

POS 598: Political Violence

Professor Reed M. Wood
Class: Coor 6601
Tuesday 9:00-11:30 am
Office: Coor Hall 6664
Office Hours: Th: 12:30-2:30 (or by request)

Course Description

This course is designed to give graduate students a broad overview of issues in political violence. Drawing on works from comparative politics, international relations, economics, and sociology, this course covers a diverse array of inter-related topics, including political order, collective action and mobilization, the dynamics of repression and collective violence, civil war and insurgency onset, counterinsurgency, civilian victimization, and international elements of intrastate political violence. The course readings will also include a diverse range of methodological approaches to questions within these areas, including case studies, ethnographic research, quantitative and statistical analyses, and formal and mathematical modeling.

There are no formal prerequisites for the course. However, students are assumed to have completed basic graduate field seminars in either comparative politics or international relations (preferably both) because much of the literature we will cover builds on theories and concepts typically introduced in those courses. In addition, many of the readings utilize mathematical modeling or statistical analysis. Familiarity with these methods is therefore extremely beneficial. Students who are unfamiliar with these methods may find some of the readings challenging.

Requirements

Participation (25%): Students are expected to complete the assigned readings each week. Student-led discussion of the readings will occur in each class meeting. All students should come prepared with comments regarding the assigned readings.

Summary & Response Papers (40%): Each week, selected seminar participants will write brief responses to the set of readings assigned for the week. We will discuss the details of these responses on the first day. In brief, for each reading you will: 1) identify the central puzzle or question the piece addresses; 2) provide a brief (1-2 sentence) summary of the argument/thesis; 3) develop 3-4 questions or critiques about each reading. These summaries should be emailed to me by 5:00 PM on the Monday before class.

Final Paper (35%): Participants will also write an original research paper addressing an issue related to the course. These papers should articulate a clear research question or puzzle, develop a theory or coherent set of arguments, specify clear hypotheses, and appropriately test these hypotheses. You are welcome to employ any method of evaluation; however, you must make an effort to empirically test a clearly articulated theoretical expectation. Papers are due by 5:00 pm Tuesday, December 4th.

Schedule of Readings

1. Introduction: Politics, Violence and Political Order (8/21)

- *Arendt, Hannah (1970) *On Violence*, Orlando: Harcourt and Brace Company
- *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
- *Staniland, Paul (2012) “States, Insurgents and Wartime Political Order”, *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2)
- *Gutiérrez-Sanín, 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)

Recommended:

- *Davenport, Christian (2007) “State Repression and Political Order”, *Annual Review of Political Science*
- *Hobbes, *Leviathan* (chpts. XIII, XVII and XVIII)
- * Weber, Max (1946) “Politics as a Vocation”, in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- *Kalyvas, Stathis (2003) “The Ontology of ‘Political Violence’: Action and Identity in Civil Wars”, *Perspectives of Politics* 1(3)

2. Collective Action and Contentious Politics (8/28)

- *McAdam, Douglas, Sydney Tarrow and Charles Tilly (2001) *Dynamics of Contention*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- *Ostrom, Elenor (1997) “A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action”, *American Political Science Review* 92(1)

Recommended:

- *Brockett, Charles (2005) *Political Movements and Violence in Central America*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- *DeNardo, James (1985) *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- *Della Porta, Donatella. 2006. *Social Movements, Political Violence and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- *Gurr, Ted (1970) *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- *Lichbach, Mark (1994) “What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary? Dilemma, Paradox, and Irony in Peasant Collective Action”, *World Politics* 46(3)
- *McAdam, Douglas (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*, Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- *Hechter, Michael (1988) *Principle of Group Solidarity*, Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

3. Dynamics of Dissent and Repression (9/4)

- *Lichbach, Mark (1987) “Deterrence or Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31(2)
- *Mason, T. David and Dale Krane (1989) “The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror” *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2)
- *Rasler, Karen (1996) “Concessions, Repression and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution”, *American Sociological Review* 61(1)
- *Moore, Will (1998) “Repression and Dissent: Substitution, Context and Timing”, *American Journal of Political Science* 42(3).
- *Ritter, Emily and Courtney Conrad (2016) “Preventing and Responding to Dissent: The Observational Challenges of Explaining Strategic Repression”, *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 85-99.
- *Sullivan, Christopher and Christian Davenport (2018) “Resistance is Mobile: Dynamics of Repression, Challenger Adaptation, and Surveillance in US ‘Red Squad’ and Black Nationalist Archives”, *Journal of Peace Research* 55(2)

Recommended:

- *Davenport, Christian (1995) “Multidimensional Threat Perception and State Repression”, *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (3)
- *Francisco, Ronald (1995) “The Relationship Between Coercion and Protest: An Empirical Evaluation of Three Coercive States” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39(2)
- *Goodwin, Jeff (2000), *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- *Kalyvas, Stathis and Matthew Kocher (2007) “How Free is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency and the Free Rider Problem” *World Politics* 59(2)
- *Lichbach, Mark (1995) *The Rebel’s Dilemma*, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press
- *Lichbach, Mark (1987) “Deterrence or Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31(2)
- *Opp, Karl-Deiter and Wolfgang Roehl (1990) “Repression, Micromobilization and Political Protest”, *Social Forces* 69(2)
- *Moore, Will (1995) “Rational Rebels: Overcoming the Free-Rider Problem”, *Political Research Quarterly* 48(2)
- *Mason, David (1989) “Nonelite Responses to State-sanctioned Terror”, *Western Political Quarterly* 42(4)
- *Siegel, David (2010) “When Does Repression Work? Collective Action in Social Networks”, *Journal of Politics* 73(4)
- *Tullock, Gordon (1971) “The Paradox of Revolution” *Public Choice* 11(1)
- *Carey, Sabine (2006) “The Dynamic Relationship between Protest and Repression”, *Political Research Quarterly* 59(1)
- *Kuran, Timur (1989) “Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution” *Public Choice* 61
- *White, Robert (1989) “From Peaceful Protest to Guerilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army”, *American Journal of Sociology* 94(6)

4. Agency and Emotion in Peasant Responses to Violence (9/11)

*Banes, Erin and Emily Paddon (2012) This is How We Survived: Civilian Agency and Humanitarian Protection. *Security Dialogue*. 43(3): 321-247.

*Wood, Elisabeth Jean (2004) *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended:

*Scott, James (1976) *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, New Have, CT: Yale University Press.

5. Allegiance, Recruitment, and Socialization in Armed Groups (9/18)

*Gates, Scott (2002) "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1)

*Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein (2008) "Who Fights: The Determinant of Participation in Civil War" *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2)

*Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair and Kosuke Imai (2013) "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: Survey Experiment in Afghanistan", *American Political Science Review* 107(4)

Recommended:

*Parkinson, Sarah (2013) "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War", *American Political Science Review* 107(3)

*Oppenheim, Ben, Abbey Steele and Juan Vargas (2015) "True Believers, Deserters and Traitors", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(5)

*Cohen, Dara (2017) "The Ties that Bind: How Armed Groups Use Violence to Socialize Fighters", *Journal of Peace Research* 54(5)

Recommended:

*Bahney, Benjamin, Rahda Iyengar, Patrick Johnston, Danielle Jung, Jacob Shaprio and Howard Shatz (2009) "Insurgent Compensation: Evidence From Iraq", *American Economic Review* 103(3)

*Blair, Graeme, Christine Fair, Neil Malhotra and Jacob Shapiro. 2013. "Poverty and Support for Militant Politics: Evidence from Pakistan." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1)

*Sanin, Francisco Gutierrez and Elisabeth Jean Wood (2014) "Ideology in Civil War: Instrumental Adaptation and Beyond", *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2)

*Beber, Bernd and Christopher Blattman (2013) "The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion", *International Organization* 67(1)

*Gates, Scott. (2017) "Membership Matters: Coerced Recruits and Rebel Allegiance", *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(5)

6. Initial Conditions, Organizational Structures, and Armed Group Evolution (9/25)

*Bakke, Kristin, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Lee Seymour (2012) "A Plague of

Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion and Infighting in Civil Wars”, *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2).

*Staniland, Paul (2014) *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

7. Organizational and Political Economy Approaches to Violence against Civilians (10/2)

*Weinstein, Jeremy (2005) “Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4)

*Weinstein and Humphreys (2006) “Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War”, *American Political Science Review* 100(3)

*Beardsley, Kyle and Brian McQuinn (2009) Rebel Groups as Predatory Organizations: The Political Effects of the 2004 Tsunami in Indonesia and Sri Lanka. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 53 (4): 624-645.

*Cohen, Dara Kay (2013) “Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence”, *American Political Science Review* 107(3)

*Salehyan, Idean, David Siroky and Reed Wood (2014) “External Rebel Sponsorship and Civilian Abuse: A Principal Agent Analysis of Wartime Atrocities”, *International Organization* 68(3)

*Hoover Green, Amelia (2016) “The Commander’s Dilemma: Creating and Controlling Armed Group Violence”, *Journal of Peace Research* 53(5)

Recommended:

*Weinstein, Jeremy (2006) *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Fall Break No classes (10/6-10/9)

9. Strategic and Political Approaches to Violence against Civilians (10/16)

*Kalyvas, Stathis (2005) *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

*Balcells, Laia (2010) “Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil War”, *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2)

Recommended:

*Balcells, Laia (2011) “Continuation of Politics by Two Means: Direct and Indirect Violence in Civil War”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3)

*Hultman, Lisa (2007) “Battle Losses and Rebel Violence: Raising the Costs of Fighting”, *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19(2)

*Thomas, Jakana (2014) “Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War”, *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4)

*Valentino, Benjamin, Paul Huth and Dylan Balch-Lindsay (2004) “Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare”, *International Organization* 58: 375-407.

- *Wickham-Crowley, Timothy (1990) “Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America, 1956-1970”, *Comparative Studies in History and Society* 32(2)
- *Wood, Reed (2010) “Rebel Capability and Strategic Violence against Civilians”, *Journal of Peace Research* 47(5)
- *Wood, Reed (2014) “From Loss to Looting? Battlefield Costs and Rebel Incentives for Violence”, *International Organization* 68(4)
- *Wood, Elizabeth Jean (2006) “Variation in Sexual Violence during War”, *Politics and Society* 34(3)

10. Norms, Laws and Rebel Behaviors (10/23)

- *Jo, Hyeran (2015) *Compliant Rebels: Rebel Groups and International Law in World Politics* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

6. Natural Resources, the Environment and Armed Conflict (10/30)

- *Le Billion, Phillippe (2001) “The Political Ecology of Armed Conflict: Natural Resources and Armed Conflict”, *Political Geography* 20(5)
- *Ross, Michael (2004) “How Does Natural Resource Wealth Influence Civil Wars? Evidence from Thirteen Cases”, *International Organization* 58(1)
- *Lujala, Paivi (2010) “The Spoils of Nature: Armed Civil Conflict and Rebel Access to Natural Resource”, *Journal of Peace Research* 47(1)
- *Hendrix, Cullen and Sarah Glaser (2007) “Trends and Triggers: Climate, Climate Change and Civil Conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa”, *Political Geography* 26(6)
- *Theisen, Ole Magnus, Helge Holtermann and Halvard Buhaug (2011) “Climate Wars? Assessing the Claim that Drought Breeds Conflicts”, *International Security* 36(3)
- *Raleigh, Clionadh and Dominic Kniveton (2012) “Come Rain or Shine: An Analysis of Conflict and Climate Variability in East Africa”, *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1)

Recommended:

- *Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler (2004) “Greed and Grievance in Civil War”, *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4)
- *Humphreys, Macartan (2005) “Natural Resources, Conflict and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4)

11. Transnational Forces and Civil Conflict (11/6)

- *Salehyan, Idean and Kristian Gleditsch (2006) “Refugees and the Spread of Civil War”, *International Organization* 60(2)
- *Salehyan, Idean, Kristian Gleditsch and David Cunningham (2011) “Explaining External Support for Rebel Groups” *International Organization* 65(4)
- *Fosberg, Erika (2014) Diffusion in the Study of Civil War: A Cautionary Tale”, *International*

Studies Review 16(2)

*Huang, Reyko (2016) “Rebel Diplomacy in Civil War”, *International Security* 40(4)

*Zhukov, Yuri (2017) “External Resources and Indiscriminate Violence: Evidence from German Occupied Belarus”, *World Politics* 69(1).

*Jones, Benjamin and Eleonora (2018) “A Manifesto, in 140 Characters or Fewer: Social Media as a Tool of Rebel Diplomacy”, *British Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming)

Recommended:

*Gleditsch, Kristian (2007) “Transnational Dimensions of Civil War”, *Journal of Peace Research* 44(3)

*Lischer, Sarah (2003) “Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict”, *International Security* 28(1)

*Regan, Patrick (2002) “Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1)

*Cedarman, Lars-Erik, Luc Girardin and Kristian Skedre Gleditsch (2009) “Ethnonationalist Triads: Assessing the Influence of Kin Groups on Civil War”, *World Politics* 61(3)

*Narang, Neil (2015) “Assisting Uncertainty: How Humanitarian Aid Can Inadvertently Prolong Civil Wars”, *International Studies Quarterly* 59(1)

12. Non-violent (and Less Violent) Resistance (11/13)

*Kaplan, Oliver (2017) *Resisting War: How Communities Protect Themselves*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended:

*Chenoweth, Erica and Maria Stephan (2011) *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*, New York: NY: Columbia University Press.

13. Women, Gender and Civil Conflict (11/20)

*Hudson, Valerie, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott and Chad Emmett (2009) “The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States”, *International Security* 33(3)

*Karim, Sabrina (2018) “Restoring Confidence in Post-conflict Security Sectors: Survey Evidence from Liberia on Female Ratio Balancing Reforms”, *British Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming)

*Mason, David (1992) “Women’s Participation in Central American Revolutions: A Theoretical Perspective”, *Comparative Political Studies* 25(1)

*Thomas, Jakana and Kanisha Bond (2015) “Women’s Participation in Violent Political Organizations”, *American Political Science Review* 109(3)

*Viterna, Jocelyn (2006) “Pulled, Pushed and Persuaded: Explaining Women’s Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army”, *American Journal of Sociology* 112(1)

*Wood, Reed and Jakana Thomas (2017) “Women on the Frontlines: Rebel Group Ideology and Women’s Participation in Violent Rebellion”, *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1)

Recommended:

- *Caprioli, Mary (2005) “Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Equality in Predicting Internal Conflict”, *International Studies Quarterly* 49(2)
- *Kampwirth, Karen (2002) *Women and Guerilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba*, State College, PA: Penn State University Press
- *Karim, Sabrina and Kyle Beardsley (2013) “Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Armed Conflict”, *Journal of Peace Research* 53(1)
- *Melander, Eric (2005) “Gender Inequality and Intrastate Armed Conflict”, *International Studies Quarterly* 49(4)
- *Viterna, Jocelyn (2013) *Women in War: The Micro-processes of Mobilization in El Salvador* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

14. How Civil Wars End: Duration and Outcome (11/27)

- *Bapat, Navin (2005) “Insurgency and the Opening of the Peace Process”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(6)
- *Cunningham, David (2006) “Veto Players and Civil War Duration”, *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4)
- *Findley, Michael (2013) “Bargaining and the Interdependent Stages of Civil War Resolution”, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(5)
- *Matts, Michaela and Burcu Savun (2009) “Fostering Peace after Civil War: Commitment Problems and Agreement Design”, *International Studies Quarterly* 53(3)
- *Walter, Barbara (1997) “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement”, *International Organization* 51(3)
- *Prorok, Alyssa. 2015. “Leader Incentives and Civil War Outcomes”, *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1)