

THE ANATOMY OF HATRED (2011)

PHILOSOPHY, CRIME, AND ETHNIC CONFLICT

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In a world of conflict and violence, we often speak of hatred and related concepts such as antipathy, enmity, homophobia, and anti-Semitism. The American-dominated discourse of "hate crime" and "hate speech" is gaining popularity in Europe and – although references to hatred abound – they are seldom examined in studies about the persecution of minorities or the causes of ethnic mass violence. What is this elusive thing called 'hatred' and what role does it actually play in various kinds of ethnic violence? Are the references to hate in "hate crime" and "hate speech" misnomers and what can be done to overcome hatred in the aftermath of group conflict? These are among the questions to be examined in this course at the University of Copenhagen. The course is interdisciplinary and designed to make possible in-depth analysis and theoretically qualified discussion of a range of issues related to the topic of hatred. Students will become acquainted with central theoretical approaches and debates, both of which will be examined in relation to actual cases from around the world. In addition to the weekly seminars, students will be offered individual consultation in relation to the writing of the final paper.

DIS Staff Contact Info:

This is a University of Copenhagen (Københavns Universitet- KU) class that falls under the Migration & Conflict Program at DIS. If you have any questions or concerns with this course, please contact:

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Class Location:

Københavns Universitet Amager (KU)
Institut for Tværkulturelle og Regionale Studier (ToRS)
Institute for Cross-Cultural and Regional Studies
Snorresgade 17-19. 1 sal.
Classroom U-4

Danish Institute for Study Abroad
Vestergade 10
Classroom B-15

Class Schedule:

Tuesdays 10:15-13:00
Select Fridays 10:00-13:00

Please Note: FIVE CLASSES TAKE PLACE AT DIS (Vestergade 10 Room B-15) ON FRIDAYS from 10:00-13:00!

SETTING THE SCENE

1. Tuesday 6 September at KU-ToRS: Why dwell on hatred?
2. Tuesday 13 September at KU-ToRS: How study hatred?

THE ANATOMY OF HATRED

3. Tuesday 20 September at KU-ToRS: What distinguishes hatred?
4. Friday 23 September **at DIS**: Is hatred an emotion?

5. Tuesday 27 September at KU-ToRS: Philosophical portraits of the hateful personality.
6. Tuesday 11 October at KU-ToRS: Can hatred be morally justified?

HATRED IN CONTEXT

7. Friday 14 October **at DIS**: Hate crime and hate speech: All prejudice and almost no hatred?
8. Tuesday 25 October at KU-ToRS: Genocide: A place for hatred after the demise of ‘ancient’ hatreds?
9. Friday 28 October **at DIS**, DIS students only: Presentations/paper workshop.
10. Tuesday 1 November, KU students only: Presentations/paper workshop.

RESPONSES TO HATRED: NORMATIVE AND PRACTICAL ISSUES

11. Friday 18 November **at DIS**: Criminalizing hatred: Hate speech.
12. Tuesday 22 November at KU-ToRS: Criminalizing hatred: Hate crimes.
13. Tuesday 29 November at KU-ToRS: Emotional reconciliation: Addressing hatred after mass violence.
14. Friday 2 December **at DIS**: Any “antidotes” to hatred?

DETAILED SYLLABUS

6 September KU-ToRS: Why dwell on hatred?

The aim of this first meeting is threefold: First, to present the reasons why it is important and academically challenging to investigate the topic of hatred. Second, the philosopher David Hume once claimed that it is impossible to define hatred, but maybe we know hatred when we feel, suffer, see or hear it? Material with examples will be presented in class (including passages from Nazi speeches, pieces from literary classics, testimony, movie clips, genocidal propaganda, examples of hate crimes). The main purpose is to establish a shared field of concrete references. Third, the session is intended to explain the structure, formal requirements, and practical aspects of the course. Finally, this is of course the proper occasion for all of us to introduce ourselves to each other. The wealth of backgrounds and experiences brought to the course by you is one of the assets of the seminar! The readings inform the discussion why to dwell on hatred.

- Sullivan, Andrew 1999. "What's so Bad about Hate?" *New York Times Magazine* (26 September).
- Bauman, Zygmunt 2002. "The Holocaust." In D.T. Goldberg and J. Solomos (eds.), *A Companion to Racial and Ethnic Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 1-13.
- Améry, Jean 1999 [1966]. "Resentments." *At the Mind's Limits*. London: Granta Books-

13 September KU-ToRS: How study hatred?

Even if one acknowledges that emotions (hatred included) matter, indeed that we probably cannot understand much about human agency, politics and conflict without some understanding of the role of emotions, it is not obvious *how* to study a topic like hatred. How do we grasp such an apparently elusive phenomenon, and what range of academic disciplines can be employed? Obviously psychology is relevant, but in this course it is only one perspective among many. Philosophical approaches will be analyzed in several sessions. Therefore, in this session we shall focus exclusively on some examples of the ways in which different scholars have approached hatred in *empirically*

focused research. Also, the session will add to our stock of case studies (exploring hatred against out-groups, hatred in racist jokes and in the anti-Semitic imagery in Nazi rhetoric).

- Darwin, Charles 2009 [1890]. *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 249-264.
- Musolff, Andreas 2007. "What role do metaphors play in racial prejudice? The function of antisemitic imagery in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*." *Patterns of Prejudice* 41 (1), pp. 21-43.
- Billig, Michael 2001. "Humour and Hatred: The Racist Jokes of the Ku Klux Klan", *Discourse Society* 12, pp. 267-288.
- Moore, Dahlia & Aweiss, Salem 2002. "Hatred of "Others" among Jewish, Arab, and Palestinian Students in Israel." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 2 (1), pp. 151-172.

20 September KU-ToRS: What distinguishes hatred?

Few scholars believe that it is possible to search some "necessary and sufficient conditions" of hatred. Seeking a rigid definition does not seem to be fruitful in relation to our understanding of the fuzzy phenomenon of the emotions. One alternative is to try articulate what distinguishes hatred in relation to a cluster of neighboring emotions and attitudes. That is, to draw a map of differences and "family resemblances" (Wittgenstein) between, say, hatred and love, anger, contempt, disgust or resentment. What kind of beliefs, objects, desires are characteristically involved when we speak of hatred? The readings deal explicitly with these questions, but the questions as such are basic to the course as a whole. Obviously, Mason addresses the nature of contempt. We shall probe the degree to which her points can be transferred to address the nature of hatred.

- Aristotle 2001, *Rhetorica* (in *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, ed. R. McKeon). New York: Random House, pp. 1379-89.
- Konstan, David 2007. "Anger, Hatred, and Genocide in Ancient Greece." *Common Knowledge* 13 (1), pp. 170-187.
- Ben-Ze'ev, Aaron 2000. *The Subtlety of Emotions*, Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 379-403.
- Mason, Michelle 2003. "Contempt as a Moral Attitude." *Ethics* 113, pp. 234-272.

23 September DIS: Is hatred an emotion?

Figuratively speaking, the previous class positioned hatred "horizontally", in relation to its neighbors. This class moves in the "vertical" dimension and asks: Under what label or in which theoretical framework can we place hatred? Whether one ultimately wants to classify hatred as an emotion or rather as an attitude or a kind or prejudice, it is enlightening to acquire a bit of insight into current theorizing about these categories as such.

- Ben-Zeev, Aaron 1987. "The Nature of Emotions." *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition* 52 (3), pp. 393-409.
- Goldie, Peter 2000. *The Emotions: A Philosophical Exploration*. Oxford University Press, pp. 11-49.
- Allport, Gordon W. 1979. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Basic Books, pp. 3-16, 363-365.
- Sternberg, Robert & Sternberg, Karen 2008. *The Nature of Hate*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 51-77.

27 September KU- ToRS: Philosophical portraits of the hateful personality

The modern notion of hatred as something associated with pathology, irrationality, envy, spite, bad faith, and impotent vindictiveness is tied to Friedrich Nietzsche's picture of the "man of *ressentiment*." In this session we shall take a close look at three influential philosophical

explorations of the etiology and “faces” of hatred: Nietzsche’s and Scheler’s pictures of the resentful person and Sartre’s picture of the antisemite.

- Nietzsche, Friedrich 1990 [1887]. *The Genealogy of Morals*. New York: Doubleday, pp. 149-157; 167-188.
- Scheler, Max 1992 [1912]: *On Feeling, Knowing, and Valuing*. University of Chicago Press, pp. 116-143.
- Sartre, Jean-Paul 1976 [1948]: *Anti-Semite and Jew*. Schocken Books, pp. 7-31 + 50-54.

11 October KU- ToRS: Can hatred be morally justified?

It is often taken for granted that hatred is bad (and mad) by definition. As Elie Wiesel once put it, that whatever the question, hatred is not the answer. But maybe this is a too hasty and too reductive approach? Maybe sometimes or in certain forms hatred can be justified? Shouldn’t we hate evil? If real and unrepentant evildoers exist is it morally wrong to hate them? Is the counsel to “hate the sin but always love the sinner” morally sound at all? In this session, these and other questions about the morality of hatred will be examined.

- Hampton, Jean & Murphy, Jeffrie 1988: *Forgiveness and Mercy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 60-82; 88-108.
- Vetlesen, Arne J. 1994. *Perception, Empathy, and Judgment*. Pennsylvania: Penn State Press, pp. 219-242, 252-279.

14 October DIS: Hate crime and hate speech: All prejudice and almost no hatred?

It might seem quite reasonable to assume that hate speech and hate crimes are about hatred. Yet, and curiously, most hate crime scholars seem to agree that the term is a “misnomer.” The purpose of this session is to explore what exactly is the relationship between hatred on the one hand and hate crimes/hate speech on the other. If hatred is not at stake in hate crimes and hate speech, shouldn’t we find more appropriate names? Or, if hatred is sometimes at stake in these crimes, should one rather argue the case for a more narrow use of the law? According to what concept of hatred is the entire debate premised? And, finally, if hate crimes/speech are not about hatred, what *are* they about?

- Hall, Nathan 2005. *Hate Crime*. Devon: Willan Publishing, pp. 1-21.
- Perry, Barbara 2003. “Accounting for Hate Crime: Doing Difference.” In B. Perry (ed.), *Hate and Bias Crime*. New York: Routledge, pp. 97-108.
- Waldron, Jeremy 2009. “Dignity and Defamation - The Visibility of Hate.” The Holmes Lectures at Harvard Law School. Not in Reader! Can be watched or downloaded from: <http://habermas-rawls.blogspot.com/2009/11/jeremy-waldrons-holmes-lectures-on-hate.html>

25 October KU- ToRS: Genocide: A place for hatred after the demise of “ancient” hatreds?

What is the role of hatred among the causes and in dynamics of modern genocides and ethnic mass violence? The predominant scholarly approach does not give references to hatred much credit. The idea of ‘ancient hatreds’ and notions of hateful perpetrators are appropriately discredited. Instead, much focus often lies on indifference, fear, the structural conditions for turning ‘ordinary men’ into mass killers etc. However, even if we take all these points for granted, it shouldn’t lead to a complete dismissal of attention to hatred. No single factor accounts for mass murder. The fact that most perpetrators are not hateful and that hatred cannot explain modern mass murder all by itself should not lead us to discount it altogether. Thus, instead of asking whether hatred *or* some other mechanism is *the* explanation of mass murder, we should ask: When, where, how, on what level, on what level and with which consequences does hatred have a role to play in relation to ethnic violence? It is not just a matter of reconsidering the relative role, forms etc. of hatred in ethnic

violence. The question is also what we – given a more general interest in the nature and forms of hatred – can learn about hatred by looking more closely at the dynamics of ethnic violence. The readings for this session are authored by scholars who share a ‘multi-factor’ approach to mass violence. What we want to examine is what role they give to hatred in their explanatory accounts.

- Horowitz, Donald 2001. *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-14; 74-88; 540-553 .
- Chiro, Daniel & McCauley, Clark 2006. *Why Not Kill Them All?* Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 51-57; 58-81.
- Moshman, David 2004. “Genocidal Hatred: Now You see it, Now You Don’t.” In R. Sternberg (ed.) *The Psychology of Hate*. Washington D.C.: American Psychological Association, pp. 185-209.

28 October DIS: DIS STUDENTS ONLY

Student presentations/paper work shop.

1 November ToRS: KU STUDENTS ONLY

Student presentations/paper work shop.

18-22 November: Criminalizing hatred: Positions for and against

The criminalization of hatred (to the degree that hatred is at stake in cases of hate crime and hate speech) has been met with heated opposition. Not just by hate mongers and hate groups, but by scholars and intellectuals arguing in the name of basic liberties and human rights. The aim of this session is facilitate discussion of some of the reasons behind the principled support for/resistance to the criminalization of hatred (in the form of hate crime laws and hate speech bans).

18 November DIS: Hate speech

- Heinze, Eric 2006: “Viewpoint Absolutism and Hate Speech” *Modern Law Review* 69 (4), pp. 543-582.
- Goodall, Karen 2007: “Incitement to Religious Hatred: All Talk and No Substance?” *Modern Law Review* 70(1), pp. 89-113.

22 November KU- ToRS: Hate crime

- Hurd, Heidi 2001. “Why Liberals Should Hate ‘Hate Crime Legislation’.” *Law and Philosophy* 20 (2), pp. 215-232.
- Wellman, Christopher H. 2006. “A Defense of Stiffer Penalties for Hate Crimes”, *Hypatia* 21 (2), 62-80.
- Hare, Ivan 1997. “Legislating Against Hate – The Legal Response to Bias Crimes.” *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 17 (3), pp. 415-439.

29 November KU- ToRS: Emotional reconciliation: Addressing hatred after mass violence

According to Aristotle, hatred is incurable and the idea of hatred as enduring or stubborn condition has been reiterated throughout centuries of writings on the issue. In so far as this is correct, it is deeply troubling to anyone trying to facilitate reconciliation in the aftermath of ethnic or genocidal violence (cf. Rwanda, Bosnia, Cambodia etc.). What venues can be offered to dissolve post-war hatreds? What is the value of public promotions of forgiveness? And what can be accomplished through institutions such as the criminal tribunal or the truth commission? These are the questions to which this session is devoted.

- Minow, Martha 1999. "Emotions and Institutions." In S. Bandes (ed.), *Passions of Law*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 265-281.
- Erin Halpern & Harvey Weinstein 2004. "Rehumanizing the Other: Empathy and Reconciliation." *Human Rights Quarterly* 26: 561-583.
- Kaufman, Stuart 2006. "Escaping the Symbolic Politics Trap: Reconciliation Initiatives and Conflict Resolution in Ethnic Wars." *Journal of Peace Research* 43 (2): 201-218.

2 December DIS: Any "antidotes" to hatred?

What can we do about it? Unsurprisingly, this is one of the leitmotifs suffusing much modern research on hatred. And what *can* we do? Not just when the damage has already been done, but prior to it, and in order to prevent or oppose hate-related sentiments and violence? A large corpus of social psychological literature deals with the issue, and an entire course could have been focused just on that. Instead of opening the "Pandora's Box," we shall end the course simply reading two essays that might be seen to offer an answer – in the appropriate essayistic mode.

- Arendt, Hannah 2003. Thinking and Moral Considerations. In *Responsibility and Judgment*, ed. By J. Kohn, New York: Schocken Books, pp. 159-189 (Originally published in 1971).
- Ignatieff, Michael 1999. *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*. London: Vintage, pp. 34-71.