

GOV 388L: Political Violence, Spring 2020, 38305
Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin

1 Instructor Information

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Office Hours: Mon 1–4 / by appt
Class Location: BAT 5.102

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.

3 Requirements

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. Because syllabi are often filled with male authors thereby ignoring important insights, I have tried to address gender imbalance in the assigned readings. By my count, 57% of the required readings have at least one woman author. This is admittedly a minimalist way of counting, but nonetheless one that attempts to diversify the material we engage. If you have suggestions for how to improve diversity in the readings, don't hesitate to let me know.

3.2 Participation / Presentations

Attendance and participation are worth 20% of your grade. 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 prepare at least two agendas for guiding class discussions. You will begin leading the discussions in the third week. The agenda-setter should take the lead in guiding a stimulating discussion and everyone else in class should engage fully.

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 Replication Assignments

A research replication is worth 10% of your grade. Over the course of the semester you need to turn in and discuss a replication assignment. You will work on the replication assignment together with another student in the class, including writing up the results and presenting it together.

For this assignment, please identify a published article that has publicly available replication data. Most journals now require replication data to be posted on a journal website or the author's website. Once you download and open the data, you should use the authors' command script (e.g., Stata .do file) file to replicate the exact results reported in the paper. In your memo, please comment on how easy it is to replicate those results. If you estimate the models and you do not get the same results, then please report on that too. Regardless, please include with your paper whatever results you get (in tables/figures) when you try to replicate exactly what is in the published paper.

Once you have replicated (or not) what is in the published paper, then you should do whatever it takes to "break" the authors' model or get the authors' key result to become statistically insignificant. This could involve dropping cases, time periods, using different estimators, adding variables, etc, etc. Nearly every statistical model is "breakable" and you need to learn what this process looks like.

Once you have broken the model then extend the analysis in some way. That might include adding a new variable, adding some new years, using a different statistical method, etc. You should motivate the extension theoretically or empirically, and discuss what you learn from the exercise, and include relevant tables/figures. You will need to provide a brief report on the replication exercise to others in the class.

Finally, you should reflect on what the exercise means for the state of knowledge on the question at hand.

3.4 Seminar Paper

The seminar paper is worth 50% of your grade and comprises the primary requirement for the course. The project will be completed jointly either with another student in the class or with the instructor. Under exceptional circumstances I will allow a student to work alone but the student will need to complete a full (and very demanding) paper just like the teams.

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, literature, theory, research design, empirics, conclusion, etc – and will also turn in the different parts of the paper in stages. 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.

3.5 Peer Reviews

You need to conduct four peer reviews during the semester and these combined will be worth 10% of your grade. When you turn in the first four 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 and also send me a copy each time.

3.6 Presentation

I typically have students give multiple presentations in class. Borrowing ideas from Macartan Humphreys and Jake Shapiro, in this course you will present early in the semester on an episode of violence or on a non-state organization that poses a 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 can hand out to others 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.

- 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

- Groups

- Islamic State
- Boko Haram
- Sinaloa Cartel
- Lord's Resistance Army
- FARC
- African National Congress
- The Weather Underground
- The Janjaweed

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:
<http://registrar.utexas.edu/catalogs/gi09-10/ch01/index.html>.

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, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/>.

4.3 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.

4.4 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: www.utexas.edu/emergency.

4.5 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/>).

4.6 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 syllabus. [Link here.](#)]

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.

4.7 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). We 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 27: Introduction and Overview

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

5.2 February 3: Political Violence and Political Order

Research Papers: Discuss Research Questions

Presentation 1 & 2

- 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.

- 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 10: Practice and History of Violence

Research Papers: 1-page proposal due; Discuss writing introductions

Presentation 3 & 4

- 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/ehrenreich-rites.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 17: Constructivism / Identity

Research Papers: 1-page proposal due on Feb 13 by 5 pm; Discuss writing introductions Presentation 5 & 6

- 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., and Michael G. Findley. 2013. “Is Ethnicity Identifiable? Evidence from an Experiment in South Africa.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
 - 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.
- Additional Readings
 - Bhavnani, Ravi, Michael G. Findley, and James H. Kuklinski. 2009. “Rumor Dynamics in Ethnic Violence.” *Journal of Politics* 71(3): 876–892.
 - 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 24: Rationalism / Bargaining

Research Papers: Discuss literature reviews

Research Papers: Literature review due on Feb 20 (revise previous material); Discuss theory sections

Presentation 7 & 8

- 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.
- Additional Readings
 - Park, Sunhee. 2015. “Power and Civil War Termination Bargaining.” *International Studies Quarterly* 59(1): 172–183.

5.6 March 2: Causes of War

Research Papers: Discuss theory sections

- 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.
- 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.

- Additional Readings

- Denly, Michael, Michael G. Findley, Andrew Stravers, and James Walsh. 2020. “Natural Resources and Civil Conflict: Evidence from a New, Georeferenced Dataset.” Unpublished Manuscript: University of Texas at Austin.
- 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.

5.7 March 9: Duration, Management, and Outcomes of Violence

Research Papers: Theory section due on March 5 (revise previous material); Discuss research design

- 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.
- 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, Christopher, 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.
- 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*.

5.8 March 16: Spring Break – No Class

5.9 March 23: Peace Operations

Research Papers: Discuss research design sections again

- 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.

- Additional Readings

- 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.
- 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.
- 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.

5.10 March 30: Organization and Participation

Research Papers: Research design due on March 26 (revise previous material); Discuss empirical 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, and 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.
- Additional Readings
 - 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.
 - McLaughlin, 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.

5.11 April 6: Counterinsurgency / State Violence

Research Papers: Discuss progress of empirical analysis

- 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.
- Additional Readings
 - Straus, Scott. 2004. “How Many Perpetrators Were There in the Rwandan Genocide: An Estimate.” *Journal of Genocide Research* 6(1): 85–98.
 - 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 April 13: Nonviolent Dissent / Cooperation & Noncombatants (Combined)

Research Papers: Discuss progress of empirical analysis

- 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.
- Additional Readings
 - 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 20: Sex and Gender-Based Violence

Research Papers: 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.
- Additional Readings
 - Viterna, Jocelyn. 2013. *Women in War: The Micro-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 27: Consequences of Violence

Research Papers: Full preliminary draft due today; revise previous sections

- 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.

- Additional Readings

- 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 May 4: Presentations**5.16 Final Paper Due May 12**