GOV 388L: Political Violence, Spring 2022, 38200

Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin

1 Instructor Information

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Zoom link: [Link here] Class Location: BAT 1.104

2 Course Overview, Format, and Objectives

This graduate seminar addresses the theoretical and empirical study of political violence that occurs primarily within states. The course will survey leading research investigations from within political science along with discussion of innovations in other disciplines including geography, economics, and sociology. We will consider a variety of theoretical topics and empirical approaches that deal with the complexity of conflict and violence that we observe globally. Particular topics include the causes and consequences of violence, the process by which violence escalates and deescalates, and how violence differs from political behavior more generally.

As you are aware, at least the first two weeks of classes are online. Please see the Zoom link above in the information section. [Also here]. I will record the Zoom sessions. Also, because office hours are typically very busy, please book a time in advance and I will prioritize those who sign up. [Also here].

3 Requirements

This section describes the course requirements in detail. At the end of this section, Table 3.6 summarizes all components and due dates.

3.1 Required Readings

All readings will be from journal articles. Please note that I may alter the readings from time to time including adding, dropping, and reorganizing. I will give you advance notice when this is to take place. You should plan to read carefully and thoroughly each week and come prepared to discuss the readings. I have attempted to include a variety of different types of research produced by a diverse set of scholars. If you have suggestions for how to improve diversity in the readings, please do not hesitate to let me know and I will do what I can to incorporate.

3.2 Participation / Agendas

Attendance and participation are worth 25% of your grade. (15% for agendas and leading discussion; 10% for class engagement). Each of you needs to participate actively in weekly discussions. We should have lively, engaging discussion that explore the state of knowledge

on the topics as well as creative frontiers. To accomplish this, you need to attend class very well-prepared. I expect each of you to participate at minimum once every session, but on average you should be speaking substantially more than that. If you are not comfortable speaking in class, then you should talk to me before the second week of class so we can help you become comfortable or work out other arrangements.

Second, each of you needs to work together with others in class to prepare at least two detailed agendas for guiding class discussions. Based on those agendas, you will then co-lead class discussions. You will begin leading the discussions in the fourth week. The agenda-setters should take the lead in guiding a stimulating discussion and everyone else in class should engage fully.

You can sign up for the agendas and the other assignments on the linked Google Sheet [LINK HERE]. You need to submit your completed agenda on Canvas 48 hours prior to the class session.

As you prepare for class discussion and agendas, you should think about the basic components of the articles:

- 1. What is the research question?
- 2. What is the dependent variable?
- 3. What is the independent variable?
- 4. What are the causal mechanisms?
- 5. What are the components of the research design?
- 6. What are the findings?

Additionally, and more importantly, you should evaluate each reading critically. This does not imply that you should only identify shortcomings; rather analyze what the author(s) did right, wrong, better, worse, etc. You should seek to learn how to build on the strengths of others while avoiding their weaknesses. As such, you should answer the following questions and others of your own.

- 1. What do you like most about the article? Least?
- 2. Are the stated findings in the text surprising? Interesting?
- 3. Do you believe the findings? Why or why not?
- 4. To which cases (or sets of cases) do the results apply best/worst?
- 5. Beyond identifying problems, what would you do to fix those problems? Be practical and concrete. What do you need to be convinced?
- 6. Which literatures do these findings affect most? How?

From my perspective, the most important step you can take when reading an article is to consider how you would have done the research differently, if at all. So as a final step, I encourage you to think *creatively* about how you could improve this research. I cannot emphasize enough the importance of socializing yourselves to follow convention where needed, but critically breaking out of traditional ways of thinking — in the right ways and at the right times. Thus, other questions to consider:

- 1. Which question should have been asked?
- 2. Which theoretical ideas should have been considered? Are the theoretical ideas stale?
- 3. What novel methodological approaches could have been employed?
- 4. Is there a better way to ensure this speaks directly to a key theoretical or policy debate?
- 5. How could the paper be framed better to grab readers' attention?

3.3 Case Presentation

You need to present early in the semester on an episode of violence or on a state or non-state actor that poses a political violence threat. This will get you learning about other conflicts and groups quickly and will create a common frame for discussion. We will do the presentations in weeks 2–5. In addition to a 10-minute presentation, you should prepare a one-page fact sheet that you turn in on Canvas and that you email to everyone in class. Please choose one of the following events or groups and be prepared to present on it. Other events or groups are possible but need to be approved by me ahead of time. The presentation is worth 10% of your grade.

You can sign up for the presentation on the same Google Doc, separate sheet [LINK HERE]. You need to submit your completed fact sheet on Canvas 48 hours prior to the class session.

• Events

- The Tunisian Immolation (17 December 2010)
- Texas Bell Tower Sniper (1 August 1966)
- Hiroshima (6 August 1945)
- The killing of Steve Biko (August-September 1977)
- Srebrenica (July 1995)
- Naroda Patiya Massacre (2002)
- Mississippi Civil Rights Workers Murders (21–22 June 1964)
- Waterboarding of Khalid Sheikh Mohammed (or others)
- Massacre of Tutsis at Mugonero Church/Mission
- Jan 6 U.S. Capitol Insurrection
- 2021 Taliban takeover in Afghanistan

• Groups

- Islamic State
- Boko Haram
- Sinaloa Cartel
- Lord's Resistance Army
- FARC

- African National Congress
- The Weather Underground
- The Janjaweed
- Tigray rebels
- M23 & CPCA-A64

3.4 Research Paper

The seminar paper is worth 50% of your grade and comprises the primary requirement for the course. The project will be completed jointly with two other students in the class.

A portion of most class periods will be devoted to discussion and decision-making about the projects. We will discuss the paper in stages – introduction, theory, research design, empirics, conclusion, etc – and will also turn in the different parts of the paper in stages. You will turn in a proposal (due: February 4), introduction (due: February 26), theory/argument (due: March 26), and research design (due: April 16). Each of those will be worth 5% of your grade. And then the final paper will put these together, revising substantially, and also adding a literature review and the discussion of the empirical results (due: May 14. It will be worth 30% of the final grade. The reading schedule below lays out the dates when each section is due.

The final product should be a co-authored paper, suitable for professional presentation and, following, publication. It may be useful to consider following the model outlined in Gary King's "Publication, Publication" which can be found on his website. An example of a published paper that came out of a course like this is the following that I coauthored with Tze Kwang Teo during my second year in graduate school:

• Findley, Michael, and Tze Kwang Teo. 2006. "Rethinking Third Party Interventions into Civil Wars: An Actor-Centric Approach." *Journal of Politics* 68(4): 828–837.

You can sign up for the research paper on the linked Google Sheet [LINK HERE]. You need to submit your completed sections and final paper on Canvas.

3.5 Peer Reviews

You need to conduct three peer reviews during the semester and these combined will be worth 15% of your grade (5% for each review). After you turn in the first three sections of the paper, you need to plan to peer review another student's section. And each time you should change whose work you review. Each peer review should be maximum one page and should provide constructive criticism. Note that reviews should not comment on aspects such as formatting, provide vague platitudes, etc. Instead, the review should provide substantively meaningful commentary for the author. Return the peer review to the author directly by email and post to Canvas.

You can sign up for the peer reviews on the linked Google Sheet [LINK HERE].

3.6 Due Dates

Assignment	Date	Format/Time	% of Grade
Lead 2 Discussions (15%)			
Sign up	Jan 25	[LINK HERE]	Req.
Lead discussion 1	Weeks 3–12, Sign up	Canvas, class	7.5%
Lead discussion 2	Weeks 3–12, Sign up	Canvas, class	7.5%
Case Presentation (10%)			
Sign up	Jan 20	[LINK HERE]	Req.
Fact Sheet	Weeks $2-5$	Canvas	5%
Presentation	Weeks $2-5$	Class	5%
Research Paper (50%)			
Sign up	Feb 1	[LINK HERE]	Req.
Proposal	Feb 4	Canvas	5%
Introduction	Feb 26	Canvas	5%
Theory/Argument	Mar 26	Canvas	5%
Res. Design	Apr 16	Canvas	5%
Full Paper	May 14	Canvas	30%
Peer Reviews (15%)			
Sign up	Jan 20	[LINK HERE]	Req.
Intro Peer Review	Mar 2	Canvas & Email	5%
Theory/Arg Peer Review	Mar 31	Canvas & Email	5%
Res Design Peer Review	Apr 21	Canvas & Email	5%
Class Participation (10%)			
Engagement in class	Each class session	Class	10%
Overall (100%)			
Overall			100%

4 University and Course Policies

4.1 Academic Integrity

UT students should seek to be fully honest in their dealings with others. They should complete their own work and be evaluated based upon that work. They should avoid academic dishonesty and misconduct in all its forms, including plagiarism, fabrication or falsification, cheating, and other academic misconduct. Students are expected not only to be honest but also to assist other students in fulfilling their commitment to be honest.

While students should make a general commitment to proper academic conduct, there are still specific skills most students need to master over time in order to correctly cite sources, especially in the age of the internet, as well as deal with the stress and strain of college life without resorting to cheating. Please know that as your professor I will notice instances of

cheating on exams or plagiarizing on papers.

Writing submitted for credit at UT must consist of the student's own ideas presented in sentences and paragraphs of his or her own construction. The work of other writers or speakers may be included when appropriate (as in a research paper or book review), but such material must support the student's own work (not substitute for it) and must be clearly identified by appropriate introduction and punctuation and by footnoting or other standard referencing.

The substitution of another person's work for the student's own or the inclusion of another person's work without adequate acknowledgment (whether done intentionally or not) is known as plagiarism. It is a violation of academic, ethical, and legal standards and can result in a failing grade not only for the paper but also for the course in which the paper is written. In extreme cases, it can justify expulsion from the University. Because of the seriousness of the possible consequences, students who wonder if their papers are within these guidelines should visit a writing lab or consult a faculty member who specializes in the teaching of writing or who specializes in the subject discussed in the paper. Useful books to consult on the topic include the current $Harbrace\ College\ Handbook$, the $MLA\ Handbook$, and James D. Lester's $Writing\ Research\ Papers$.

Please also see the University Honor Code site for more information at: [Link here].

4.2 Access

The University of Texas at Austin is committed to providing a working and learning atmosphere that reasonably accommodates qualified persons with disabilities. If you have any disability which may impair your ability to complete this course successfully, please contact the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 512.471.6259, [Link here].

4.3 Health

The university has official policies and all those apply in this class. Please just kindly take all the advice medical experts are giving. Please. Information regarding safety protocols with and without symptoms can be found at [Link here].

4.4 Religious Holidays

By UT Austin policy, you must notify me of your pending absence at least fourteen days prior to the date of observance of a religious holy day. If you must miss a class, an examination, a work assignment, or a project in order to observe a religious holy day, you will be given an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

4.5 Emergencies

Please also see the following recommendations regarding emergency evacuation from the Office of Campus Safety and Security, 512.471.5767, http://www.utexas.edu/safety/. 1. Occupants of buildings on The University of Texas at Austin campus are required to evacuate buildings when a fire alarm is activated. Alarm activation or announcement requires exiting

and assembling outside. 2. Familiarize yourself with all exit doors of each classroom and building you may occupy. Remember that the nearest exit door may not be the one you used when entering the building. 3. Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructor in writing during the first week of class. 4. In the event of an evacuation, follow the instruction of faculty or class instructors. 5. Do not re-enter a building unless given instructions by the following: Austin Fire Department, The University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office. 6. Behavior Concerns Advice Line (BCAL): 512.232.5050. 7. Link to information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at: [Link here].

4.6 Sensitive Content

This is a course on war and violence. As such, the content and discussion will necessarily engage with sensitive material in each class session, all the readings, and in the assignments. Those topics may include the following: violence, kidnapping and abduction, sexual assault, abuse, racism, ethnic discrimination, religious discrimination, and sexism. Much of the material is emotionally and intellectually challenging to engage with. Some content may be particularly sensitive. Because I am not a mental health professional I do not understand all possible conditions that could be triggered, so if I need to be aware of any personal circumstances, please stop by and let me know or provide an SSD accommodations letter and I will be happy to adjust as possible. To the full extent possible, I will provide alternative readings, assignments, or discussion opportunities to adequately accommodate. More generally, I will do my best to make space for thoughtful, respectful, and meaningful discussion of difficult content each class session, while balancing the weightiness of the topics, including when possible advance notice of material that is more sensitive than usual for a course on violence. Students with concerns related to these topics may wish and are encouraged to consult the UT Counseling and Mental Health Center: https://cmhc.utexas.edu, or another organization that provides suitable support. (Some of this material adapted from https://sites.lsa.umich.edu/inclusive-teaching/).

4.7 Family

I am not aware of an official university policy on children in the classroom. The following is an attempt to insure family friendliness while also maintaining a proper learning environment. [I borrowed heavily and adapted these policies from Melissa Cheyney's excellent syllabus.]

- 1. All breastfeeding babies are welcome in class as often as is necessary.
- 2. For older children and babies, unforeseen disruptions in childcare often put parents in the position of having to miss class to stay home with a child. If needed, these incidents will be an excused absence and I will work with you to insure you learn the material. Alternatively, while this is not meant to be a long-term childcare solution, occasionally bringing a child to class in order to cover gaps in care is perfectly acceptable.
- 3. I ask that all students work to create a welcoming environment that is respectful of all forms of diversity, including diversity in parenting status.

4. In all cases where babies and children come to class, please sit close to the door so that if your little one needs special attention and is disrupting learning for others' students, you may step outside until their need has been met. For my part, I will work with you should you need to step out so that you can remain caught up.

5. Finally, often the largest barrier to completing your coursework once you become a parent is the tiredness many parents feel in the evening once children have finally gone to sleep. While I maintain the same high expectations for all students in our class regardless of parenting status, I am happy to problem-solve with you in a way that helps you feel supported as you strive for school-parenting balance.

4.8 Senate Bill 212 and Title IX Reporting Requirements.

Under Senate Bill 212 (SB 212), the professor and TAs for this course are required to report for further investigation any information concerning incidents of sexual harassment, sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking committed by or against a UT student or employee. Federal law and university policy also requires reporting incidents of sex- and gender-based discrimination and sexual misconduct (collectively known as Title IX incidents). This means we cannot keep confidential information about any such incidents that you share with us. If you need to talk with someone who can maintain confidentiality, please contact University Health Services (512-471-4955 or 512-475-6877) or the UT Counseling and Mental Health Center (512-471-3515 or 512-471-2255). I strongly urge you make use of these services for any needed support and that you report any Title IX incidents to the Title IX Office.

5 Tentative Course and Reading Schedule

5.1 January 18: Introduction and Overview

Research Papers: Discuss research question.

- Farmer, Paul. 1996. "On Suffering and Structural Violence." Daedalus 125(1): 261-283.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2003. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1: 475–494.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What is Civil War: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6): 814–858.

5.2 January 25: Political Violence and Political Order

Research Papers: Discuss research question.

Presentations 1, 2, & 3

- Required:
 - Blattman, Christopher, and Edward Miguel. 2010. "Civil War." Journal of Economic Literature 48(1): 3–57.

 Walter, Barbara F. 2017. "The New New Civil Wars." Annual Review of Political Science 20: 469–486.

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2019. "The Landscape of Political Violence." In Erica Chenoweth, Richard English, Andreas Gofas, and Stathis N. Kalyvas (Eds.) The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, and Manuel Vogt. 2017. "Dynamics and Logics of Civil War." Journal of Conflict Resolution 61(9): 1992–2016.
- Gutierrez-Sanin, Francisco, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2017. "What Should We Mean by 'Pattern of Political Violence'? Repertoire, Targeting, Frequency, and Technique." Perspectives on Politics 15(1): 20–41.
- Sanchez de la Sierra, Raul. 2019. "On the Origins of the State: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo." *Journal of Political Economy.* 128(1): 32–74.
- Huff, Connor, and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2018. "How the public defines terrorism." American Journal of Political Science 62(1): 55–71.

• Additional Readings:

- Staniland, Paul. 2012. "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Order." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2): 243–264.
- Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In Peter Evans et al. (Eds.) Bringing the State Back In. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davenport, Christian. 2007. "State Repression and Political Order." Annual Review of Political Science 10: 1–23.
- Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem." Perspectives on Politics 10(2): 285–305.
- Nisbett, Richard, E. 2002. "The Anticreativity Letters: Advice from a Senior Tempter to a Junior Tempter." Unpublished Manuscript: University of Michigan.
- Arjona, Ana. 2016. Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

5.3 February 1: Practice and History of Violence

Research Papers: 1-page proposal due on Feb 4 by 5 pm Presentations 4, 5, & 6

• Required:

Petterson, Therese, Stina Hogbladh, and Magnus Oberg. 2019. "Organized Violence, 1989–2018, and Peace Agreements." Journal of Peace Research 56(4): 589–603.

Kalyvas, Stathis, and Lisa Balcells. 2010. "International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict." American Political Science Review 104(3): 415-429.

- Ehrenreich, Barbara. 1997. Blood Rites: Origins and History of the Passions of War. New York: Henry Holt. http://www.nytimes.com/books/first/e/ehrenreichrites.html
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 1990. "War and the State in Africa." *International Security* 14(4): 117–139.
- Weidmann, Nils B. 2016. "A Closer Look at Reporting Bias in Conflict Event Data." American Journal of Political Science 60(1): 206–218.
- Mukherjee, Shivaji. 2018. "Colonial Origins of Maoist Insurgency in India: Historical Institutions and Civil War." Journal of Conflict Resolution 62(10): 2232–2274.
- Watch the movie Ghosts of Rwanda https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VJAuyIRfYIM

• Additional Readings:

- Eck, Kristine. 2012. "In Data We Trust? A Comparison of UCDP GED and ACLED Conflict Events Datasets." Cooperation and Conflict 47(1): 124–141.
- Shesterinina, Anastasia. 2019. "Ethics, Empathy, and Fear in Research on Violent Conflict." Journal of Peace Research 56(2): 190–202.
- Tilly, Charles. 2003. The Politics of Collective Violence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 & 2.
- Loehle, Craig. 1990. "A Guide to Increased Creativity in Research—Inspiration or Perspiration?" *Bioscience* 40(2): 123–129.

5.4 February 8: Constructivism / Identity

Research Papers: Discuss and refine research ideas; Discuss writing introduction.

Presentations 7, 8, & 9

• Required

- Fearon, James, and David Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54(4): 845–877.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." American Political Science Review 62(1): 87–119.
- Harris, Adam S., Daniel L. Nielson, Lily Medina, Clara Bicahlo Maia Correia, Michael G. Findley, Jeremy M. Weinstein, James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, and Daniel N. Posner. 2018. "Experimental Evidence from Uganda, South Africa, and the United States on Ethnic Identification and Ethnic Deception." Unpublished Manuscript: University of Texas at Austin.

 Moscana, Jacob, Nathan Nunn, and James A. Robinson. 2020. "Segmentary Lineage Organization and Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Econometrica* 88(5): 1999–2036.

- Lyall, Jason. 2010. "Are Co-Ethnics More Effective Counter-Insurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." American Political Science Review 104(1): 1–20.
- Larson, Jennifer M. 2017. "Networks and Interethnic Cooperation." Journal of Politics 79(2): 546–559.
- Campbell, Susanna P. 2017. "Ethics of Research in Conflict Environments." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 2(1): 89–101.
- Depetris-Chauvin, Emilio, Ruben Durante, and Filipe Campante. 2020. "Building Nations through Shared Experiences: Evidence from African Football." American Economic Review 110(5): 1572–1602

• Additional Readings

- Bhavnani, Ravi, Michael G. Findley, and James H. Kuklinski. 2009. "Rumor Dynamics in Ethnic Violence." *Journal of Politics* 71(3): 876–892.
- Harris, Adam S., and Michael G. Findley. 2013. "Is Ethnicity Identifiable? Evidence from an Experiment in South Africa." Journal of Conflict Resolution
- Varian, Hal. 1997. "How to Build an Economic Model in Your Spare Time." In Michael Szenberg (Ed.) Passion and Craft: Economists at Work. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

5.5 February 15: Rationalism / Bargaining

Research Papers: Discuss and refine research ideas; Discuss writing introduction.

Presentations 10, 11, & 12

• Required

- Fearon, James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49(3): 379–414.
- Powell, Robert. 2006. "War as a Commitment Problem." *International Organization* 60(1): 169–203.
- Lichbach, Mark Irving. 2009. "Internal Wars over the State: Rational Choice Institutionalism and Contentious Politics." In Manus I. Midlarsky (Ed.) Handbook of War Studies III: The Intrastate Dimension. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1997. "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action: Presidential Address." American Political Science Review 92(1): 1-22.
- Epstein, Joshua. 2002. "Modeling Civil Violence: An Agent-Based Computational Approach." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 99(3): 7243–7250.

 Uzonyi, Gary. 2021. "An Informational Theory of Genocide and Politicide During Civil War." Comparative Political Studies.

• Additional Readings

- Park, Sunhee. 2015. "Power and Civil War Termination Bargaining." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(1): 172–183.
- Findley, Michael G. 2013. "Bargaining and the Interdependent Stages of Civil War Resolution." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(5): 905–932.

5.6 February 22: Causes of War

Research Papers: Introduction due on Feb 26 by 5 pm; Introduction peer review due on March 2; Discuss theory/argument section.

Presentations 13, 14, & 15

• Required

- Fearon, James, and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75–90.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Nils Weidmann and Kristian Gleditsch. 2011. "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison." American Political Science Review 105(3): 478–495.
- Nielsen, Richard A., Michael G. Findley, Zachary S. Davis, Tara Candland, and Daniel L. Nielson. 2011. "Foreign Aid Shocks as a Cause of Violent Armed Conflict." American Journal of Political Science 55(2): 219–232.
- Nunn, Nathan, and Nancy Qian. 2014. "US Food Aid and Civil Conflict." American Economic Review 104(6): 1630–1666.
- McGuirk, Eoin, and Marshall Burke. 2020. "The Economic Origins of Conflict in Africa." Journal of Political Economy 128(10): 3940–3997.
- Berman, Nicolas, Mathieu Couttenier, Dominic Rohner, and Mathias Thoenig.
 2017. "This Mine is Mine! How Minerals Fuel Conflicts in Africa." American Economic Review 107: 1564–1610.
- Denly, Michael, Michael G. Findley, Andrew Stravers, and James Walsh. 2020.
 "Natural Resources and Civil Conflict: Evidence from a New, Georeferenced Dataset." Journal of Conflict Resolution.
- Lowes, Sara, and Eduardo Montero. 2021. "Concessions, Violence, and Indirect Rule: Evidence from the Congo Free State." The Quarterly Journal of Economics 136(4): 2047–2091.
- Fergusson, Leopoldo, Pablo Querubin, Nelson A. Ruiz, and Juan F. Vargas. 2021. "The Real Winner's Curse." *American Journal of Political Science* 65(1): 52–68.

Mach, Katharine J., et al. 2019. "Climate as a Risk Factor for Armed Conflict."
 Nature 571(7764): 197–197.

- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." American Political Science Review 107(4): 679–705.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Oxford Economic Papers 56(4): 563–595.
- Dixon, Jeffrey. 2009. "What Causes Civil Wars? Integrating Quantitative Research Findings." International Studies Review 11: 707–735.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War." Perspectives on Politics 2(2): 259–279.
- Hegre, Havard, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset." Journal of Conflict Resolution 50(4): 508–535.
- Roessler, Philip. 2011. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." World Politics 63(2): 300–346.
- Humphreys, Macartan. 2005. "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms." The Journal of Conflict Resolution 49(4): 508-537.
- Asal, Victor, Michael G. Findley, James A. Piazza, and James Igoe Walsh. 2016.
 "Political Exclusion, Oil, and Ethnic Armed Conflict." Journal of Conflict Resolution 60(8): 1343–1367.

5.7 March 1: Dynamics of Ongoing Wars

Research Papers: Discuss theory/argument section.

• Required

- Walter, Barbara, and Andrew Kydd. 2002. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization* 56(2): 263–296.
- Jo, Hyeran, and Catarina Thomas. 2014. "Legitimacy and Compliance with International Law: Access to Detainees in Civil Conflict." British Journal of Political Science 44(2): 323–355.
- Lischer, Sarah. 2003. "Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict." *International Security* 28(1): 79–109.
- Duffy Toft, Monica. 2010. "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?"
 International Security 34(4):7–36.
- Zur, Judith. 1994. "The Psychological Impact of Impunity." Anthropology Today 10(3): 12–17.
- Aronson, Jacob, Michael G. Findley, Kyosuke Kikuta, Ran Tao, Jean-Claude Thill, and James Igoe Walsh. 2020. "Territorial Control, Consolidation, and Rebel Violence Against Civilians." Unpublished Manuscript: University of Texas at Austin.

• Additional Readings

 Stedman, Stephen. 1996. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." International Security 22(2): 5–53.

- Findley, Michael G., and Peter J. Rudloff. 2012. "Combatant Fragmentation and the Dynamics of Civil Wars." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(4): 879–901.
- Regan, Patrick. 2002. "Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts." Journal of Conflict Resolution 46(1): 55–73.
- Cunningham, David E. 2006. "Veto Players and Civil War Duration." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 875–892.
- Sexton, Renard. 2016. "Aid as a Tool against Insurgency: Evidence from Contested and Controlled Territory in Afghanistan." American Political Science Review 110(4): 731–749.
- Blattman, Chistopher, and Jeannie Annan. 2016. "Can Employment Reduce Lawlessness and Rebellion? A Field Experiment with High-Risk Men in a Fragile State." American Political Science Review 110(1): 1–17.
- Weintraub, Michael. 2016. "Do All Good Things Go Together? Development Assistance and Insurgent Violence in Civil War." Journal of Politics 78(4): 989– 1002.
- Dube, Oeindrila, and Suresh Naidu. 2015. "Bases, Bullets, and Ballots: the Effect of US Military Aid on Political Conflict in Colombia. *Journal of Politics* 77(1): 249–267.
- Christia, Fotini. 2012. Alliance Formation in Civil Wars. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Findley, Michael G., and Tze Kwang Teo. 2006. "Rethinking Third-Party Interventions into Civil Wars: An Actor-Centric Approach." Journal of Politics 68(4): 828–837.
- Findley, Michael G., and Josiah Marineau. 2015. "Lootable resources and third-party intervention into civil wars." Conflict Management and Peace Science 32(5): 465–486.
- Gates, Scott, Benjamin A. T. Graham, Yonatan Lupu, Havard Strand, and Kaare W. Strom. 2016. "Power Sharing, Protection, and Peace." Journal of Politics 78(2): 512–526.
- Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2015. "Terrorism, Spoiling, and the Resolution of Civil Wars." *Journal of Politics* 77(4): 1115–1128.
- Zhukov, Yuri. 2016. "Taking away the guns: Forcible disarmament and rebellion." Journal of Peace Research 53(2):242–258.
- Condra, Luke, James D. Long, Andrew C. Shaver, and Austin L. Wright. 2017.
 "The Logic of Insurgent Electoral Violence." American Economic Review.
- Findley, Michael G., James A. Piazza, and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries." *Journal of Politics* 74(1): 235–248.

5.8 March 8: International Engagement, Peace Operations

Research Papers: Discuss theory/argument section.

• Required

- Walter, Barbara, F. 1998. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51(3): 335–364.
- Gilligan, Michael J., and Ernest J. Sergenti. 2008. "Do UN Interventions Cause Peace? Using Matching to Improve Causal Inference." Quarterly Journal of Political Science 3(2): 89–122.
- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2013. "United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War." American Journal of Political Science 57(4): 875–891.
- Autesserre, Severine. 2015. "Trouble in Peaceland." Foreign Policy. October.
- Lyall, Jason, Yang-Yang Zhou, and Kosuke Imai. Forthcoming. "Can Economic Assistance Shape Combatant Support in Wartime? Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan." American Political Science Review
- Huang, Reyko. 2016. "Rebel Diplomacy in Civil War." *International Security* 40(4): 89–126.
- Lake, Milli. 2017. "Building the Rule of War: Postconflict Institutions and the Micro-Dynamics of Conflict in Eastern DR Congo." *International Organization* 71(2): 281–315.
- Hinkkainen Elliott, Kaisa, Sara M.T. Polo, and Liana Eustacia Reyes. 2021.
 "Making Peace or Preventing It? UN Peacekeeping, Terrorism, and Civil War Negotiations." International Studies Quarterly 65(1): 29–42.

- Doyle, Michael, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2000. "International Peacebuilding: A
 Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis." American Political Science Review 94(4):
 779–801.
- Doyle, Michael, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. Making War and Building Peace:
 United Nations Peace Operations. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Fearon, James, Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy Weinstein. 2009. "Can Development Aid Contribute to Social Cohesion after Civil War? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia." American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings 99(2): 287–291.
- Narang, Neil. 2014. "Assisting Uncertainty: How Humanitarian Aid Can Inadvertently Prolong Civil Wars." International Studies Quarterly Early View.
- Findley, Michael G., Daniel Strandow, Joseph K. Young, and Olgahan Cat. 2022.
 "Aiding War: Foreign Aid and the Intensity of Violent Armed Conflict." Unpublished Manuscript: University of Texas at Austin.

Downs, George, and Stephen Stedman. 2002. "Evaluation Issues in Peace Implementation." In Stephen Stedman, Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth Cousens (Ed.)
 Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Hartzell, Caroline, and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." American Journal of Political Science 47(2): 318–332.
- Fortna, Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." International Studies Quarterly 48(2): 269–292.
- Campbell, Susanna P., Michael G. Findley, and Kyosuke Kikuta. 2017. "An Ontology of Peace: Landscapes of Conflict and Cooperation with Application to Colombia." *International Studies Review* 19(1): 92–113.
- Walter, Barbara F. 2002. Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Avdeenko, Alexanddra, and Michael J. Gilligan. 2015. "International Interventions to Build Social Capital: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Sudan." American Political Science Review 109(3): 427–449.
- Jo, Hyeran. 2015. Compliant Rebels: Rebel Groups and International Law in World Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Findley, Michael G. 2018. "Does Foreign Aid Build Peace?" Annual Review of Political Science 21: 359–384.

5.9 March 15: Spring Break – No Class

5.10 March 22: Organization and Participation

Research Papers: Theory/argument due on Mar 26 by 5 pm; Theory/arg peer review due on on Mar 31; Discuss research design section

• Required

- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil Wars." American Journal of Political Science 52(2): 436–455.
- Parkinson, Sarah. 2013. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." American Political Science Review 107(3): 418–432.
- Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence.
 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pgs. 1–60.
- Hall, Andrew B., Connor Huff, and Shiro Kuriwaki. 2019. Wealth, Slaveownership, an dFighting for the Confederacy: An Empirical Study of the American Civil War." American Political Science Review 113(3): 658–673.

Viterna, Jocelyn S. 2006. "Pulled, Pushed, Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army." American Journal of Sociology 112(1): 1–45.

- Shesterinina, Anastasia. 2016. "Collective Threat Framing and Mobilization in Civil War." American Political Science Review 110(3): 411–427.
- Bahney, Benjamin, Rahda Iyengar, Patrick Johnston, Danielle Jung, Jacob Shapiro, and Howard Shatz. 2013. "Insurgent Compensation: Evidence from Iraq." American Economic Review 103(3): 518–522.
- Thomas, Jakana L., and Kanisha D. Bond. 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." American Political Science Review 109(3): 488– 506.
- Sweet, Rachel. 2021. "Concealing Conflict Markets: How Rebels and Firms Use State Institutions to Launder Wartime Trade." International Organization.
- Blair, Christopher W., Erica Chenoweth, Michael C. Horowitz, Evan Perkoski, and Philip B.K. Potter. 2020. "Honor Among Thieves: Understanding Rhetorical and Material Cooperation Among Violent Nonstate Actors." *International Organization* 1–40.

- Thurber, Ches. 2019. "Social Ties and the Strategy of Civil Resistance." *International Studies Quarterly*.
- Beber, Bernd, and Christopher Blattman. 2011. "The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion." International Organization.
- Kalyvas, Stathis, and Matthew Kocher. 2007. "How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency and the Collective Action Problem." World Politics 59(2): 177–216.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2002. Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- McLauchlin, Theodore. 2015. "Desertion and Collective Action in Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(4): 669–679.
- Gallagher-Cunningham, Kathleen. 2013. "Actor Fragmentation and Civil War Bargaining: How Internal Divisions Generate Civil Conflict." American Journal of Political Science 57(3): 659–672.
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." World Politics 44(1): 7–48.
- Baradaran, Shima, Michael G. Findley, Daniel L. Nielson, and J.C. Sharman.
 2014. "Funding Terror." University of Pennsylvania Law Review 162(3): 477–536.
- Findley, Michael G., and Scott Edwards. 2007. "Accounting for the Unaccounted: Weak-Actor Social Structure in Asymmetric Wars." International Studies Quarterly 51: 538–606.

5.11 Mar 29: Counterinsurgency / State Violence

Research Papers: Discuss research design section.

• Required

- Thomas, Jakana. 2014. "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War." American Journal of Political Science 58(4): 804–818.
- Findley, Michael. 2018. "Does Foreign Aid Build Peace?" Annual Review of Political Science 21:359–384.
- Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 331–362.
- Davenport, Christian, and Alan Stam. 2012. "Rwandan Political Violence in Space and Time." Unpublished Manuscript. Notre Dame.
- Carey, Sabine C., and Neil J. Mitchell. 2017. "Progovernment Militias." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20:127–147.
- Blair, Robert A., Sabrina A. Karim, and Benjamin S. Morse. 2019. "Establishing the Rule of Law in Weak and War-Torn States: Evidence from a Field Experiment with the Liberian National Police." American Political Science Review 113(3): 641–657.
- Davenport, Christian, Sarah A. Soule, and David A. Armstrong. 2011. "Protesting While Black? The Differential Policing of American Activism, 1960 to 1990."
 American Sociological Review 76(1): 152–178.
- Rozenas, Arturas, and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2019. "Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'Terror by Hunger." American Political Science Review. 1–15.

- Straus, Scott. 2004. "How Many Perpetrators Were There in the Rwandan Genocide: An Estimate." *Journal of Genocide Research* 6(1): 85–98.
- Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2007. "Fighting Fire with Fire? How (Not) to Neutralize an Insurgency." Civil Wars 9(4): 378–401.
- Benmelech, Efraim, Claude Berrebi, and Esteban F. Klor. 2015. "Counter-Suicide-Terrorism: Evidence from House Demolitions." Journal of Politics 77(1): 27–43.
- Johnston, Patrick. 2012. "Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns." *International Security* 36(4): 47–79.
- Ramakrishna, Kumar. 2002. "Bribing the Reds to Give Up': Rewards Policy in the Malayan Emergency." War in History 9: 332–353.
- Duffy Toft, Monica, and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2015. Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus." American Political Science Review 109(2): 222–238.

 Goldhagen, Daniel. 1996. Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust. New York: Alfred Knopf. Pg. 203–262.

 Berman, Eli, Jacob Shapiro, and Joseph Felter. 2011. "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy* 119(4): 766–819.

5.12 Apr 5: Nonviolent Dissent / Cooperation & Noncombatants (Combined)

Research Papers: Discuss research design section.

• Required

- Stephan, Maria, and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security* 33(1): 7–44.
- Schock, Kurt. 2003. "Nonviolent Action and Its Misconceptions: Insights for Social Scientists." PS: Political Science and Politics 36(4): 705-712.
- Fearon, James, and David Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." American Political Science Review 90(4): 715–735.
- Gallagher-Cunningham, Kathleen. 2013. "Understanding Strategic Choice: The Determinants of Civil War and Nonviolent Campaign in Self-Determination Disputes." Journal of Peace Research 50(3): 291–304.
- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War." American Political Science Review 100(3): 429–447.
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291–313.
- Stewart, Megan, and Yu-Ming Liou. 2017. "Do Good Borders Make Good Rebels?
 Territorial Control and Civilian Casualties." Journal of Politics 79(1): 284–301.
- Manekin, Devorah, and Tamar Mitts. 2021. "Effective for Whom? Ethnic Identity and Nonviolent Resistance." American Political Science Review 1–20.

- Blair, Graeme, C. Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2013.
 "Poverty and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan." American Journal of Political Science 57(1): 30–48.
- Steinert-Threlkeld, Zachary. 2017. "Spontaneous Collective Action: Peripheral Mobilization During the Arab Spring." American Political Science Review 111(2): 379–403.
- Gallagher Cunningham, Kathleen, Marianne Dahl, and Anne Fruge. 2017. "Strategies of Resistance: Diversification and Diffusion." American Journal of Political Science 61(3): 591–605.

Wood, Reed. 2010. "Rebel Capability and Strategic Violence Against Civilians."
 Journal of Peace Research 47(5): 601–614.

- Valentino, Ben, Paul Huth, and Sarah Croco. 2006. "Covenants Without the Sword: International Law and the Protection of Civilians in Times of War." World Politics 58(3): 339–377.
- Kaplan, Oliver. 2017. Resisting War: How Communities Protect Themselves.
 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism."
 International Security 31(1): 49–80.

5.13 April 12: Sex and Gender-Based Violence

Research Papers: Research design due on Apr 16 by 5 pm; Res design peer review due on Apr 21; Discuss progress of empirical analysis

• Required

- Wood, Elisabeth. 2006. "Variation in Sexual Violence During War." Politics and Society 34(3): 307–341.
- Beber, Bernd, Michael J. Gilligan, Jenny Guardado, and Sabrina Karim. 2016.
 "Peacekeeping, Compliance with International Norms, and Transactional Sex in Monrovia, Liberia." *International Organization* 71(1): 1–30.
- Cohen, Dara. 2013. "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in Sierra Leone." World Politics 65(3): 383–415.
- Chu, Tiffany S., and Jessica Maves Braithwaite. Forthcoming. "The Effect of Sexual Violence on Negotiated Outcomes in Civil Conflicts." Conflict Management and Peace Science.
- Cohen, Dara Kay, and Ragnhild Nordas. "Do States Delegate Shameful Violence to Militias? Patterns of Sexual Violence in Recent Armed Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(5):877–898.
- Garcia-Jimeno, Camilo, Angel Iglesias, and Pinar Yildirim. 2022. "Information Networks and Collective Action: Evidence from the Women's Temperance Crusade." American Economic Review 112(1): 41–80.
- Cohen, Dara K., Connor Huff, and Robert Schub. 2021. "At war and at home: the consequences of US women combat casualties." *Journal of conflict resolution* 65(4): 647–671.
- Tschantret, Joshua. 2018. "Cleansing the caliphate: Insurgent violence against sexual minorities." *International Studies Quarterly* 62(2): 260–273.

• Additional Readings

 Viterna, Jocelyn. 2013. Women in War: The Mirco-processes of Mobilization in El Salvador. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- McDermott, Rose. 2015. "Sex and Death: Gender Differences in Aggression and Motivations for Violence." *International Organization* 69(3): 753–775.

- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence." American Political Science Review 107(3): 461–477.
- Hudson, Valerie, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad Emmett. 2008/9. "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States." *International Security* 33(3): 7–45.
- Caprioli, Mary. 2005. "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Equality in Predicting Internal Conflict." International Studies Quarterly 49(2): 161–178.

5.14 April 19: Consequences of Violence

Research Papers: Discuss overall paper and how all parts fit together

• Required

- Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." American Political Science Review 103(2): 231–247.
- Sexton, Renard, Rachel Wellhausen, and Michael G. Findley. "How Government Reactions to Violence Worsen Social Welfare: Evidence from Peru." American Journal of Political Science 63(2): 353–367.
- Charnysh, Volha, and Evgeny Finkel. 2017. "The Death Camp Eldorado: Political and Economic Effects of Mass Violence." American Political Science Review 111(4): 801–818.
- Blattman, Christopher, Julian C. C. Jamison, and Margaret Sheridan. 2017. "Reducing Crime and Violence: Experimental Evidence from Cognitive Behavioral Therapy in Liberia." American Economic Review 107(4): 1165–1206.
- Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah, and Reed Wood. 2017. "Governing Well after War: How Improving Female Representation Prolongs Post-conflict Peace." Journal of Politics 79(3): 995–1009.
- Lin, Erin. 2021. "How War Changes Land: Soil Fertility, Unexploded Bombs, and the Underdevelopment of Cambodia." American Journal of Political Science.
- Martin, Philip A. 2021. "Commander-community ties after civil war." Journal of Peace Research 58(4): 778–793.

- Phayal, Anup, Prabin B. Khadka, and Clayton L. Thyne. 2015. "What Makes an Ex-Combatant Happy? A Micro-analysis of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration in South Sudan." *International Studies Quarterly* 59(4): 654–668.
- Kim, Sang Ki. 2017. "Third-Party Intervention in Civil Wars and the Prospects for Postwar Development." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(3): 615–642.

 Ghobarah, Hazem, Paul Huth, and Bruce Russett. 2003. "Civil Wars Kill and Maim People—Long After the Shooting Stops." American Political Science Review 97(2): 189–202.

 Salehyan, Idean. 2008. "The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict." American Journal of Political Science 52(4): 787–801.

5.15 April 26: Miscellaneous

Research Papers: Discuss overall paper and how all parts fit together

Inevitably, we get behind some, or new ideas and interests arise, and we will decided a couple of weeks ahead of this date on the readings and activities. If you have ideas as thing move ahead, don't hesitate to let me know.

5.16 May 3: Presentations

Research Papers: Discuss overall paper and how all parts fit together

5.17 Final Paper Due: May 14

Research Papers: Final draft should be publishable in a top journal, or at least fully presentable in front of an audience of the leading scholars on the question of interest.