed, they were hardly motivated to fight at all. One JNA general admitted he was forced to fire on his own troops to "motivate them in Croatia."⁸² For SVK troops, cooperation with and payments by the JNA were essential motivators in carrying out the ethnic cleansing:⁸³ as far as the paramilitary groups were concerned, "those not on the JNA payroll were evidently angered at not receiving any remuneration from the defense [sic] ministry and engaged in profligate looting by way of compensation."⁸⁴ Clearly, then, in the absence of a *real* existential threat, individuals participating in collective violence were not the masses at large but individuals benefiting materially from the chaos. Also, due to the weakness of military command and control, there was "enough space for lower and local warmongers to make a creative contribution to expanding the Serbo-Croatian war."⁸⁵

6.4. Serb Identity and Mobilisation in Bosnia

The story of the development of Serb unity in Bosnia follows largely the pattern seen in Croatia. Although Serb mythology was used more intensively in Bosnia than Croatia, indoctrination of the Bosnian Serbs still only ensured large-scale acceptance of the war, but not always mobilisation. Unlike in Croatia, however, the ethnification and mobilisation process in Bosnia had already begun before the proclamation of independence, largely because ethnic polarisation and security PRD was already a

⁸² Doder and Branson, *Milosevic: A Portrait*, 97.

⁸³ Silber and Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*, 125.

⁸⁴ Sabrina Ramet, "Martyr in his own mind: The trial & tribulations of Slobodan Milosevic," in *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings, 1983-2007* (see note 11), 111-134: 126.

⁸⁵ Hadžić, *The Yugoslav People's Agony*, 146.

reality in neighbouring Croatia. The overall situation thus deteriorated quickly from status PRD towards security PRD, allowing a relatively efficient mobilisation of a new Bosnian Serb Army.

Elite-led Escalation

Given the level of federation-wide ethnic polarisation, it was no surprise that the November 1990 Bosnian parliamentary elections were characterised by a lack of political alternatives to the ethnic leadership offered by Milošević and Tudjman. Serb, Croat, and Muslim ethnic parties consequently won near-equal shares of the vote. Ethnification progressed rapidly around this time. While a vast majority of Bosnians in 1989 had seen nationalist divisions as useless and ethnicity as unimportant,⁸⁶ by 1991 polarisation was complete. Collaboration between the ethnic parties gave way to an administrative standstill. The Croats became increasingly racist and radical, taking their orders from Zagreb; the Bosnian branch of the SDS became increasingly authoritarian under Karadžić (and behind the scenes under Milošević); and the SDA became increasingly religious. Interethnic clashes became frequent even among the masses,⁸⁷ resulting in de facto division of multi-ethnic towns, talk of territorial division,⁸⁸ and creation of militias. The lack of functioning administration and economic difficulties also led to the near-collapse of health and other state services,⁸⁹ causing a further deterioration in needs fulfilment.

In early 1991, the Bosnian SDS joined Milošević's Greater Serbia team. In favouring unity with Serbia and rejecting an independent Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SDS leaders hardly stopped to consider whether Serb needs could not be equally well fulfilled in a multiethnic Bosnian state. The elites, of course, were interested only in promoting their own status gratification through the manipulation of perceptions⁹⁰ and institutionalising their leadership through the creation of an independent Serb entity. Preparations for secession and war began towards the middle of 1991 and by September, several Serb

⁸⁶ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 40.

⁸⁷ See Neven Andjelić, *Bosnia-Herzegovina: The End of a Legacy* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2003), 173-178.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁹⁰ Regarding Karadžić, see below.

autonomous regions in Bosnia had been declared,⁹¹ followed by two Croat areas in November.⁹² To legitimise its position, the SDS in November organised a Serb referendum on remaining part of Yugoslavia (at this point essentially being only Serbia and Montenegro), resulting in an almost unanimous “yes.” On 19 December 1991, the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Republika Srpska) was declared,⁹³ pre-empting the anticipated Bosnian declaration of independence. From the end of 1991, the JNA redistributed TO⁹⁴ firearms to Serb volunteers,⁹⁵ and by early 1992 it was training Serb forces, while several paramilitary groups were also preparing for war.⁹⁶

The Serb representatives at the Bosnian parliament refused to participate in the referendum which made Bosnia an independent entity in March 1992. The European Community (EC) and the US postponed recognition of the new independent state until early April to allow negotiations to proceed – time used by all sides to prepare for war. Early preparations for the creation of an independent Serb entity, such as the existence of local government and official stamps,⁹⁷ suggests that the declaration of independence and the breakup of negotiations were more of an excuse than the actual cause of war.⁹⁸ Although the Croats and Muslims organised paramilitary troops for their defence in the autumn of 1991, the Serb plans for division clearly went further than anyone else’s. This was no surprise, given that the Greater Serbian cause of the Serb elites, as well as the army and volunteer troops in Bosnia, were ultimately in the hands of Milošević,⁹⁹ in whose interests it was to avoid negotiations that could have led to something less than a Greater Serbia.

Indoctrination

From the very beginning, and throughout the war, the Bosnian Serb elites justified their actions through propaganda from Belgrade, which had spread to Bosnia. The Serbs had

⁹¹ Eastern and Old Herzegovina, Bosanska Krajina, Romanija, Northeast Bosnia; see further Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 122, 125.

⁹² Sava Valley and Western Herzegovina.

⁹³ Republika Srpska declared its independence in March 1992.

⁹⁴ The TO, the territorial defence, was a defensive military organisation present in each republic.

⁹⁵ Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 173; Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia*, 62.

⁹⁶ Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 124.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 121-125.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 127.

⁹⁹ See further especially Ramet, “Martyr In His Own Mind” in *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings, 1983-2007* (see note 11), 111-134. This gives an account of the ICTY testimonies of Babić and Aleksandr Vasiljević, the latter being the former head of the JNA Intelligence.

started taking over TV Sarajevo's transmitters in August 1991, and by March 1992 Belgrade-based propaganda reached half of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹⁰⁰ In April 1992, when a new Republika Srpska News Agency was created, Bosnian Serbs had their own source of lies, dehumanisation of potential enemies and misrepresentation of the conflict.¹⁰¹ Many local radio stations were transformed into sources of paramilitary exhortations and Serbian patriotic music.¹⁰² This perhaps did not mobilise the locals on a massive scale, but it created the illusion of 'everyone' supporting the war, and thereby excluded voices of moderation within the Serb community. An illusion of existential threat and an environment of extreme uncertainty helped ensure the SDS remained the only leadership alternative for Bosnian Serbs. As the crisis escalated, of course, the threat became reality, and the war strategy became the only real option.

SDS leader Karadžić and VRS commander Ratko Mladić, the two men responsible for the worst atrocities of the Bosnian war, were also transformed into epic heroes, subjects of songs and praises.¹⁰³ Karadžić, not only a politician and a psychiatrist but also a nationalist poet, likened himself to Vuk Karadžić, the famous Serb national poet.¹⁰⁴ When addressing journalists and troops, both Karadžić and Mladić repeatedly compared the war in Bosnia to the Ottoman invasion of medieval Serbia. The anti-Muslim propaganda was not difficult to impress upon Bosnian Serbs, who in 1990 had been warned of the imminent Muslim conspiracy to take in four million Turkish Muslims and create a Muslim state.¹⁰⁵ In 1990, Rašković had also held nationalistic meetings on Mount Romanija (close to Sarajevo), a symbol of Serb freedom since it was portrayed in Vuk Karadžić's epics and Vojislav Lubarda's nationalistic novels from the 1980s.¹⁰⁶ For the Serbs, epic and ethnic understanding of the conflict and their role in it was widely acknowledged and well established.

Mobilisation

Despite the higher level of security PRD in Bosnia, the Bosnian war began in a similar fashion to the Croatian one, through the actions of Serb paramilitary groups and the

¹⁰⁰ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 214.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 248-252.

¹⁰² Ibid., 252-253.

¹⁰³ Duijzings (2000), 198, 202; Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 361; for a song on Karadžić, see Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 365.

¹⁰⁴ For example in the Pawlikowski's documentary, *Serbian Epics*, 1992.

¹⁰⁵ See further Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 327-338.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 224, 293.

JNA. Serb-Croat fighting in Bosanski Brod in early March 1992 spread rapidly across the country. Serbs started ethnically cleansing Croat villages in Herzegovina and the Croats reciprocated by cleansing Serb villages in Posavina.¹⁰⁷ Serbian paramilitary forces crossed into Bosnia in early April, resulting in a massacre of Muslims in Bijeljina by Arkan's Tigers (see next section). Only after the recognition of Bosnia-Herzegovinian independence by the EC and the US on 6-7 April did the JNA become involved, following the paramilitary groups who had initiated the invasion and ethnic cleansing of Muslim villages in eastern Bosnia (Zvornik, Višegrad, and Foča, with others to follow). As was the case in Croatia, the initial dirty work was done by paramilitaries loyal to Milošević – a natural decision considering the inherent unreliability of regular JNA troops to undertake extreme violence.

The Serbianisation of the JNA, ongoing from the previous summer, had by March 1992 increased the Serb composition of the JNA to 90%.¹⁰⁸ In May, Milošević officially divided the JNA into the VRS and VJ, both of them getting about 80,000 members.¹⁰⁹ Although the separation of the armies was designed to counter arguments about Yugoslavia interfering in the affairs of an independent and sovereign state, the VJ supported the VRS war effort by providing troops, salaries, and equipment.¹¹⁰ The VRS was mostly made up of Bosnian Serbs,¹¹¹ who were generally more willing to fight than JNA troops had been in Croatia. Nevertheless, Bosnian Serbs sometimes had to be forcibly taken to the front,¹¹² and “[v]arious stratagems were used by the organisers of cleansing operations to involve the local populations in the anti-Muslim campaigns, usually by playing on fears that the Muslims would initiate ethnic cleansing of the Serbs if the Serbs did not act first. [...] Deliberate efforts were made to sow distrust.”¹¹³ The most eager participants were thus again those receiving financial rewards from their actions,¹¹⁴ while others had to be mobilised by gunpoint.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁷ Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia*, 119.

¹⁰⁸ Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 58.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 59. Gow estimates VRS troop numbers at around 60,000: Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 183.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 77; Ramet, “Martyr in his own Mind” in *Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia at Peace and at War: Selected Writings*, 1983, 126.

¹¹¹ Perhaps 85%: Silber and Little, *Yugoslavia: Death of a Nation*, 218.

¹¹² Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 2.

¹¹³ Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia*, 174.

¹¹⁴ See the next section.

¹¹⁵ See Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 188.

Despite being a more down-up conflict than that in Croatia, the war in Bosnia would not have been possible without an extraordinary leadership effort of centralisation and indoctrination. In the Bosnian conflict, one can see similarities with a security-level situation, in which leadership and mobilisation are accepted without question. Yet even in the Bosnian case, war was more often *not the obvious and best strategy* for all Serbs. The war was, again, waged mainly by the JNA/VRS and the paramilitary troops who benefited directly from the war in terms of salaries, positions, pillaging, and so on. However, most others did not benefit, and therefore “[t]he local Serb population was stiffened in its resolve [only] by the influx of Serbs fleeing from adjacent Muslim-held areas[...]”¹¹⁶ – in other words, when there was a *real* threat to security-level needs of the ingroup.

6.5. Serb Volunteers and Paramilitary Groups: Illusions of Heroism

To understand the process of mobilisation on the status needs level, one must explore the radical elements present in both the Croatian and Bosnian conflicts. Who were the individuals, who despite all odds, were mobilised? What made them either follow orders and/or volunteer to join the JNA, VRS, or paramilitary groups? The answer lies not only in material benefits, but in the combination of ideology (superiority, racism, heroism) and personal interest (material benefits, relative importance of the self). Given that on the status level there were various status roles available and multiple means of self-actualisation, it was only natural that the individuals volunteering did so mostly out of personal proclivity.

The Paramilitary Groups

Milošević managed to gain control of the state security institutions as he rose to power in the late 1980s, and towards the end of 1990 his supporters had begun recruiting volunteers for the protection of the leadership and their agenda.¹¹⁷ Particularly the Ministry of the Interior and secret services organised paramilitary groups loyal to Milošević. Most of these paramilitary groups received their orders and material backing from Belgrade and were thus directly in the service of Milošević’s Greater Serbia

¹¹⁶ Burg and Shoup, *The War in Bosnia*, 174.

¹¹⁷ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 93.

policy. The primary role of the groups was to participate in firing up the conflict in designated regions and carry out ethnic cleansing – crimes that regular army troops were perhaps unwilling to commit.¹¹⁸ Allowing these individuals to commit atrocities ranging from rape to mutilation led to the escalation of the conflict, the partial collapse of societal structures, and thus in due course served Belgrade's overall strategy of large-scale violence.

Željko Ražnatović Arkan's Serbian Volunteer Guard (better known as the Tigers) committed some of the worst atrocities during the war, covering perhaps 28 municipalities.¹¹⁹ The Tigers are an ideal example of how individuals with an already existing appetite for violence could be easily mobilised to participate in collective psychosis. The core of the Tigers was made up of football hooligans, the "Valiants," supporters of the Belgrade Red Star. Following the mood prevailing in Serbian society, these individuals as early as the mid-1980s exhibited Chetnik, national, epic ideologies and symbols at football matches. They were clear supporters of both Milošević and a Greater Serbia, praising "Slobo" and Serb unity in their chants.¹²⁰ As the Yugoslav political crisis escalated, the songs became increasingly hostile and gory, including direct threats to opponents' supporters.

Arkan, an international bank robber, transformed the volunteering "Valiants" into the Volunteer Guard in October 1991.¹²¹ Through participation in the Greater Serbian project, the rage and hate of the hooligans was directed at an appropriate (government-sanctioned) target and their desires were rationalised by the prevailing environment of crisis and chaos. This was perhaps the sole means of empowerment for these individuals, who were either incapable or unwilling to achieve status fulfilment and thus the feeling of "meaning" through more ordinary means. The Tigers raped and killed people beginning in 1991 in Slavonia and running through the Bosnian war to 1995. These actions provided the Tigers with a feeling of empowerment and Arkan became a hero, who, like so many Serb leaders, became the subject of songs and hero-worship that described him as the new saviour of the Serbs.¹²² Later, he also became a member

¹¹⁸ Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 79.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 129.

¹²⁰ Čolović, *Politics of Identity*, 273.

¹²¹ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 94.

¹²² Duijzings, *Religion and the Politics*, 200.

of parliament in Kosovo and a businessman, and his wedding with Serbia's most famous turbo-folk singer in 1995 was broadcast live on state television¹²³ – events revealing the extent of Serb nationalism's irrationality.¹²⁴

Other paramilitary groups partly organised and materially supported by Serbia's Ministry of Interior or secret service included Vojislav Šešelj's (leader of the Radical Party) Chetniks, also active in both Croatia and Bosnia in more than 30 municipalities;¹²⁵ the Serbian National Renewal's (SNO's) Dušan Silni (Dušan the Great); and the Beli Ori (White Eagles) led by Dragoslav Bogan, who clashed with Croatian police forces from the spring of 1991.¹²⁶ Within the Radical Party, paramilitary successes were often the best route towards a political role within the movement.¹²⁷ This moving from pillaging to politics was a rather second-level strategy of needs fulfilment. The Ministry of Interior also created its own 'special operations' paramilitary troops, active in both Croatia and Bosnia, sometimes referred to as the Red Berets. While the other paramilitaries relied on a combination of ideology and status-fulfilment, these relied more on the latter: the intensive training, quality equipment, and demands for absolute loyalty¹²⁸ created a superior and unique force.

The only important paramilitary group not receiving material backing from the Milošević regime was the Serbian Guard (SG) of Vuk Drašković, nationalist author and leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO). The SG's initial purpose was the protection of Serbs and democracy, but it was led by a number of former criminals whose activities degraded into atrocities comparable to those of the other groups.¹²⁹ The SPO was openly Chetnik/Greater Serbia-oriented. Both the troops and commanders were ideologically motivated: one of the commanders, Branko Lainović, even openly admitted being motivated by Drašković's (in)famous novel *The Knife*, which is filled with stories of WWI atrocities against the Serbs.¹³⁰ Since the SPO was opposed to SPS

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Arkan faced his end in a Belgrade hotel in January 2000. He was killed by a member of his paramilitary force.

¹²⁵ Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 129.

¹²⁶ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 96; Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 83.

¹²⁷ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 97.

¹²⁸ Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 87.

¹²⁹ See further Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 100, 103-104.

¹³⁰ Branimir Anzulović, *Heavenly Serbia: From Myth to Genocide* (New York, London: New York University Press, 1999), 139.

rule, however, SG activities were hindered by the JNA in the initial stages of the war. After some activity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the SG split up into opposing factions.¹³¹

The interesting aspect of these paramilitaries was the small number of individuals participating in the war compared to the size of the movements in general. The Tigers had some 40,000 members but only 1,500-5,000 were active; Šešelj's Chetniks had fewer than 200 active members; and Drašković's SG only 1,500 active members out of 80,000 in the SG movement as a whole.¹³² Many members were former criminals or actually recruited from prison, although there were individuals with quite ordinary backgrounds as well.¹³³ The numbers suggest that even among the people supporting the most ultra-nationalist and racist policies, only a tiny fraction were prepared to voluntarily act on their beliefs and endanger their lives to exterminate the Other. It is likely that passive participation in such a movement was fully sufficient to provide a feeling of empowerment for people whose physiological survival wasn't really at stake. Thus, only the most desperate — or psychologically unbalanced — elements of the population chose to become active participants to further their status needs.

The Ideological Justifications

Not all of the participants in the violence, however, were hooligans or radicals. Many were soldiers of the JNA, VJ, SVK, and VRS ordered to the front, and among these were individuals who had been forcefully recruited. Some of these, and certainly also many of the paramilitary groups' members, needed a justification stronger than mere status gratification for the atrocities they committed. It was at this point in time, when *already in war*, that the media campaigns and manipulations played an important role in mobilising – rather than demobilising – people. For the warriors of Greater Serbia, the epic stories and popular literature of Serb victories and suffering was more than just a cultural backdrop. If the common Serb was forced to watch documentaries about past atrocities on state television, for the soldiers, the past became reality through their participation in its revival.

¹³¹ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 104.

¹³² Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 82-84.

¹³³ Thomas, *The Politics of Serbia*, 98; Gow, *The Serbian Project*, 84.

One of the main ways of recreating the past and providing an ideological justification for horrible and irrational deeds was through the tradition of singing epic stories about past battles in the form of a decasyllabic poem accompanied by gusle-playing (a simple string instrument). Gusle players had toured Serb (and Croat and Muslim) lands from the Ottoman times and modified their songs according to audience. In the 1980s, new songs emerged suited to contemporary times, for example about the allegedly deteriorating position of Kosovo Serbs and the crimes committed against them,¹³⁴ and later about the heroism of Serb warriors in battle. The songs highlighted the Otherness of the enemy and created for the soldiers an illusory identity of heroism and superiority, thereby justifying the cause. During the wars in Croatia and Bosnia, gusle players were invited to political meetings and to the battlefield. Songs were played deliberately and repetitively to boost the troops' morale before important military operations.¹³⁵ JNA soldiers themselves acknowledged that "it was easier to make war with the gusle."¹³⁶

Another important element of epic poetry furthering the mobilisation of Serb fighters was the hajduk cult. The original hajduks of Ottoman times were outlaws whose resistance to authority created a popular romanticised perception of their activities. In the 1990s, the Serb media in Serbia and Bosnia cherished and promoted this heroic image of Serb 'resistance' outside Serbia proper,¹³⁷ to the extent that the hajduk framing of the conflict was also adopted by the Croatian and Muslim media. While for the Croat and Muslim press, however, hajduks were little but criminals and terrorists, on the Serb side, hajduks were generally considered physically and morally superior to their opponents, furthering the illusion of Serb invincibility.¹³⁸ The fact that members of the JNA, as well as paramilitary groups, wore insignia related to the hajduk cult¹³⁹ suggests that they indeed were taken in by the suggestion that they were heroic freedom-fighters and protectors of the Serb nation.

Many individuals among the Serb leaderships in Bosnia and the Krajina were very familiar with the epic traditions – or alternatively, those familiar with the traditions

¹³⁴ Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 57.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 80, 87-88, 350. In Pale in the spring of 1992 epic songs were played from loudspeakers from a driving car.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 90.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 115, 466.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 127, 142.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 134.

sought to become members of the SDS.¹⁴⁰ The leaders thus used the traditions to justify their actions and the same ideas were spoon-fed to the Serb troops. Although, as mentioned, many soldiers deserted due to the lack of clear justification for the war, the soldiers who remained were able to make partial sense of the conflict in which they were engaged by referring to the Ottoman and hajduk frames. Due to this frame, they could perceive the war as defensive and themselves as admirable heroes rather than murderers. As the war escalated and increasing numbers of Serb comrades were killed by the Croat and Muslims armies, the frame became reality and questioning the moral justification of war became increasingly unnecessary. At this point in time, the soldiers were no longer imaginary, but real heroes of the Serb nation.

Voluntary Mobilisation

It thus seems that two different justifications were at play among Serb troops. Some were driven by their personal status desires, supported by illusions of superiority that were promoted by the media. Others were motivated by the allegedly defensive nature of the war – an image increasingly convincing as the security situation deteriorated and when highlighted by the manipulation of tradition. Some were thus motivated by the particular *status* benefits they achieved, while others were motivated by a very realist belief in a *security*-level, existential threat. The propaganda, unfortunately, was problematic for its recipients in that it “fatally deceived those [...] thrust into war [telling them] what an easy job awaited them in their militarily incompetent and stupid adversary [...]” and “instilled in them a self-confidence of almost mythic proportions[...]¹⁴¹ This, of course, while fatal for Serb soldiers, hardly concerned the elites for whom war was merely a means of ensuring continued status gratification, not an issue of survival or security at all.

6.6. Serb Mobilisation: Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to show that collective identity, though capable of ensuring the unity of a group and creating ideological hegemony with the effect of hiding real issues of power and inequity, does not automatically trigger mobilisation. The conflicts in

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 29-33.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 127.

Croatia and Bosnia, though often defined as ‘ethnic conflicts,’ were ethnic only in the sense that the parties to conflict were defined (through great elite effort) by their traditional ethnic and national boundaries; mobilisation was a different issue altogether. As has been shown, regarding the masses at large, the manipulation of Serb mythology carried out by Milošević and other Serb leaders had the effect not of mobilising people but of rendering them passive and acquiescent. Mythology and manipulation had a mobilising effect only on the individuals who would have gone to war anyway – those forcefully recruited and those choosing to do so for personal and often materialistic reasons. Mobilisation thus became possible only among individuals for whom status PRD had been transformed into *security* PRD through escalation and intense indoctrination, and among specific (violent, criminal-minded) individuals for whom the conflict created exceptional opportunities for status gratification.

As argued in Chapter 2, making soldiers out of people who have alternative status roles and means of physiological needs fulfilment is extremely difficult. In fact, war on the status level is so irrational in terms of needs fulfilment that those opposed to it must be eliminated or demobilised through threats. The masses at large are willing to participate in violence only as the conflict escalates so as to create an actual existential threat. Although the further escalation of the Yugoslav conflicts is not examined here, it should be mentioned that as the war progressed, it acquired several features characteristic of bottom-up conflicts. The most important of these was perhaps the collapse of collective identity as the main force defining the boundaries of groups participating in conflict. In 1993, the Muslims for some time fought amongst themselves and one of the parties even signed a peace agreement with the Serb Other,¹⁴² although it was a Croat-Muslim alliance that eventually curbed Serb aggression. The other bottom-up feature, of course, was the creation of a new, stronger, Muslim identity.¹⁴³ As we have seen in the case of the Sudan, such phenomena take place only in physiological deprivation. In the Bosnian war, escalation and increasing deprivation also made existing identities increasingly flexible.

Something can also be said about military behaviour. As hypothesised in Chapter 2, mobilisation in status PRD among the masses at large can be achieved only through

¹⁴² See further Žanić, *Flag on the Mountain*, 304-316.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 139, 196, 470, 484.

exceptional levels of indoctrination and material benefits, best achieved in military organisations. It is clear that none of the military organisations examined in this chapter, from the JNA to the VRS, managed to indoctrinate troops sufficiently to ensure their complete separation from society at large and thus their complete obedience. As opposed to the Sudanese case, therefore, where widespread mass mobilisation in the rebel movements was automatic as needs strategies collapsed, in the Serbian case only a radical minority was initially mobilised. As Gagnon argues, these “[...]tended to be people whose own interests were also threatened by the proposed changes in the structures of economic power, and they represented only a small proportion of the overall population.”¹⁴⁴ It was thus inevitable that for Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia, large-scale mobilisation was more difficult to achieve than in the Sudan, as also in this case the key to mobilisation was not collective identity but personal needs fulfilment.

¹⁴⁴ Gagnon, *The Myth of Ethnic War*, 180.

7. Implications for International Relations Theory

The purpose of this chapter is to move beyond the general dynamics of identification and collective action and use the findings of the previous chapters to inform the systemic and structural theories of IR. Realism, liberalism, and constructivist theories of IR are explored only at this last stage because they constitute the highest level of analysis in the present framework, where the individual-level model of identification and the group-level model of collective mobilisation function as a basis. It is argued that although systemic theories of IR are largely persuasive on their own, the needs-PRD approaches developed in the previous chapters can provide them with a stronger foundation for explaining transformations in the overall international structure. Consequently, the aim is not to touch upon all existing strands of IR literature, but to show how the needs approach can inform some of them. It should be noted that although many of the previous chapters' findings are based on the interaction between groups other than nations (such as tribes), from the social psychological perspective, the findings should be directly applicable to groups of any size, and thus also to IR.

Although IR theories are mostly systematic theories, they do, as will be shown, make some important ontological assumptions about the nature of individual agency as well as the nature of ingroup power. This is the reason why the investigations connected to individual motivation / agency and to group dynamics of the previous chapters can be of value to IR theory. The aim here is thus to link IR theories and their conceptualisations of (individual) agency, (ingroup) power, and (intergroup) hegemony to different levels of needs fulfilment, and thus illustrate the connection between different IR theories and different levels of development. As in Chapters 1 and 2, the purpose is not to reject or replace the existing theories but to suggest that the alternative theories are best applied to different situations. Thus, realists may still use their rationalist ontology to analyse security dilemmas in the international society and constructivists their more ideational ontology to draw new revealing conclusions about norm emergence in the developed world. The present chapter is, indeed, of particular interest only to those concerned with the *evolution* of the system structure through time and space – an issue that none of the main IR theories purposefully address.

The first section of this chapter addresses realist and neorealist IR theories, as well as their potential criticisms, in light of the needs approach. The second section does the same with theories of liberalism and neoliberalism, while the third section tackles constructivism. Although constructivist arguments have, to an extent, been explored in connection to theories of conflict in Chapter 2, constructivism in IR is considered in more depth at this point because, despite its narrowness, it possesses the greatest potential for future development of IR and thus is an appropriate way of concluding the discussion. All three sections will first suggest a correlation between the intergroup dynamics of various needs levels and the various IR theories, and then connect them to the various theories of power and hegemony found in IR theories. To an extent, as will be shown, suggestions regarding these connections do already exist in IR literature. However, this chapter aims to present a more thorough evolutionary approach to IR theory, one in which also the ultimate foundation of evolution is present.

7.1. The Realist/Neorealist Worldview

For the realist, the international structure is made up of state units whose internal characteristics and domestic structures have little bearing on theory. Since states are perceived as interacting but unitary actors, states are also assumed to be rational actors, with a clear national interest cohesively promoted by both the masses and leaders.¹ Although some neoclassical realists might argue that leadership plays an important role in international relations,² the role of leadership, or the nature of the regime, does usually not enter into the predictions regarding state interaction. In the international arena, the struggle for power, resources, and territory among the units is taken as a constant and the main national interest is taken to consist of the accumulation of military and economic power. According to classical realists, the competition between states derives from the desire of human beings to dominate others and ensure survival;

¹ Classical realism has been developed by various thinkers during and before the 20th century. Its foundations lie in the thinking of political scientists and statesmen such as Machiavelli, Hobbes, Clausewitz, and Bismarck. In the 20th century it was developed by various statesmen of WWII and Cold War eras, for example George F. Kennan and E.H. Carr (*The Twenty Years' Crisis*, ed. Michael Cox (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave 2001)). While classical realists would argue that also ideational factors such as the unity of the nation come into play, such assumptions are not fully developed in realist theory.

² Neoclassical realists have tried to integrate leader agency into otherwise very structural realist theories.

Morgenthau, for example, argues that such drives are caused by the need to compete for scarce resources.³

Neorealism, in contrast, parts from the Hobbesian premise that the seeking of power is natural and inevitable. Neorealists attribute the realist nature of international relations to the lack of a common strategy in the international system. According to Waltz, the lack of common rules between states means that “anarchy” prevails between states, forcing them to seek power for defensive purposes.⁴ According to Mearsheimer, the problem of anarchy is that “states can never be certain about other states’ intentions.”⁵ No common agreement exists as to the consequences of anarchy, however, except for the fact that states end up competing with one another so as to prevent others from overpowering them. For Gilpin, competition amounts to the seeking of military and economic hegemony, even though this inevitably leads to hegemonic wars.⁶ Waltz, on the other hand, argues that accumulating too much power is irrational and that anarchy leads not to repeated wars but to the balancing of power among states.⁷

Consequently, depending on the hypothesised extent of conflict in the international system, realism can be divided into so-called ‘offensive’ and ‘defensive’ theories. Both camps argue that their particular theory applies to the states system across time and space, including the modern context. It seems clear, however, that neither offensive nor defensive realism can account for various objectively irrational or top-down phenomena within the international system. For example, the search for power resulting in a power balance where mutually assured destruction was theoretically possible goes far beyond the limits of rationality and realism. Changes taking place in the system, such as the transformation of the bipolar world into a unipolar one through detente,⁸ are equally difficult to explain through realism alone. The supposed universal applicability of realist theory must therefore be challenged.

³ H. J. Morgenthau, *Scientific Man vs. Power Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 168; see further also *Power in World Politics*, eds. Felix Berenskoetter and M.J. Williams (London: Routledge, 2007), 51.

⁴ Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979).

⁵ “Conversations in International Relations: Interview with John J. Mearsheimer (part 1),” *International Relations* 20, no. 1 (2006): 105-123, 105-106.

⁶ Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁷ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, 102-128.

⁸ For a criticism of neo-realism in this respect, see in particular Richard Ned Lebow, “The Long Peace, the End of Cold War, and the Failure of Realism,” *International Organization* 48, no. 2 (1994): 249-277.

Realism and Deprivation

Although realism claims universal applicability, it seems to describe especially well the dynamics prevailing in less developed regions of the international system, or, those on the lower levels of needs fulfilment. As mentioned, realism traditionally holds that people, and therefore states, are driven exclusively by the need to survive or dominate others. Equally, in assuming that states are rational actors, realism supposes that the interests of the leaders and masses do not come into conflict, or if they do, they have no relevance for the functioning of the international system. However, as was illustrated in the case studies, leadership tends to be situational and oriented towards a clear goal (survival and material benefits) only on the lower levels of needs fulfilment; this does not mean that other needs or drives do not exist. Equally, as one moves away from severe deprivation, leaders tend to become increasingly transformational, capable of manipulating mass perceptions, so that the state can even act in ways that run counter to the objective (national) interest of the masses. The leaders' and masses' interests can thus be seen to automatically and materially converge only on the lowest levels of PRD.

Second, realism assumes a state of anarchy, something apparently inapplicable to some parts of the world such as modern Europe. In reality, there is reason to believe that anarchy does not prevail in the intergroup system through time and space, but only when the ingroup structure and its common values are absent or have temporarily collapsed. For example, the Sudanese intertribal system in the pre-war period suffered from an absence of higher authority capable of reconciling tribal differences. Yet in times of relative plenty the tribes managed to create institutions to mediate and lessen the frequency of tribal conflicts. The idea that materialistic competition always, or inevitably, dominates intergroup relations thus does not apply in all systems, but only in systems characterised by physiological deprivation. It is also only in physiological deprivation that ideational elements such as identities, values, and ingroup hierarchies remain unimportant. Materialistic competition for power and resources thus cannot be an ever-present intergroup phenomenon. Indeed if it were, the international state system would be/have been in a continuous state of war, quite like the tribes of the Sudan in times of drought.

Third, while uncertainty and unpredictability are indeed important determinants of the nature of intergroup relations, they are not as unchangeable as Mearsheimer and other

realists would like to think. As was illustrated in Chapters 3 and 5, the predictability of collective action rises significantly as one moves from a low level of needs fulfilment towards a higher level. In severe deprivation, groups and individuals indeed behave unpredictably and violently, but on the status level, groups tend to be more predictable, given that they are directed by common values, identities, and institutional structures. Thus, a rise in the level of needs fulfilment in the international system denotes also a rise in predictability. This leads to the possibility of the convergence of habits, values, and cultures, denoting again a shift away from pure anarchy.

One can thus argue that while realism accurately describes the rational materialism prevailing on the lower needs levels, it erroneously applies such systemic characteristics to the evolving state systems, across both time and space. Instead, realism can be said to best describe a situation in which at least one actor/group in the interstate/intergroup system suffers from severe deprivation and consequently renders the intergroup environment insecure, unpredictable, and war-prone, in other words characterised by security PRD. Because the dynamics of identity and leadership are connected to the needs level, so is the realist nature of the intergroup system. Such an evolutionary approach is important in that it allows IR theorists to use different theories (realism, liberalism, and constructivism) in exploring different phenomena. This approach also allows the two variants of realism to be reconciled as applicable to different historical eras. As Tang argues:

Systemic theories [such as realism] are adequate only for understanding a particular system within a specific time frame. [...] While both offensive realists and defensive realists have strived to draw from and explain the history of the Great Power Era, they should actually look at two different historical periods for supporting evidence. Offensive realists should look at the pre-Great Power Era, whereas defensive realists should look at the Great Power Era. Consequently, while the two realisms can be unified *methodologically*, they should not be unified because they are *ontologically incompatible*: they are from (and for) two different historical periods.⁹

⁹ Shiping Tang, "Social Evolution of International Politics: From Mearsheimer to Jervis," *European Journal of International Relations* 16 no. 1 (2010): 31-55, 45-46. It must be pointed out that the author does recognise motivation or needs as the underlying explanation for his evolutionary framework.

Realist Power and Hegemony (and beyond)

If the various theories of IR can be linked to different levels of international development, then the same can also be done with core IR concepts of power and hegemony. Indeed, each systemic theory of IR includes a recognised or implicit assumption regarding the nature of power and hegemony; there are as many theories of power and hegemony as there are systemic theories. Power is usually seen as either coercive, persuasive, or constitutive.¹⁰ In realist theory, the coercive, one-dimensional view of power developed by Dahl¹¹ is usually assumed to prevail. One-dimensional power allows one to coerce others to do what they otherwise would not do. Given that realism is a state-centric theory, power is generally understood as being held by states. The extent of power consequently depends on the material and economic resources of the state,¹² although for some realists, the quality of government and diplomacy matter as well.¹³ Such a material and coercive understanding of power has already been seen at work in the Sudanese case, where on the lower levels of needs fulfilment only coercion and materialism lead to group empowerment.

Like the concept of power, hegemony also can be divided into different types. Some authors, for example, distinguish between material and ideological types of hegemony – the capacity to coerce Others (usually other states) through the “manipulation of material incentives” on one hand, and through socialization, or the “altering of substantive beliefs of leaders” on the other.¹⁴ Other commentators prefer to differentiate between the agential and structural aspects of hegemony.¹⁵ Recently, theories of hegemony have divided the concept into even more categories, for example into “the production of coercion, the production of consent, the production of attraction, and the production of life.”¹⁶ While previously scholars spoke of ‘empires,’ whose power

¹⁰ See Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 2nd ed. (New York, Houndmills: Palgrave, 2005), passim.

¹¹ Robert A. Dahl, “The Concept of Power,” *Behavioral Science* 2, no. 3 (1957): 201-215; see Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 16.

¹² See for example Brian C. Schmidt, “Realist Conceptions of Power,” in *Power in World Politics*, eds. Felix Berenskotter and M. J. Williams (London: Routledge, 2007), 43-63.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁴ John Ikenberry and Charles Kupchan, “Socialization and Hegemonic Power,” *International Organization* 44, no. 3 (1990): 283-315, 285.

¹⁵ Jonathan Joseph, “A Realist Theory of Hegemony,” *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 30, no. 2 (2000): 179-202.

¹⁶ Andreas Antoniadou, “From ‘Theories of Hegemony’ to ‘Hegemony Analysis’ in International Relations,” (paper presented at the annual meeting for the International Studies Association, San Francisco, California, May 26-29, 2008).

depended on military assets alone, in the post-WWII world, one speaks of hegemons.¹⁷ On the lower levels of development, or the realist world, however, it is clear that we are talking about the first level of hegemony only – namely empire. The only route towards intergroup hegemony is through material and coercive hegemony. This was seen in the Sudanese case in the refusal of the Sudanese peripheries to accept the ideologies offered by the state. As also Scott argues, where clear class grievances exist, the (hegemonic) public transcript is always undermined by the hidden transcript of the deprived;¹⁸ the idea of ideological hegemony does not apply on this level.

While coercive power and military hegemony thus apply to the lowest needs level, it has also been suggested that the role of coercion decreases and the role of manipulation increases as soon as a group moves away from physiological PRD. Although realism claims broad applicability, it seems clear that the dynamics of power and hegemony in a world made up of security-deprived states is not adequately encapsulated by realist (or liberal) theory. As hypothesised, collective action in so-called ‘middle situations’ in which cohesive collective violence is easiest to achieve, does not depend either on mass or leader agency, as the case tends to be at the two extremes of the conflict continuum. Instead, the particular form that collective action takes is largely determined by the interactions between leader and follower conceptions of the ideal needs strategy. On this level, power dynamics can correspondingly be seen to shift from coercion towards the “second face of power”¹⁹ consisting of manipulation, agenda-setting, and non-decisions. The relatively low level of needs fulfilment implies that while mass interests cannot be ignored, the masses are also willing to accept various perceptions and solutions regarding their relatively insecure needs fulfilment. It is thus on this level that leaders have the power, in Gramsci’s words, to ideologically “educate the masses.”²⁰

The reason why the power dynamics prevailing in security PRD are not considered either by realist or liberal theory is that in the presence of security PRD the international system is not necessarily either realist or liberal. Thus, one cannot talk about power or

¹⁷ Agnew, *Hegemony*, 22.

¹⁸ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1990), passim.

¹⁹ Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, *Power of Poverty: Theory and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) 6; see also Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 21.

²⁰ Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1957), 66-67.

hegemony characterised either by competitive or cooperative dynamics. As was seen in Chapter 6 in connection to the history of cooperation of the former Yugoslav republics, leadership and insecurity together largely determine the needs strategies and ideologies of nations suffering from PRD. At some point in time, nations may want to choose cooperative strategies to ensure survival; at other times, they may choose independence. It is thus on this level that a “war of position” rather than a “war of movement” prevails and where various competing ideological hegemonies, or Gramscian-style “historical blocks,”²¹ can be created and coexist in the state system. As is also exemplified by the Yugoslav case study, however, manipulative power and ideological hegemony are only another historically specific phenomenon. Eventually, groups and nations achieve a higher level of needs security and ideological hegemony must give way to more liberal group dynamics.

7.2. The Liberal Worldview

Contrary to the realist position, the liberal view is less state-centric and takes into account developments within, and more complex interests of, the state units. Liberalism posits that cooperation and peace between groups/nations is possible, and indeed increasingly likely, in the modern world. According to neoliberals, an essential element of the liberal transformation is the change of the international system towards “complex interdependency” between states, businesses, NGOs, civil society, and individuals.²² This renders international conflict increasingly irrational and obsolete. Liberal institutionalists, on the other hand, believe that the international system is still characterised by anarchy, but that the states’ common economic and political interests may nevertheless serve as a basis for the creation of international norms and supranational institutions, which in turn can generate greater trust and cooperation.²³

²¹ Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, eds. Hoare and Nowell Smith (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 366.

²² See in particular Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr, “Globalization: What's New? What's Not? (And So What?),” *Foreign Policy* 118 (Spring 2000): 104-119; see also Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1977).

²³ See for example Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); Axelrod and Robert O. Keohane, “Achieving Cooperation Under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions,” *World Politics* 38, no. 1 (1985): 226-254.

Quite like the materialism of realism, the cooperation and interdependency of liberalism can be connected to the overall level of development and efficiency of needs fulfilment. If one wants to understand why complex interdependency “varies according to region, locality, and issue area,”²⁴ one must look towards needs and motivation. As has been argued, cohesive cooperation is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve on the lower levels of needs fulfilment, for the most natural and adaptive reaction on this level is individual mobilisation. On the status level, on the other hand, people and groups are more influenced by common values and identities, and thus their actions are much more predictable. Thus also liberalism is regionally and historically specific: regionally in that it applies only to the Western, developed, world, and historically specific in that it applies only to the last half century:

Whereas defensive realism has tried to examine a long period of history of international politics (from Westphalia or 1495 to today) and realism in general has claimed to apply to an even longer stretch of history (from ancient China and Greece to today), neoliberalism has rarely ventured into the terrain of international politics before World War II: almost all of the empirical cases that neoliberals claim to support their theory have been from the post-World War II period.²⁵

Democratic Peace

A significant aspect of liberalism addresses not only the question of cooperation within the system but also the decreasing frequency of conflict within that system: democratic peace. According to Kant,²⁶ peace is a consequence of the developments in and between state units. The first relevant development is democratisation, which allows the masses who bear the costs of war to also control decisions regarding war and peace. This, it is argued, has rendered states more peaceful. Another development is increased economic interdependency, which makes violent conflict more costly. A third development is the growing power of international rules and organisations that constrain state and interstate behaviour. These elements constitute the basis for explaining democratic peace, as well

²⁴ Keohane and Nye, *Power and Interdependence*, 117.

²⁵ Tang, “Social Evolution,” 46.

²⁶ See Immanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace* (1795) and more recent analyses, for example Bruce Russett and John Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* (New York: Norton, 2001), specifically p. 35; Vesna Danilovic and Joe Clare, “The Kantian Liberal Peace (Revisited),” *American Journal of Political Science*, 51, no. 2 (2007): 397–414.

as for the overall liberal research agenda. Although many of these aspects have been examined in the context of conflict theories (Chapter 2), it is worth resolving the confusion regarding explanations of peace as well, given their significance for liberal IR theory.

Quite like conflict theorists, democratic peace theorists labour under the illusion that it is possible and desirable to create one universally applicable theory. Also similar to theories of conflict, democratic peace theories offer a dichotomy of explanations: material versus structural. Accordingly, some theorists argue that the real foundation of peace is not democracy at all, but capitalism and/or socioeconomic development. As Gat suggests, peace may be a direct result of the wealth created by capitalism and the industrial-technological revolution.²⁷ The entrenchment of democracy and peace are seen as resulting from the increase in economic production: while “[i]n preindustrial times, such growth as there was in overall resources through innovation and exchange was so slow as to make resources practically finite and the competition over them close to a zero-sum game,” such insecurity has now largely been overcome, rendering people less willing to engage in conflict both in democratic and undemocratic countries.²⁸ Even if people are still interested in accumulation, it can now be more easily achieved through commerce than territorial expansion. As Gartzke argues in the neoliberal vein, capitalism creates common interests between states, causes them to become increasingly interdependent, and unlikely to resort to war due to its costliness.²⁹

Other theorists explain the existence of the democratic peace through the nature of regime/institutional structure.³⁰ Democratic institutions arguably constrain collective behaviour by forcing leaders to consider the needs of their constituencies. According to Bueno de Mesquita and Siverson, for example, the choice between war and peace depends largely on whether leaders can hope to retain their positions in times of war,

²⁷ Azar Gat, “The Democratic Peace Theory Reframed: The Impact of Modernity,” *World Politics*, 58, no. 1 (2005): 73-100, 79. See also Gat, *War in Human Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), which considers the role of wealth and prosperity in making individuals less motivated to endure conflict (597-598).

²⁸ Gat, *War in Human Civilization*, 84, 86.

²⁹ Eric Gartzke, “The Capitalist Peace,” *American Journal of Political Science*, 51, no. 1 (2007): 166-191. See also Michael Mousseau, “Market Prosperity, Democratic Consolidation, and Democratic Peace,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 44, no. 4 (2000): 472-507.

³⁰ See for example Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith, “An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace,” *American Political Science Review* 93, no. 4 (1999): 791-807.

which in turn means that democracies are likely to engage in war only when victory is probable.³¹ On the other hand, irrespective of the interests of state leaders, domestic institutions can also force people to seriously evaluate whether or not a conflict is consistent with prevailing societal values such as liberalism.³² Domestic institutions can also work in less obvious ways. For example, the enforcement of practices by domestic administrators can lead to path dependent interactions between units and give rise to “complex adaptive systems” in which agents interact based on common rules,³³ for example, making states more likely to resort to dispute settlement than aggression.³⁴

If one accepts the argument presented in the previous chapters regarding the dynamics of conflict, however, it is evident that peace, or democratic peace, can be explained mainly by the increase in needs security. It is equally clear that in the case of top-down, manipulative leadership, the institutional structure is also of crucial significance if it successfully constrains leader behaviour. Since conflict is caused by deprivation and manipulative leadership on the various needs levels, peace must accordingly depend on abundance (or perceived relative abundance) and structures constraining manipulative leadership. The third strand of democratic peace theory, which explains peace only through ideational factors such as similarity of values in liberal democracies,³⁵ should, however, be rejected. As argued in Chapter 2, ideational factors do provide an explanation for increasing cooperation within the system, but not for the existence or absence of mobilisation. For example, identity and value theorists often point to the frequency of military and humanitarian interventions carried out by liberal democracies in non-democratic countries.³⁶ Such interventions, however, can equally be explained

³¹ Bueno de Mesquita and Randolph M. Silversen, “War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability,” *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 4 (1995): 841-855; Randolph M. Silversen, “Democracies and War Participation: In Defense of the Institutional Constraints Argument,” *European Journal of International Relations* 1, no. 4 (1995): 481-489.

³² For a recent analysis see John MacMillan, “Liberalism and the Democratic Peace,” *Review of International Studies* 30, no. 2 (2004): 179-200, 185.

³³ J.H. Holland, *Hidden Order: How Adaptation Builds Complexity* (Reading, MA: Perseus Books, 1995), 10; see R.M. Bittick, “The Democratic Peace Phenomenon, Institutional Credibility, and Path Dependency,” *Public Administration Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (2008): 367-392.

³⁴ William J. Dixon, “Democracy and the Management of International Conflict,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37, no. 1 (1993): 42–68.

³⁵ John M. Owen, “How Liberalism Produces Peace,” *International Security* 19, no. 2 (1994), 87-125; Owen, *Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998); regarding the “separate peace” argument see also Michael W. Doyle, “Kant, Liberal Legacies and Foreign Affairs,” *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12, no. 3 (1983): 205-235.

³⁶ See for example Jens Meierhenrich, “Perpetual War: A Pragmatic Sketch,” *Human Rights Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (2007): 631-673.

by the failure of democratic structures to constrain elite action which, from the mass/national interest perspective, tends to be both maladaptive and irrational.

Liberal Power

The liberal conception of power is closely connected to the complex interdependencies of liberal internationalism and thus differs from the realist perception of power as being power “over” other units. Since liberalism is based on common interests and interdependencies, liberal power is more sophisticated and based on the capacity of units to persuade one another. As discussed above, this non-realist and more ideational kind of power is often called the “second face of power”³⁷ in which persuasion, agenda-setting, and non-decisions matter. Thus, while in the context of security PRD the element of manipulation was highlighted, from a liberal view one should pay more attention to the role of persuasion.³⁸ In the IR context, the persuasive aspect of liberal power is elaborated by Nye through the concept of “soft power,”³⁹ meaning the ability to “structure the situation so that other countries [or other actors] develop preferences or define their interests [in consistent ways].”⁴⁰ Indeed, if security PRD has largely been overcome in the liberal world, then individuals are less moved by manipulation and more by persuasion.

Soft power can be exercised through various means, for instance through political, scientific, and cultural institutions and interactions. Given that soft power is the prevailing mode of power in the liberal interdependent world, it can also be carried out by actors other than states,⁴¹ most notably international political and financial institutions.⁴² The ones wielding power in the liberal strategy are thus no longer only military leaders (as in physiological deprivation) or political ones (as in security PRD) but the various experts governing in the interdependent system. It can thus be said that

³⁷ Bachrach and Baratz, *Power of Poverty*, 6.; Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, 21.

³⁸ Or, alternatively, “socialisation,” as per Ikenberry and Kupchan, *Socialization and Hegemonic Power*, passim.

³⁹ See for example Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “Soft Power,” *Foreign Policy* 80, Twentieth Anniversary (1990): 153-171; Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1(2008): 94-109.

⁴⁰ Nye, “Soft Power,” 168.

⁴¹ Nye, “Soft Power,” 105-106. Given that power is often wielded through structures, power may even have non-intentional effects. In the field of International Political Economy, one tends to use the concept of “structural power,” meaning the possibility to influence the global institutional structure. See Susan Strange, *States and Markets: An Introduction to International Political Economy* (London: Pinter, 1988).

⁴² Agnew, *Hegemony*, 154-155.

on the status level, power is dispersed to individuals who through competition have managed to acquire prominent status roles. Persuasion is the prevailing mode of power because no one individual has full expertise or control over the entire needs strategy or mass perceptions. Rather than seeking strong solutions and leaders, people desire structures that allow competition – which is perhaps also why liberal democracy walks hand in hand with global capitalism⁴³ and the hegemony of the market.⁴⁴

The importance of status needs fulfilment and the power of intellectuals and experts has significant, positive and negative consequences for human communities. On one hand, status needs PRD and elite control may induce states to abandon their authoritarian values in return for economic well-being and free competition. Making European Union membership conditional on the abolition of the death penalty, for example, has led to its widespread abandonment in Europe and neighbouring countries.⁴⁵ On the other hand, status competition and elitism have also led to the abandonment of more communitarian values and the weakening of social welfare and overall ‘togetherness’ in the market economies of the developed world.⁴⁶ As Münch writes, “[i]n this world of shrinking distances, everybody is competing with everybody, which leaves us as the strategies of survival nothing but specialisation, even faster product and service innovations and cycles, and the corresponding worldwide extension and differentiation of the division of labor.”⁴⁷ Unfortunately, despite leading to feelings of purposelessness (variably called anomie, alienation, or ontological insecurity),⁴⁸ the need for status through competition is rooted in the needs hierarchy and thus cannot be easily avoided by the individual.

⁴³ Notably, Robert Cox sees hegemony as being a combination of socioeconomic, political, and ideological structure, which are all rooted in the prevailing mode of production. See Robert W. Cox, *Production, Power and World Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 172.

⁴⁴ For a lucid description see especially Agnew, *Hegemony*, passim.

⁴⁵ Ian Manners, “Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms?” *Journal of Common Market Studies* 40, no. 2 (2002): 235-258.

⁴⁶ On the erosion of welfare policies see further Sandra Halperin, “Dynamics of Conflict and System Change: The Great Transformation Revisited,” *European Journal of International Relations* 10, no. 2 (2004): 263-306, 270 onwards.

⁴⁷ Richard Münch, *Nation and Citizenship in the Global Age: From National to Transnational Ties and Identities* (New York: Palgrave, 2001): 187, 119.

⁴⁸ Regarding ontological insecurity, see especially Catarina Kinnvall, “Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security,” in *Political Psychology* 25, no. 5 (2004): 741-767.

Liberal Hegemony

Like liberalism and realism, also the concept of liberal power is historically specific. As Nye argues, “[...]the definition of power is losing its emphasis on military force and conquest that marked earlier eras. The factors of technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more significant [...] while geography, population, and raw materials are becoming somewhat less important.”⁴⁹ One should add that due to its connection to the overall level of development and needs security, soft power is also geographically specific.⁵⁰ Indeed, given the frequency of physiological and security PRD in many parts of the world, the liberal transformation is far from global. Liberal power dynamics are limited to the regions where individuals have reached the status level. Even in developed countries, liberal theory applies best to elites who benefit most from the global needs strategy and who can thus best afford a more inclusive ingroup.⁵¹

However, given that Nye speaks of power between states rather than between people, his is really a theory of hegemony. Nye concentrates almost exclusively on the behaviour of Western democracies, and the United States in particular – the liberal hegemons of the modern (if crumbling) unipolar world. Nevertheless, the liberal hegemony in a sense stretches further than its power dynamics. This is because power no longer resides in the hands of the states but rather in the international political and financial institutions promoting global capitalism.⁵² The rise of institutional power has meant that liberal hegemony can come to characterize also less developed countries, although they have been relegated to an inferior position. Through liberal power, the world is being transformed into “haves” and “have-nots.”⁵³ According to world systems theory, in particular, the world is divided into the core, semi-periphery, and periphery regions, core countries with developed capitalist economies exploiting peripheral ones, which in turn have labour-intensive economic strategies.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Nye, “Soft Power,” 154.

⁵⁰ Nye seems to believe that the nature of power is changing also in the developing countries (Nye, “Soft Power,” 162), although this can be contested based on the case studies presented here.

⁵¹ Münch, *Nation and Citizenship*, chapter 3: In the US identity inclusion is easier due to the weak welfare state, compared to Europe.

⁵² Agnew, *Hegemony*, 154-155; chapter 7.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁵⁴ See for example Immanuel Wallerstein, *World Systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Daniel Chirot and Thomas D. Hall, “World-System Theory,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 8 (1982): 81-106. For a critique on the over-determinacy of the world system theory see Peter Worsley, “One World or Three? A Critique of the World-system Theory of Immanuel Wallerstein,” *Socialist Register* 17 (1980): 298-338.

Although the present dissertation is more interested in needs than needs satisfiers, and thus is uninterested in economic theory per se, a few words should be said about how the needs perspective can help understand the dynamics of unequal economic relations. The core-periphery relationship provides benefits for both regions on different needs levels: for the core actors, the availability of cheap resources and labour promotes status competition,⁵⁵ and for the peripheral masses jobs in multinational factories provides opportunities of physiological survival. The problem (of exploitation) resides in the fact that in the periphery, power dynamics are based on coercion and materialism. As the Sudan case study has shown, severe deprivation causes people to opt for immediate solutions, including strategies of economic exploitation imposed by the core powers, and makes people incapable of cohesively protecting their interests. As physiological survival is of prime importance, participation in the global strategy becomes voluntary as well as necessary. By accepting simplistic solutions and by obeying authoritarian leaders the masses undermine collective empowerment on the local level and thus complete the vicious circle of the global system.⁵⁶

In connection to the Sudan, it was also clear that the absence of common fate between elites and masses tends to cause elites to adopt justificatory RG ideologies. Such a pattern can arguably be detected in the case of the modern global system. International Monetary Fund (IMF) economists have been widely criticised as driven by simplistic neoliberal ideology rather than an awareness of the best possible local development strategies,⁵⁷ which in turn is reflected in their inefficient models of economic and social development. The developing country elites, in turn, are in a difficult position in having to decide whether to serve the needs of the masses and the international society in general through persuasive capitalist strategies – or to resort to more authoritarian methods in improving the living standards of their constituencies. Again the problem

⁵⁵ Such an approach can be seen, for example in the work of David Harvey; See Harvey, *Spaces of Global Capitalism: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development* (London, New York: Verso, 2006), 24.

⁵⁶ The interaction between exceptional leaders and followers does, of course, allow for the possibility of eventually escaping the vicious circle. This happened to an extent in South Sudan, and as has happened also among the previously semi-peripheral Asian tigers, whose leaders have through partial protectionism managed to ensure the development of their national economies.

⁵⁷ Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York, London: W.W. Norton, 2002), passim; in the constructivist field see also Michael M. Barnett and Martha Finnemore, “The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations,” *International Organization* 53, no. 4 (1999): 699-732.

arises due to a discrepancy between power and hegemony. Although liberal hegemony extends to the periphery via market structures and through participation in international institutions, these structures cannot be utilised in an equitable manner in regions where materialism, coercion and manipulation has more power than collective persuasion. As long as a significant level of development and needs security remains unattained in the periphery, liberal hegemony will continue to have uncontrollable effects in the peripheries of the global system.

7.3. The Constructivist Worldview

The constructivist worldview overlaps greatly with the liberal conception, but for practical purposes it is treated separately. Rather than being a theory, constructivism is better described as a sociological and IR approach. Constructivism emphasises the way in which intersubjective meanings are used to understand the social world and the ways in which change comes about in a system. In the field of IR, constructivists challenge in particular the idea that the nature of international relations or structures is somehow fixed. Instead, social structures are best seen as being constructed through the practices and interactions of actors, whose interests and actions are then recursively shaped by that structure – in other words, structures and actors are co-constituted. Critical constructivists are also interested in the power relations present in identity, values, knowledge, and other ideational constructions held by groups and individuals, and the reasons why certain identities or values come to prevail. As Hopf argues, “[w]hereas conventional constructivists accommodate a cognitive account for identity, or offer no account at all, critical constructivists are more likely to see some form of alienation driving the need for identity.”⁵⁸

Persistence and Change

The primary problem of realism and liberalism that constructivism strives to resolve is the issue of change in the international system. As has been shown above, both realism and liberalism are geographically and historically specific theories, and no theoretical bridge exists in IR theory to unite them. Although liberalism has brought into the

⁵⁸ Ted Hopf, “The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory,” *International Security*, 23, no. 1 (1998): 171-200, 184.

picture the role of norms and institutions, without constructivist thought one cannot properly understand how these enable change. The foundation for understanding change can be derived from Kratochwil's theory of practice and symbolic communication.⁵⁹ According to this theory, change, including political change, is possible because the symbols groups and individuals use to communicate are always constructed, and because there is no way of knowing whether the symbols reflect reality. The outcomes of communication and interaction are never fixed and new perceptions of reality can always come into being. It is because perceptions can be contested that "deception but also persuasion are possible."⁶⁰

Due to its emphasis on perception, constructivism leaves more space than other IR theories for the possibility of change in identity, ideational factors such as norms and values, and leaders and institutions in whose practices these are embedded. Both the persistence and change of ideas can be explained by symbolic communication and the ways in which ideas are presented and manipulated by leaders. The persistence of values, norms, and institutional culture in general is emphasised for instance by Katzenstein, who argues that history to a large extent determines national behaviour even in the modern world where international norms and institutions are promoting legal and political homogenisation.⁶¹ Differences in traditional values and patterns of behaviour between states explain, for example, why even in the interdependent world, the United States, Germany, and Japan may retain very different attitudes towards international security policy,⁶² or any other type of policy for that matter. In a similar vein, Ruggie emphasises the role of "constitutive rules" in defining the content of ingroup behaviour.⁶³

⁵⁹ Friedrich Kratochwil, *International Order and Foreign Policy: A Theoretical Sketch of Post-war International Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978); for a review see Stefano Guzzini, "Imposing Coherence: The Central Role of Practice in Friedrich Kratochwil's Theorising of Politics, International Relations, and Science," *Journal of International Relations and Development* 13 (2010): 301-322.

⁶⁰ Kratochwil. *International Order*, 20.

⁶¹ Peter J. Katzenstein, "A World of Regions: America, Europe, and East Asia," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 1, no. 1, Symposium: The Globalization of Law, Politics, and Markets: Implications for Domestic Law Reform (1993): 65-82.

⁶² Peter J. Katzenstein, "Same War - Different Views: Germany, Japan, and Counterterrorism," *International Organization* 57, no. 4 (2003): 731-760.

⁶³ John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization*, 52, no. 4 (1998): 855-885.

On the other hand, various constructivist authors are interested in how new norms come into being and how value change can be explained. Value change can be seen to occur through the agency of the experts already mentioned in connection to liberal theory, or in constructivist terms, by “epistemic communities”⁶⁴ or “norm entrepreneurs”⁶⁵ who possess special expertise or share a commitment to certain values. Such professionals possess the power to construct reality and the perceptions of other decision-makers. Barnett and Finnemore, for example, draw attention to the ways in which international organisations classify the world and thereby diffuse new norms directing international behaviour.⁶⁶ In a similar vein, Risse-Kappen has shown how peace researchers and linked epistemic communities influenced Gorbachev in his decision to opt for cooperation rather than competition with Western powers.⁶⁷ Collective action is thus enabled not only by coercion, manipulation, or persuasion, but also through the creation of social reality.

On the systemic level, the possibility of perception and value change means that any structure prevailing in the international system is not inevitable. As Wendt famously argues, “anarchy is what states make of it.”⁶⁸ For him, transformations in the identity and interests of nation states results in the transformation of international structure – from a Hobbesian anarchy to Lockean rivalry to Kantian friendship.⁶⁹ The change happens through reflexivity, as groups interact with others and become dissatisfied with existing forms of identity and interaction. Given that Wendt still takes states to be the main and only clearly relevant actors in the international system, he naturally does not thoroughly consider the role of domestic politics and individual interests; he merely argues that for states, the “expected costs of international change cannot be greater than

⁶⁴ Ernst P. Haas, *When Knowledge is Power: Three Models of Change in International Organizations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 41; see also Haas, “Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination,” *International Organization* 46, no. 1 (1992): 1-35.

⁶⁵ Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 391-416 400-403.

⁶⁶ Barnett and Finnemore, “The Politics, Power.”

⁶⁷ Thomas Risse-Kappen, “Ideas do not Float Freely: Transnational Coalitions, Domestic Structures, and the End of the Cold War,” *International Organization* 48, no. 2 (1994): 185-214.

⁶⁸ Alexander E. Wendt, “Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics,” *International Organization*, 46, no. 2 (1992): 391-425.

⁶⁹ Alexander E. Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 254.

its rewards.”⁷⁰ Even though Wendt does not explain why change should take a certain direction, it seems that he is right; international integration is a reality and competitive identities are in flux, slowly changing into increasingly cooperative ones.⁷¹

Constructivist Power and Hegemony

As opposed to rational theorists who believe that identities follow real interests, constructivists tend to believe that socially constructed identities emerge prior to the defining of interests.⁷² The constructivist understanding of power follows this idea and accordingly gives priority to structures rather than agents. Given that power is often exercised through institutions, it may have non-intentional effects.⁷³ However, unlike liberal power, which is based on persuasion of institutional actors, constructivist power is based on the capacity of these institutions to define the ways in which the world and social relations should be perceived. As Guzzini argues, constructivist theories of power “usually come as variations of the theme of ‘Lukes-plus Foucault’.”⁷⁴ Lukes argues for a “third face” of power: the type of thought control which creates consensus and prevents observable conflicts from arising in the first place.⁷⁵ Foucault goes further, suggesting that power resides in the identities people adopt and in the knowledge and awareness they possess.⁷⁶ According to this view, people are dominated by existing frames of understanding and are blind to alternative versions of reality.

If constructivist power can be said to be based on the presentations of the world provided by norm entrepreneurs and institutions, then constructivist hegemony can be seen to consist of the prevailing global definitions of reality. Western science, capitalism, individualism, and other sources of ideas, knowledge, and practice constitute the hegemony of the postmodern world. For example, Burawoy laments the link

⁷⁰ Alexander E. Wendt, “The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory,” *International Organization*, 41, no. 3 (1987): 335-370.

⁷¹ The ideas on policy integration and identity change have a long history; see for example Ernst B. Haas, “International Integration: The European and the Universal Process,” *International Organization* 15, no. 3 (1961): 366-392; see further also Emmanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, eds., *Security Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁷² Finnemore and Sikkink, “Taking Sock,” 393.

⁷³ The concept of “structural power” developed by Susan Strange can be seen to be one of the foundations for the constructivist understanding of power.

⁷⁴ Stefano Guzzini, “The Concept of Power: A Constructivist Analysis,” *Millennium* 33, no. 3 (2005): 495-521, 496.

⁷⁵ Lukes, “Power: Radical View,” 27.

⁷⁶ Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1980), especially 132.

between capitalism and modern sociology, which he believes is creating narrow but popular frames of sociological understanding.⁷⁷ Harvey, on the other hand, seeks a “‘secret geography’ to theory production itself” – a critical geographical understanding of the patterns of knowledge prevailing in the world, in order to create “alternative forms of geographical practice, tied to principles of mutual respect and advantage rather than to the politics of exploitation and domination.”⁷⁸ The problem for these theorists seems not to be the frames adopted by individuals living in relative gratification, but rather the hegemonic position of those frames, and the fact that individuals living in developing countries are willing to adopt knowledge developed by Western elites. It is debatable, however, whether this is something to worry about. As has been seen, people in low needs fulfilment tend to only hold on to identities and ideologies serving needs fulfilment. If postmodern understandings are adopted, then logically it follows that they must be of some practical use.

The Need for Needs

The premise that ideational factors such as identities, values, and practices come prior to the definition of interests, while central for constructivist theory, causes some serious dilemmas. This can be seen first in the concept of collective identity, where no consensus exists among constructivist thinkers. Wendt, for instance, sees identity as something that can be changed, yet is fixed enough to direct the behaviour of states at any given point in time. Zehfuss, on the other hand, contests this view of identity, arguing that collective identities can never be delineated; identities are constantly in flux and become real only through interaction.⁷⁹ Indeed, Kratochwil’s theory of symbolic communication seems to necessitate this latter view of identity, while at the same time rendering the whole concept relatively useless (at least when it comes to predicting collective action). Indeed, with regard to national identity, Kowert laments that “[f]or some it is an ideology, for some a social movement, and for others a mere awareness that binds people together.”⁸⁰ Certainly, without considering the role of human needs

⁷⁷ Michael Burawoy, “Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for a Global Sociology,” in *Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for a Global Sociology*, eds. Michael Burawoy, Mau-kuei Chang, and Michelle Fei-yu Hsieh (Taipei, Taiwan: Institute of Sociology at Academia Sinica, Council of National Associations of the International Sociological Association, and Academia Sinica, 2010), 3-27.

⁷⁸ David Harvey, “The Sociological and Geographical Imaginations,” *International Journal of Political and Cultural Sociology* 18, nos. 3-4 (2005): 211-255, 250.

⁷⁹ On the contested nature of national identity, see Maja Zehfuss, “Constructivism and Identity: A Dangerous Liason,” *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 3 (2001): 315-348.

⁸⁰ Paul A. Kowert, “National Identity: Inside and Out,” *Security Studies* 8, nos. 2-3 (1998): 1-34, 4.

and the functional nature of identity it is difficult to make sense of these various types of identity – to see how identity as social movement is connected to physiological deprivation, identity as ideology to security PRD, and identity as awareness to status PRD.

The exclusive emphasis on ideational factors causes also other problems, such as overlooking the significance of individual agency.⁸¹ Although some theorists have argued for an amalgamation of rational, individualistic agency and structural, socially constructed notions so as to better include political and power considerations in constructivist theory,⁸² the two have not yet been successfully combined. Since human agency and motivation are not considered, the value of change remains hidden. While constructivism explains how change can come about, there is no explanation of how individuals choose their values and orientations or *why* change moves in a certain direction. Constructivists tend to be almost exclusively concerned with the emergence of emancipatory norms and human rights regimes, yet they do not give any reason as to why newly emerging norms would serve emancipation rather than authoritarianism or politico-economic stagnation. The constructivist argument that change happens because it is “appropriate”⁸³ is just not good enough. As Hopf argues, “[c]onstructivism is agnostic about change in world politics.”⁸⁴

An appropriate way to develop constructivism further would be to accept its connection to needs and thereby recognise its regional and historical specificity. On a daily basis one can perceive people being mobilised to violent and non-violent protest for the protection of their interests both in the developing and developed world; merely through observation one can deduce that a complete absence of mobilisation and thus a complete hegemony of ideational structure and norm entrepreneurs over individual agents can be achieved only among the relatively gratified elites around the world. The same is reflected in the spread of new collective identities. Cosmopolitan identities are limited to specific regions (the European Union for example) and to individuals with high

⁸¹ See further Jeffrey T. Checkel, “The Constructivist Turn in International Relations Theory,” *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998): 324-348.

⁸² Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “International Norm Dynamics and Political Change,” *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887-917, 910-913.

⁸³ Martha Finnemore, “Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology’s Institutionalism,” *International Organization* 50, no. 2 (1996): 325-347, 338.

⁸⁴ Ted Hopf, “The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory,” *International Security*, 23, no. 1 (1998): 171-200, 180.

status,⁸⁵ while the majority of people continue to identify either with their nations or with new ethnic, political, sexual, and other groups.⁸⁶ Also, although national identities are being abandoned, relative deprivation remains a reality and global class relations are emerging as an important alternative route to empowerment.⁸⁷ Consequently, despite what critical constructivists argue regarding domination through awareness and identity, empirically it seems that a constructivist form of power is possible only where relations of domination are *not* present.⁸⁸

The needs approach indeed seems indispensable for the constructivist project, for it helps explain where and when the power of knowledge and structure applies, and why “domination” based on such elements is so willingly accepted. As long as the existing strategy allows people to remain unconcerned with basic questions of physiological survival, as is generally the case in developed countries, it is only natural that people will increasingly transfer their power and agency to structures and elites so as to become freer to concern themselves with higher needs, such as status and creativity.⁸⁹ The existence of real basic needs is thus something worth considering among constructivists, and an element which would make possible the development of constructivism into a full IR theory applicable to a whole range of situations. This would be an opportune path to take especially by those who desire a more scientific basis for constructivism, hoping to occupy the “middle ground” between rationalist and relativist explanations.⁹⁰ If one acknowledges that certain patterns exist regarding the adoption and acceptance of ideas, values, and knowledge by individuals and groups, and that these patterns are connected to human biology and basic needs, one is clearly one step closer to linking rationalism and social construction.

⁸⁵ Münch, *Nation and Citizenship*, 152.

⁸⁶ Jonathan Friedman, “Champagne Liberals and the New “Dangerous Classes”: Reconfigurations of Class, Identity, and Cultural Production in the Contemporary Global System,” *Social Analysis*, 46, no. 2 (2002): 33-55, 38.

⁸⁷ Agnew, *Hegemony*, 156, 176.

⁸⁸ Sometimes the pure constructivist approach seems incapable also to describe the postmodern world: Barnett for one argues that even NGO identity depends on resources NGOs that depend on contributions from the civil society as a whole can follow their liberal and humanitarian values, while NGOs whose existence depends on state benefits can be seen to adopt political identities. See Michael Barnett, “Evolution Without Progress? Humanitarianism in a World of Hurt,” *International Organization* 63, no. 4 (2009): 621-663.

⁸⁹ In the Maslowian needs hierarchy and its successors, creativity is seen as a higher need following that of status.

⁹⁰ See for example Emanuel Adler, “Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics,” *European Journal of International Relations* 3, no. 3 (1997): 319-363.

7.4. IR Theory: Conclusion

The historical evolution of the international systemic structure has been recognized by various authors. English School theorists have argued that state systems with fixed borders are unlikely to remain the prevailing global structure.⁹¹ Agnew, more recently, has suggested that the world has developed from an ensemble of independent worlds (such as tribes), to fields of forces (nation-states), to a hierarchical set of cores and peripheries, and is moving towards an integrated world society.⁹² Some authors have taken such suggestions further by linking them to different IR theories, arguing that theories from offensive realism to liberalism “are for different periods of international politics.”⁹³ Even more significantly, some authors have connected different theories of power and hegemony to different historical periods.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, a full explanation of systemic evolution has thus far been lacking, for the ultimate source of evolution and change has not been studied. As Antodiades argues about his own evolutionary theory of power and hegemony: “it should be acknowledged that the proposed approach is not well-placed to offer much insight on what are these material/objective forces in specific historical periods [which determine the types of power and hegemony applicable].”⁹⁵

The reason why such an explanation has not been forthcoming lies in IR theorists’ disinterest in looking beyond the systemic or group level of analysis for explanation. Although the various IR theories contain implicit understandings of individual agency and somewhat more explicit understandings of group dynamics, these are mere ontological suppositions rather than carefully researched positions. In addition, while the various IR theories do emphasise the ways in which actors constitute the system – the state in realist theory, firms and organisations in liberal theory, and classes in world system theory – the actors in these theories are structures in themselves, as they are made up of individuals, whose motivations are central in the creation of the system. Despite the long-standing debate in sociology and IR between theories prioritising (group/state)

⁹¹ See in particular Part 3 in Hedley Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977) and Barry Buzan, *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

⁹² Agnew, *Hegemony*, 42-47.

⁹³ Tang, “Social Evolution,” 32.

⁹⁴ Most importantly, Antoniades, “From ‘Theories of Hegemony.’”

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 13.

agency and those prioritising structure,⁹⁶ the question of how structure, and changes in that structure, can be seen to depend on *individual-level* agency has until now been left unanswered.

As the present thesis has argued, the persistence and change of the system structure depends ultimately on individual-level motivation. To understand change in the system, one must first look at the dynamics of the ingroup, and to understand changes in the ingroup, one should look at the interests and needs of the individual. Change comes about because individuals are predisposed to fulfilling their needs, and because their motivation and behaviour changes depending on the needs level. On the lower levels, individuals tend to rely on individualistic strategies, but as they advance on the needs hierarchy, they gradually shift their political agency to leaders and bureaucrats, whose behaviour in turn is increasingly directed by norms, identities, and other ideational and structural factors. The shift in the nature of agency in turn influences the nature of group empowerment and, by extension, the nature of the intergroup system.

As Table 7.1 below demonstrates, the evolution of the international system can be best illustrated by linking the realist, liberal, and constructivist models to the different needs levels and by using the notions of agency, power, and hegemony to describe the three levels of analysis. Realism can be seen to best describe a relatively undeveloped world plagued by scarcity, physiological deprivation, and consequently anarchy. On this level, individual agency prevails over structures, group empowerment depends on coercion, and hegemony is based on military and material capacity. Security PRD, on the other hand, is the level on which strategies and structures are created and contested, where ingroup power depends on manipulation, and hegemony in the alternatively competitive or cooperative intergroup system depends on ideology. Liberalism in turn describes a rather developed world dominated by status concerns, where institutional and ideational structure largely trumps individual political agency. In this world peace, cooperation, and the domination of markets are made possible through persuasion carried out by various experts and bureaucrats, and hegemony depends on access to expertise. Lastly,

⁹⁶ For a review of this debate in the field of IR theory, see in particular Alexander E. Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41, no. 3 (1987): 335-370. As the author argues, between structural and agential theories one can place Giddens' structuration theory, which supposes that agents and structures are co-constituted. On this see further Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) and *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984).

constructivism describes a somewhat imaginary world where PRD has been overcome, where structures dominate agents completely, and where power and hegemony depends on knowledge and the capacity to create it.

Table 7.1 International Relations Theory: Agency, Power, and Hegemony

	Nature of Agency	Ingroup power	Intergroup hegemony	IR Theory
Physiological Level	Individual agency	Coercive and material (Military leaders)	Military Hegemony (local conflict)	Realism
Security level	Creating structure	Manipulation (Political Leaders)	Ideological Hegemony (competition)	-
Status level	Structure	Persuasion (Experts and bureaucrats)	Market Hegemony (global/regional cooperation)	Liberalism
No PRD	Structure	Knowledge (Scientists and experts)	Scientific Hegemony (unity)	Constructivism

Conclusion

As stated in the introduction, one of the primary aims of this dissertation has been to inform theories of conflict and IR by integrating into these fields concepts from social psychology. Social psychological and conflict/IR theories, however, are not easy to bring together. Social psychology is mostly concerned with the behavioural tendencies of individual human beings, measurable in the small group laboratory context, while conflict theory is largely interested in group or intergroup behaviour, and IR theory primarily with systemic explanations. Although psychology, social psychology, and evolutionary psychology have all been used to inform theories of conflict and IR, they have mostly done so in an incomplete manner – without linking the different levels of analysis to one another and respecting the sometimes rigid limits and assumptions of both fields. In particular, they have not challenged the theoretical boundaries of rationalist or ideational theories of conflict, or of realist, liberal, or constructivist perceptions of the international system.

The bringing together of social psychology and conflict/IR theories has also been hindered because there is an unresolved dichotomy within social psychology itself between theories of identity relying on rationalism on one hand (the Rational Conflict Theory) and on cognition and categorisation on the other (the Social Identity Theory). Thus, if one is to attempt a meaningful integration of psychology into conflict and IR theory, one must challenge some of the main premises of modern social psychology. More specifically, one must step out of the small group context and acknowledge that individual motivation and collective behaviour is not as stable and predictable in the real world as in the laboratory; that it inevitably varies depending on environmental stimuli, such as the level of scarcity and the availability of points of comparison. Scarcity, on the other hand, may only be integrated into theories of social psychology by reviving the famous yet generally ignored theory of the needs hierarchy.

Only once it is accepted that individual motivation and collective behaviour changes according to the needs level does it become possible to integrate psychology more systematically into sociological theories of conflict and IR – which, after all, are more interested in real societies functioning in real, changing environments. One can observe

that as the level of needs fulfilment affects identification and leadership preferences on the part of the individual, so the various levels of needs fulfilment equally affect the nature of ingroup dynamics and tendencies towards certain types of collective action. This, in turn, affects the nature of the intergroup system. The model of identification, however, is simpler than the model of collective violence, which takes into account free agency in the group and intergroup context. The model of collective violence, on the other hand, is simpler than the systemic model of international relations, which must strive to somehow unite all three levels of analysis.

A Framework of Identification

The first chapter of this dissertation examined the needs hierarchy, theories of identification, and theories of leadership. It argued for a three-level needs hierarchy made up of physiological, security, and status needs. It also proposed a novel understanding of how the level of collective needs fulfilment influences identification and leadership. The mechanism which mediates between needs and group dynamics is stress, whose strength depends on the level of deprivation. The existence of stress is a signal that the needs strategy offered by the group is not conducive to needs fulfilment and survival. Severe stress, therefore, renders individuals willing to accept new identities and action-oriented leaders, causing collective identities to be flexible on the lower levels of needs fulfilment and more stable, and possess more persuasive power, on the higher levels of needs fulfilment. The needs level also tends to affect leadership preferences in certain ways: on the lower levels action-oriented leaders are preferred, while on the higher levels, relations-oriented leaders are respected and have more power to define mass interests.

In terms of rational choice and constructivism, one could argue that on the lower levels, interests are ontologically prior to identities, and on the higher levels, identities are ontologically prior to interests. The rational choice end of this hypothesis is supported by the qualitative case study findings of Chapter 3, which examined the nature and development of Northern and Southern Sudanese collective identity. The separation of the South from the North demonstrates how, in physiological deprivation, collective identities tend to be abandoned when the existing group affiliation does not promote survival. If alternative identities provide better chances of advancing from physiological deprivation to security and status PRD, then these identities may be adopted and

become relatively solidified on the status level. The Sudanese case study shows that a low level of development in general prevents the development of a stable collective identity: even the elites themselves fail to adhere to a shared understanding of identity and instead rely on changing ideologies to justify their positions of relative gratification.

On the other hand, the constructivist end of the hypothesis – that identities are ontologically prior to collective interests on higher levels of needs fulfilment – is supported by the Chapter 5 case study on the development of Yugoslav, Serb, Croat, and Bosnian Muslim identities. This case study suggested that in *security* PRD, identity has more persuasive power than it does in physiological deprivation, but also that alternative ideologies (in this case, Yugoslavism and Communism) may be used to define group interest at this level. In *status* PRD, on the other hand, collective identities have proved their worth and identity categories tend to lose their flexibility. On the status PRD level, however, it also seems to be the case that the availability of historical material regarding past suffering – so-called ‘cultural trauma’ – largely determines the extent to which leaders can manipulate the masses into accepting certain frames of understanding regarding intergroup relations. If such material is extensive, leaders often rely on it to trigger competitive intergroup relations that justify their authoritarian leadership. If such material is absent, leaders tend to accept cooperative intergroup relations which respect the status desires of the masses.

While it is fully acknowledged here that the suggested link between needs, identity, and leadership, and the reconciliation of rationalist and constructivist thinking is not a generally accepted approach in social psychology or sociology, it arguably resolves some important debates in both fields. In social psychology, it can resolve the contradiction between Realistic Conflict Theory, which argues that collective identity depends on real and material intergroup differences, and Social Identity Theory, which argues that identity and intergroup bias are innate and ever-present. In sociology more generally, in addition to the tension between rational action and social construction, the synthesis can reconcile theories of leadership that emphasise the situational and action-oriented nature of leaders with those emphasising their transformative powers. However, the synthesis can do much more than inform existing group psychology. It can also serve as a basis for understanding the more complex phenomena of collective violence and systemic theories of IR.

A Framework of Mobilisation

The second chapter of this thesis combined the synthesis of needs, identity, and leadership with root theories of conflict and argued for a comprehensive framework through which to reconcile various conflict theories and types of collective violence. According to this framework, all collective action depends on *perceived relative deprivation*, PRD. Like identification, collective violence can be seen as a continuum connected to the needs level. Cohesive collective violence, however, is not automatic; its nature and extent depends on various external factors. Motivation for collective cohesive violence can be said to depend on two factors: deprivation and unity. The significance of deprivation suggests that cohesive collective violence should be most common in physiological deprivation, while unity suggests it should be more common on the higher needs levels. In reality, however, cohesive collective violence may be triggered on all needs levels, but the dynamics vary at each level. In physiological deprivation, the lack of unity must be compensated for by coercive or materialistic leadership. In contrast, in status PRD, the lack of deprivation may be overcome by manipulative leadership that manages to create a *perception* of serious deprivation. In security PRD, both deprivation and unity are present and cohesive collective violence is perhaps most natural and common.

The physiological end of the PRD hypothesis was developed and verified in Chapter 4, which examined the mobilisation of the Southern Sudanese rebels during the second civil war between Northern and Southern Sudan. The study shows that the deprivation experienced by the Southerners gave rise to a variety of rebel movements with various opponents. It confirms the idea that in physiological and security PRD, mass mobilisation is easy to achieve while forging unity is not. The case study also confirms the idea that identity and ideology play no part in mobilising people or in creating unity among them in physiological deprivation; the only thing leading to unity in the South Sudanese case was the coercion of the SPLA leadership and their success in acquiring resources and ending Northern oppression. Thus, what mattered was their contribution to helping the masses escape physiological deprivation. The case study also shows the importance of distinguishing between motivation and long-term success of the movement: nearly everyone who had lost their traditional livelihood was motivated to

fight, but long-term cohesion and eventual success depended on material factors such as the leaders' coercive capacities and external support.

The status end of the PRD hypothesis was developed and verified in Chapter 6, which examined the mobilisation of the Serbs of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia, including paramilitary groups and the Yugoslav National Army, in the early 1990s. Most importantly, the case study shows that identity has little to do with mobilisation even on the higher needs levels; the effect of identity and ideological manipulation is only to render the masses acquiescent regarding elite policies. In status PRD, as the investigation of the various Serb entities shows, only a limited number of people are initially willing to resort to collective violence. In status PRD, the primary method by which elites may trigger large-scale violence is by using violent extremists to create an environment of insecurity and exaggerating the actions of Others in order to create an illusion of existential threat. Ideology on this level is not a mobilising factor as it only provides a justification for elites to remain authoritarian (leadership characteristic of the security level) and the masses to remain lethargic, at least up to the moment that the illusion of security PRD turns into a reality.

Like social psychological theories of identity and leadership, theories of conflict have thus far failed to resolve the rationalist-constructivist dichotomy. At best, theories of conflict have argued that large-scale violence is most common in the middle situation in which both deprivation and identity categories are strongly present, or on middle levels of historical development. However, by looking at the different conflict dynamics at both ends of the conflict continuum, one can draw from the findings of other conflict theories: for example economic and class theories, which seem to demonstrate relatively well the dynamics of conflict taking place in LDCs, or ideational theories that emphasise the role of manipulation in top-down conflicts taking place in the more developed parts of the world. Looking at the whole conflict spectrum, in any case, is helpful when one wants to analyse the historical and regional particularity of certain types of conflict, or their overall transformation in terms of dynamics (from automatic to manipulative) and actors (from rational rebel groups to professional armies or ideologically motivated terrorist groups).

A Framework of International Relations

Based on the frameworks of identification and collective violence, one can also try to predict the evolution of the intergroup system. Using a theory of motivation and collective action relying on the needs hierarchy, existing systemic IR theories can be seen as historically and regionally specific. Chapter 7 argued that the nature of the international system tends to evolve so that depending on the time period, it can best be described by realist, liberal, or constructivist theory. The overall change in the international system, on all levels of analysis, has been and can be best described in terms of agency, power, and hegemony in the manner described below.

On the lowest needs level, physiological deprivation, the importance of survival, and weakness of identity have been shown to lead to the collapse of structures and hierarchies, which is why the individual possesses full agency on this level. On the ingroup level, this means that empowerment is possible only through coercive and materialist strategies, and on the intergroup level, that hegemony can only be achieved through material and military superiority. The level of security PRD, on the other hand, was shown to be the level on which needs strategies are created. On this level, individuals are looking for functioning group structures or seeking to build new ones to partially replace their free agency. This was seen in the cases of South Sudan and the former Yugoslavia: the identity which best served needs fulfilment was eventually accepted on the security level and developed as immediate security PRD subsided. Since no obvious answers exist regarding group identifications and strategies in security PRD, manipulation is the key to collective empowerment. The (cooperative or competitive) nature of the intergroup environment consequently depends on the nature of leadership and chosen ideologies, which is why the system may even include various “historical blocks” at once.

As the group advances onto the status level, individuals are no longer concerned with mere survival but rather with their own positions in the community. In order to concentrate on such a high level of needs fulfilment, they must first accept the transfer of most of their political agency to group institutions and experts. Because people are only concerned with competing for status roles, they limit themselves to certain fields of action and let others control other aspects of the needs strategy. The dynamics of ingroup interaction and power consequently shift from manipulation to cooperation and

persuasion, while hegemony in the system is achieved only by controlling the elites who govern the various markets, institutions, and other systems of the liberal, interdependent world. One can also imagine a situation where the relatively gratified people of the liberal world have largely overcome PRD. Such people may choose to give up all their (political) agency to leaders and structures and are unlikely to ever resort to even peaceful mobilisation. Ideational factors, such as knowledge, ideas, (humanitarian) values, and cosmopolitan identity would define their interests. Power in such a world would consist of constructed knowledge and awareness, and hegemony of being able to create that knowledge and to share it with others.

Although the present framework reconciles the opposing theories, ongoing debates within the IR field between realist, liberal, and constructivist theorists illustrates how the rationalist (realist)-constructivist divide continues to confuse issues even on the highest, systemic level of analysis. As was mentioned in Chapter 7, the contradictions between IR theories and concepts suggest that IR cannot afford to remain a purely systemic theory, at least if one wants to factor in the element of evolution of the system. In fact, the field's own great debates, such as the dichotomy between structure and agency, and the various types of power and hegemony, can only be resolved by integrating into IR theory the lower levels of analysis. By connecting the various IR theories and the changing nature of agency, power, and hegemony to different levels of needs fulfilment and development, the existing contradictions make sense. There can be no one systemic theory of IR – there can only be one framework in which the various theories are seen as historically and regionally specific.

Limitations and Implications

Both the greatest strengths and the greatest limitations of the present study derive from the fact that it has been primarily developed through theoretical deduction and only secondarily on qualitative analysis. It is a broad – and thus parsimonious – meta-theory, which develops the big picture somewhat at the expense of richness in the theories of identity, conflict, and IR found on the various levels of analysis. Its emphasis on intangible and almost un-measurable variables such as identity and perception also renders it more powerful as a general explanatory theory rather than as a model capable of predicting conflict, or one that can be definitively proved through fieldwork. Indeed, especially the "low needs" end of mobilisation in Chapter 2 might be almost impossible

to prove or disprove, given the difficulty of acquiring sufficient data from undeveloped countries suffering from conflict, and of carrying out interviews in the midst of conflict. (Interviews of a later date might suffer from the group bias and categorisation effects that develop on higher needs levels.) Accurate measurement techniques are, of course, available in the laboratory context, but not as far as severe deprivation is concerned.

What value the present work has thus inevitably lies in the suggested meta-theoretical connections between different fields of scientific inquiry. In 1998, Pettigrew argued that an effective application of social psychology to international social issues must fulfil certain conditions:¹ the model must link the micro-individual, meso-situational, and macro-social levels; it must attend to issues not covered by social psychology alone, such as large-scale conflicts; it must operate across cultures and societies; it must apply to the whole social hierarchy rather than to the elites alone; and it must avoid victim-blaming. The present framework fulfils these criteria. The needs hierarchy and the way in which needs fulfilment affects behaviour provides the link between the various levels of analysis. While based on a psychological model of motivation and identification, the framework also addresses large social and systemic issues. The model is respectful of historical and regional specificity and thus applies globally. It is also interested in the behaviour of both leaders and masses. Finally, by showing how universal psychological tendencies result in different group dynamics in different environments, it avoids blaming anyone.

It can, of course, be argued that the value of the present thesis as a comprehensive framework is undermined by the fact that its logic has been achieved at the expense of many well-established suppositions of social psychology, conflict, and IR theory. In the course of this dissertation it was suggested, for example, that the needs hierarchy should be revived to make sense of theories of identity and leadership; that the understanding of identity as a 'need' by the most widely used social psychological approach (SIT) is misleading; that IR theory should comprehensively include three levels of analysis; and that constructivism should abandon its main premise regarding the ontological priority of identity over interests in order to become a complete theory of collective action. At the same time, however, as the present framework poses an ontological challenge to the

¹ Thomas Pettigrew, "Applying Social Psychology to International Social Issues," *Journal of Social Issues* 54, no. 4 (1998): 663-675.

various theories, it does not attempt to wholly invalidate or replace them. The main aim is only to limit their applicability so as to provide some common ground through the concept of evolution for those interested in systemic change.

Interestingly, however, Pettigrew also offered a warning for anyone desiring to integrate psychology into broader social issues by pointing out that the public policy arena is “hot and controversial.”² It is possible that the identity-conflict framework will be rejected by conflict practitioners whose worldviews cannot incorporate the idea that deprivation inevitably leads to collective violence,³ or that the general connection between the different levels of analysis will be rejected by IR theorists unwilling to broaden their field of inquiry to less familiar fields of science. If this is so, then it is hoped that the present thesis will at least contribute to further literature on, and awareness of, the connection between needs and identity in general. Even a low level of awareness on this connection among the public could promote general tolerance among people and nations. In particular, among relatively gratified Westerners for whom awareness plays a greater role, it might limit the feelings of moral outrage caused by sometimes violent collective movements in the developing world. If one accepts that human collective reactions to particular stressors or triggers – movies or cartoons disparaging Islam being a recent example – depend on the level of needs fulfilment, then one is a step closer to abandoning misplaced moral righteousness and to becoming a more tolerant and understanding person.

² Pettigrew, “Applying Social Psychology,” 664.

³ Especially the idea that the power of persuasion and democratic leadership are unlikely to work in developing countries may be difficult for some to accept.

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