Violence or nonviolence? A comparison of costs and effectiveness

Geoff Harris
Durban University of Technology
geoffreyh@dut.ac.za
It is widely believed that violence ‘works’ and that nonviolence does not. What is the evidence?

Nonviolent campaigns for social change
Corporal punishment to bring up ‘good’ children
Retributive justice to deter criminal behaviour
War to bring about peace
1. Nonviolent campaigns

Ten ‘amazing successes’ from the 20th Century (Galtung 1996)

- Indian independence from Britain
- The Ayran wives of Jewish men, February, 1943
- The campaign for civil rights for blacks in the United States
- The anti-Vietnam war movement in the US and elsewhere
- The Argentinian mothers in the Plaza de Mayo, Buenos Aires
Evidence continued...

- The ‘people power’ campaign in the Philippines, 1986
- The nonviolent campaign against apartheid
- The nonviolent campaign in occupied Palestine for justice from Israel
- The Beijing campaign for greater democracy, Spring 1989
- The Solidarity/DDR movement in eastern Europe in the 1980s

It is not sufficient to simply list the success stories - there were also failures and it is necessary to compare the success rates of NV and violent campaigns
Comparing success rates

Stephan & Chenoweth (2008)

Data set with 323 violent and nonviolent resistance campaigns between 1900 and 2006. Specific criteria for inclusion and exclusion of campaigns and for judging their success, limited success and failure

- Main finding: NV campaigns achieved success 53% of the time compared with 26% for violent campaigns
2. Corporal punishment by parents

It is widely believed that CP is effective and necessary in order to bring up good children, but what is the evidence?

- Meta-analysis of 88 studies by Gershoff (2002), summarised by Durrant (2005), examined the effects of ordinary CP on 11 development indicators.
The effects of ordinary CP

- Child victim of physical abuse 10
- Poorer mental health as children 12
- Poorer mental health as adults 8
- Impaired parent-child relationship 13
- Lower moral internalization 15
- Aggression as children 27
- Aggression as adults 4
- Antisocial behaviour as children 13
- Antisocial behaviour as adults 5
- Abuse of child or spouse in adulthood 5

- Higher levels of immediate compliance 5
3. Retributive justice

- It is widely believed that dealing harshly with criminals will deter them - and others – from criminal behaviour.

- Capital punishment is an extreme form and has the support of the majority of South Africans for some crimes.

- What does the evidence suggest?
Around three quarters of murders in SA are not planned. Rather, they are the results of arguments which get out of hand. Alcohol and the ready availability of guns are important factors.

These are not likely to be deterred by capital punishment

Planned murders – in cold blood – would be deterred if the likelihood of being detected and convicted was high. It is not (Schontech, 2002)
In the US, the 34 states which have the death penalty have a **higher** murder rate than the 17 which do not (4.89 per 100 000 in 2011 compared with 4.13)

Radelet & Lacock (2009) surveyed 77 of the world’s leading criminologists

- 88% did not believe that the death penalty acted as a deterrent
- 87% did not believe that abolishing it would significantly affect the murder rate
Other crimes

- South Africa’s rate of imprisonment (289 per 100 000) and number of prisoners (some 182 000) is high. Prison conditions very harsh. Limited effort at rehabilitation.

- However, the recidivism rates are very high – between 75 and 90% of those released end up back in prison within 12 months.

- The limited evidence available shows that restorative justice – where an offender takes responsibility for himself and his actions and seeks to repair the damaged relationship with his victim – is highly effective. Victim: offender mediation is a common tool.
A widely held view is that the military is effective in achieving security.

What is the evidence?

Military preparedness by a country – as measured by levels of military expenditure – has no effect on the likelihood of war in sub-Saharan Africa. If civil wars are going to happen, they happen irrespective of the levels of military expenditure by the state.
War is extremely costly. On average, a civil war means a 2.2 percentage point reduction in the economic growth rate. A typical civil war lasting seven years would cost around 60% of one year’s GDP.

In addition, the processes of reconstruction and recovery after war are long – say 20 years – and costly.

Wars often do not result in a sustainable peace. Around half of civil wars reoccur within five years.

US military interventions in other countries aimed at supporting or overthrowing existing governments – have largely failed. Major examples include Vietnam, Iraq and Afghanistan.
Summary

- Violent campaigns
- Corporal punishment
- Retributive justice
- War/threat of war

are costly and not very effective compared with the nonviolent alternatives.
Why do we give up on nonviolence so quickly and revert to violence so easily, when its track record is so poor?

- Impatience – we want a quick fix
- Ignorance - not aware of the effectiveness of nonviolent alternatives

‘… people and groups must be taught nonviolent struggle, as it is not intuitive or instinctive’ (Mary King)
Some key references

- Nonviolent campaigns

- Corporal punishment

- Capital punishment
  - Death Penalty Information Center website
- Restorative justice


- War
