UCL DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY

Module Name:	Violent and Non-Violent Conflict
Module Code:	PUBL0083
Teaching	10 hours of lectures, 10 hours of seminars
Credits:	15
Assessment:	One 3,000-word essay (100%)
Lecturer:	Dr Manuel Vogt and Prof Nils Metternich

* PUBL0083 is a core module for the MSc Security Studies (MSc SecS) Programme. For this reason PUBL0083 is only available to MSc SecS students.

Overview and Objectives

The module introduces students to the major themes and debates in the study of conflict processes with a focus on non-state actors, their interactions with states and civilians, and their use of violent or non-violent strategies to achieve political goals. It surveys a range of issues, including the causes and dynamics of civil wars, violence against civilians, individual participation in political contention, the impacts of technology and ideology on conflict, as well as the options for conflict management available to policymakers. In addition, the module covers the causes and impact of non-violent challenges to state authority.

Module Aims

- To introduce students to a range of theoretical and empirical scholarship on nonstate actors in violent and non-violent conflict.
- To familiarize students with the conflict management options of contemporary policymakers in the field of security in their interactions with state and non-state actors.
- To equip students with the conceptual and theoretical tools to critically assess existing theories and apply them to concrete real-world problems.
- To introduce students to a comprehensive range of data sources used in empirical political science to describe and analyse conflict causes and processes.

Module Objectives

By the end of the module, you should have a good overview of the literature on nonstate actors, their interactions with states in political conflicts, as well as the main security issues that such actors present to contemporary policymakers.

- You will have acquired a set of conceptual and methodological tools that can be used to empirically analyse the causes of both violent and non-violent political contention.
- You will have familiarized yourself with the processes of conflict escalation, the individual, organizational, and societal roots of grievances and mobilization, as well as the mechanisms of conflict management and resolution.
- You will be equipped to conduct independent empirical research on security issues posed by non-state actors in their interactions with states.

Schedule

Week 1. The Concepts: Non-state Actors, Conflict, and How We Analyse Them

- Definitions: who are the relevant actors?
- Definitions: what do we mean by violent and non-violent conflict?
- Analysis: the scientific study of conflict processes

Required readings:

Cederman, Lars-Erik, and Manuel Vogt. 2017. "Dynamics and Logics of Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9): 1992-2016.

Chenoweth, Erica, Evan Perkoski, and Sooyeon Kang. 2017. "State Repression and Nonviolent Resistance." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9): 1950-1969.

Balcells, Laia and Jessica A. Stanton. 2021. "Violence against Civilians During Armed Conflict: Moving Beyond the Macro- and Micro-Level Divide." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24(1): 45-69.

Additional literature:

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What Is Civil War?: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6): 814-858.

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

Sidney Tarrow. Contentious Politics. The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements (Online available). Edited by Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani. 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199678402.013.8

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 16-31.

Tilly, Charles. 2004. "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists." *Sociological Theory* 22(1): 5-13. Shapiro, Jacob N. 2012. Terrorist Decision-Making: Insights from Economics and Political Science. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6(4-5): 5-20.

Walzer, Michael. 2002. "Five Questions about Terrorism." Dissent 49(1): 1-9.

Valentino, Benjamin A. 2014. "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 89–103.

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(02): 285-305.

Bulutgil, H. Zeynep. 2015. "Social Cleavages, Wartime Experience, and Ethnic Cleansing in Europe." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (5):577-590.

Mazower, Mark. 2002. "Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century." *American Historical Review* 107(4): 1158-1178.

Chaliand, Gérard and Arnaud Blin. 2016. "Lenin, Stalin, and State Terrorism." In C. Gérard and A. Blin (eds.): *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Pp. 197-207.

Owens, Peter B., Yang Su, and David A. Snow. 2013. "Social Scientific Inquiry Into Genocide and Mass Killing: From Unitary Outcome to Complex Processes." *Annual Review of Sociology* 39(1): 69-84.

Week 2. The Conditions for Conflict: Motivations and Opportunities

- Where and why do political dissent and contention occur?

- Grievances vs. opportunities

Required readings:

Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 3-34.

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 3-43.

Vogt, Manuel. 2019. *Mobilization and Conflict in Multiethnic States*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 1-15, 43-60.

Additional literature:

Hegre, Havard, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2001. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992." *The American Political Science Review* 95(1): 33-48.

Boix, Carles. 2008. "Economic Roots of Civil War and Revolutions in the Contemporary World." *World Politics* 60 (3):390–437.

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1994. "Peoples against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System: 1994 Presidential Address." *International Studies Quarterly* 38(3): 347-77.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62(1): 87-119.

Stewart, Frances. 2008. "Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: An Introduction and some Hypotheses." In *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*, edited by F. Stewart. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 3-24.

Vogt, Manuel. 2019. *Mobilization and Conflict in Multiethnic States*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 77-101.

Paine, Jack. "Ethnic Violence in Africa: Destructive Legacies of Pre-Colonial States." International Organization 73.3 (2019): 645-683.

Chenoweth, Erica, and Jay Ulfelder. 2017. "Can Structural Conditions Explain the Onset of Nonviolent Uprisings?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(2): 298-324.

Yashar, Deborah J. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *The American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4): 563-595.

White, Peter B., Dragana Vidovic, Belén González, Kristian S. Gleditsch and David E. Cunningham. 2015. "Nonviolence as a Weapon of the Resourceful: From Claims to Tactics in Mobilization." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20(4): 471-91.

Hendrix, Cullen S. 2010. "Measuring State Capacity: Theoretical and Empirical Implications for the Study of Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(3): 273-85.

Snyder, Richard and Ravi Bhavnani. 2005. "Diamonds, Blood, and Taxes: A Revenue-Centered Framework for Explaining Political Order." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4): 563-97.

Week 3. Strategic Dilemma: The Organization of Collective Action

- How do political movements emerge?

- Individual-level motivations for political activism
- How are individual motivations organized into collective dissent?

Required readings:

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1968. "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence." *World Politics* 20(2): 245-78.

Wood, Elisabeth J. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Tilly, Charles. 1978. From Mobilization to Revolution. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 3.

Additional literature:

McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 3.

Kuran, Timur. (1991). "Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989. *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48.

Thomas, Jakana L. and Kanisha D. Bond 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review* 109(3): 488-506.

Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Matthew A. Kocher. 2007. "How 'Free' Is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem." *World Politics* 59(2): 177–216.

Lichbach, Mark I. 1994. "Rethinking Rationality and Rebellion: Theories of Collective Action and Problems of Collective Dissent." *Rationality and Society*, 6(1): 8–39.

Lee, Alexander. 2011. "Who Becomes a Terrorist? Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence." *World Politics* 63(2): 203-245.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436–455.

Tezcür, Günes Murat. 2016. "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Participation in an Ethnic Rebellion." *American Political Science Review* 110(2): 247-264.

Lohmann, Susanne. "The dynamics of informational cascades: The Monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91." *World Politics* 47 (1994): 42.

Krueger, Alan B., and Jitka Malečková. 2003. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(4): 119–144.

Gates, Scott. 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1): 111-30.

Vogt, Manuel. 2019. *Mobilization and Conflict in Multiethnic States*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 61-73, 102-118.

Staniland, P. (2012). Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia. *International Security* 37(1): 142–177.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. 2nd ed. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

McCarthy, John D., and Mayer N. Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory." *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 1212-1241.

Kim, Hyojoung, and Steven Pfaff. 2012. "Structure and Dynamics of Religious Insurgency." *American Sociological Review* 77(2): 188-215.

Hillmann, Henning. 2008. "Mediation in Multiple Networks: Elite Mobilization before the English Civil War." *American Sociological Review* 73(3): 426–454.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1986. "On the Fruitful Convergences of Hirschman's Exit, Voice, and Loyalty, and Shifting Involvements. Reflections from the Recent Argentine Experience." Pp. 249-68 in *Development, Democracy, and the Art of Trespassing: Essays in Honor of Albert O. Hirschman*, edited by A. Foxley, M. S. McPherson, G. O'Donnell and A. O. Hirschman. Notre Dame, IN: Published for the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies by University of Notre Dame Press.

Beissinger, Mark R. 2013. "The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution." *American Political Science Review* 107(03):574-92.

Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(03): 535-551.

Trejo, Guillermo. 2014. "The Ballot and the Street: An Electoral Theory of Social Protest in Autocracies." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(02): 332-352.

Clarke, Killian. 2018. "When Do the Dispossessed Protest? Informal Leadership and Mobilization in Syrian Refugee Camps." *Perspectives on Politics* 16(3): 617-33.

Sageman, Marc. 2016. "Jihadi Networks of Terror." In R. K. Betts (ed.): *Conflict After the Cold War*. New York, NY: Routledge. 506-519.

Magouirk, Justin, Scott Atran, and Marc Sageman. 2008. "Connecting Terrorist Networks." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 31(1): 1-16.

Reynolds, Sean C., and Mohammed M. Hafez. Forthcoming. "Social Network Analysis of German Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq." *Terrorism and Political Violence*.

Week 4. Strategic Choices I: The State – Accommodation vs. Repression

- How can states react to dissent?
- When and why do they accommodate or repress opposition movements?

- And what are the consequences of these strategic choices?

Required readings:

Davenport, Christian. 2007. "State Repression and Political Order." *Annual Review of Political Science* 10(1): 1-23.

Dugan, Laura, and Erica Chenoweth. 2012. "Moving Beyond Deterrence: The Effectiveness of Raising the Expected Utility of Abstaining." *American Sociological Review* 77(4): 597-624.

Optional readings (choose one of the following three):

Young, Lauren E. 2019. "The Psychology of State Repression: Fear and Dissent Decisions in Zimbabwe." *American Political Science Review* 113(1): 140-155.

King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts, 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 326-343.

Pan, Jennifer and Alexandra A. Siegel. 2020. "How Saudi Crackdowns Fail to Silence Online Dissent." *American Political Science Review* 114(1): 109-125.

Additional literature:

Tilly, Charles. 1978. From Mobilization to Revolution. New York: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 4.

Ritter, Emily Hencken and Courtenay R. Conrad. 2016. "Preventing and Responding to Dissent: The Observational Challenges of Explaining Strategic Repression." *American Political Science Review* 110(01):85-99.

Sullivan, Christopher M. 2016. "Political Repression and the Destruction of Dissident Organizations." *World Politics* 68(04): 645-76.

Rozenas, Arturas and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2019. "Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'Terror by Hunger'." *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 569-83.

Wang, Yuhua. 2019. "The Political Legacy of Violence During China's Cultural Revolution." *British Journal of Political Science* 51(2): 463-87.

Rozenas, Arturas, Sebastian Schutte and Yuri M. Zhukov. 2017. "The Political Legacy of Violence: The Long-Term Impact of Stalin's Repression in Ukraine." *The Journal of Politics* 79(4): 1147-61.

Blaydes, Lisa. 2020. "Rebuilding the Ba'thist State: Party, Tribe, and Administrative Control in Authoritarian Iraq, 1991–1996." *Comparative Politics* 53(1): 93-115.

Siegel, D. A. (2011). When Does Repression Work? Collective Action in Social Networks. *The Journal of Politics* 73(04): 993–1010.

Carey, Sabine C. 2010. "The Use of Repression as a Response to Domestic Dissent." *Political Studies* 58(1): 167-186.

Lichbach, Mark I. 1987. "Deterrence or Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31(2): 266-297.

Moore, Will H. 1998. "Repression and Dissent: Substitution, Context, and Timing." *American Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 851-873.

Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 61(1): 132-152.

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.

Davenport, Christian. 2005. "Understanding Covert Repressive Action: The Case of the U.S. Government against the Republic of New Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 120-140. Carey, Sabine C. 2006. "The Dynamic Relationship Between Protest and Repression." *Political Research Quarterly* 59(1): 1-11.

Mason, T. David, and Dale A. Krane. 1989. "The Political Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror." *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2): 175-198.

Valentino, Benjamin A., Paul Huth and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* 58(2): 375-407.

Hill, Daniel W. and Zachary M. Jones. 2014. "An Empirical Evaluation of Explanations for State Repression." *American Political Science Review* 108(03):661-87.

Walter, Barbara F. 2006. "Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but Not Others." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 313-330.

Roessler, Philip. 2011. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." World Politics 63(2): 300-346.

Perliger, Arie. 2012. "How Democracies Respond to Terrorism: Regime Characteristics, Symbolic Power and Counterterrorism." *Security Studies* 21(3): 490-528.

Lehrke, Jesse Paul, and Rahel Schomaker. 2016. "Kill, Capture, or Defend? The Effectiveness of Specific and General Counterterrorism Tactics against the Global Threats of the Post-9/11 Era." *Security Studies* 25(4): 729-762.

Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(3): 331-362.

LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte. 2009. "The Impact of British Counterterrorist Strategies on Political Violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing Deterrence and Backlash Models." *Criminology* 47(1): 17-45.

Sullivan, Christopher M., and Christian Davenport. 2017. "The Rebel Alliance Strikes Back: Understanding the Politics of Backlash Mobilization." *Mobilization* 22(1): 39-56.

Sullivan, Christopher M. 2014. "The (in)Effectiveness of Torture for Combating Insurgency." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(3):388-404.

Longo, Matthew, Daphna Canetti-Nisim, and Nancy Hite-Rubin. 2014. "A Checkpoint Effect? Evidence from a Natural Experiment on Travel Restrictions in the West Bank." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 1006–1023.

Johnston, Patrick B. 2012. "Does Decapitation Work?" International Security 36 (4):47-79.

Carey, Sabine C., and Neil J. Mitchell. 2017. "Progovernment Militias." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 127-147.

Week 5. Strategic Choices II: Non-state Actors – Forms of Contention

- Why do some opposition movements resort to violence while others use non-violent means?

- The influence of organizational characteristics and the strategic environment

- The effectiveness of violent and non-violent resistance

Required readings:

Walter, Barbara F. 2009. "Bargaining Failures and Civil War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1): 243-261.

Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31 (1):49–80.

Stephan, Maria J., and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works." *International Security* 33(1): 7-44.

Additional literature:

Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher, Kristin M. Bakke, and Lee J. M. Seymour. 2012. "Shirts Today, Skins Tomorrow: Dual Contests and the Effects of Fragmentation in Self- Determination Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(1): 67-93.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2006. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 100(3): 429-447.

Wood, Elisabeth J. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4.

Beissinger, Mark R. 1998. "Nationalist Violence and the State: Political Authority and Contentious Repertoires in the Former Ussr." *Comparative Politics* 30(4):401-22.

Buhaug, Halvard. 2006. "Relative Capability and Rebel Objective in Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 43(6): 691-708.

de la Calle, Luis, and Ignacio Sanchez-Cuenca. 2012. "Rebels without a Territory: An Analysis of Nonterritorial Conflicts in the World, 1970-1997." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(4): 580-603.

Wood, Reed M. 2010. "Rebel Capability and Strategic Violence against Civilians." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(5): 601-614.

Asal, Victor, Mitchell Brown, and Marcus Schulzke. 2015. "Kill Them All—Old and Young, Girls and Women and Little Children': An Examination of the Organizational Choice of Targeting Civilians." *Political Science Research and Methods* 3(03): 589-607.

Pearlman, Wendy. 2008/09. "Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process." *International Security* 33(3): 79–109.

Lawrence, Adria. 2010. "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule." *International Security* 35(2): 88–122.

Wood, Reed M., and Jacob D. Kathman. 2015. "Competing for the Crown: Inter-rebel Competition and Civilian Targeting in Civil War." *Political Research Quarterly* 68(1): 167-179.

Nemeth, Stephen. 2014. "The Effect of Competition on Terrorist Group Operations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(2): 336-362.

Bloom, Mia M. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share, and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119 (1):61-88.

Findley, Michael G., and Joseph K. Young. 2012. "More Combatant Groups, More Terror?: Empirical Tests of an Outbidding Logic." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(5): 706-721.

Kaufman, Stuart J. 1996. "Spiraling to Ethnic War." International Security 21(2): 108-138.

Metternich, Nils W., Cassy Dorff, Max Gallop, Simon Weschle, and Michael D. Ward. 2013. "Antigovernment Networks in Civil Conflicts: How Network Structures Affect Conflictual Behavior." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 892–911.

Krause, Peter. 2014. "The Structure of Success: How the Internal Distribution of Power Drives Armed Group Behavior and National Movement Effectiveness." *International Security* 38(3): 72-116.

Worsnop, Alec. 2017. "Who Can Keep the Peace? Insurgent Organizational Control of Collective Violence." *Security Studies* 26(3): 482-516.

Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97(3): 343-361.

Balcells, Laia. 2010. Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars. *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291–313.

Fjelde, Hanne, and Lisa Hultman. 2014. "Weakening the Enemy: A Disaggregated Study of Violence against Civilians in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(7): 1230-1257.

Salehyan, Idean, David Siroky, and Reed M. Wood. 2014. "External Rebel Sponsorship and Civilian Abuse: A Principal-Agent Analysis of Wartime Atrocities." *International Organization* 68(3): 633-661.

Pischedda, Costantino. 2018. "Wars within Wars: Why Windows of Opportunity and Vulnerability Cause Inter-Rebel Fighting in Internal Conflicts." *International Security* 43(1): 138–76.

Krause, Peter. 2013. "The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: A Two-Level Framework to Transform a Deceptive Debate." *Security Studies* 22(2): 259-294.

Rivera, Mauricio, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2013. "Fresh Carnations or All Thorn, no Rose? Nonviolent Campaigns and Transitions in Autocracies." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3): 385-400.

Wouters, Ruud, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2017. "Demonstrating Power: How Protest Persuades Political Representatives." *American Sociological Review* 82(2): 361-383.

Crenshaw, Martha. 1981. "The Causes of Terrorism." Comparative Politics 13(4): 379-399.

Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31 (1):49–80.

Abrahms, M. 2012. "The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited." *Comparative Political Studies* 45(3): 366-393.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2015. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69(3): 519-556.

Thomas, Jakana. 2014. "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(4): 804-818.

Wood, Reed M., and Jacob D. Kathman. 2013. "Too Much of a Bad Thing? Civilian Victimization and Bargaining in Civil War." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 685-706.

Week 6. Technologies of Resistance

- How does the emergence and use of new technologies shape the power relations between state and non-state actors?

- The impact of the Internet and other ICT

Required readings:

Weidmann, N. B., & Rød, E. G. (2019). *The Internet and political protest in autocracies*. Oxford University Press. Oxford. Chapters 1-3. (The book is electronically available through UCL Library)

Optional readings:

Larson, Jennifer M., et al. "Social networks and protest participation: Evidence from 130 million Twitter users." American Journal of Political Science 63.3 (2019): 690-705.

Zeitzoff, Thomas. 2017. "How Social Media Is Changing Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9): 1970-1991.

Weidmann, Nils B., and Espen G. Rød. 2015. "Empowering Activists or Autocrats? The Internet in Authoritarian Regimes." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(3): 338-351.

Lyall, Jason, and Isaiah Wilson. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63(01): 67–106.

Additional literature:

Gohdes, Anita R. 2018. "Studying the Internet and Violent Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 35(1): 89-106.

Benson, David C. 2014. "Why the Internet Is Not Increasing Terrorism." *Security Studies* 23(2): 293-328.

Pierskalla, Jan H., and Florian M. Hollenbach. 2013. "Technology and Collective Action: The Effect of Cell Phone Coverage on Political Violence in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 107(02): 207-224.

Shapiro, Jacob N., and David A. Siegel. 2015. "Coordination and Security: How Mobile Communications Affect Insurgency." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(3): 312-322.

Beissinger, Mark R. 2017. "Conventional' and 'Virtual' Civil Societies in Autocratic Regimes." *Comparative Politics* 49(3):351-71.

Gohdes, Anita R. 2015. "Pulling the Plug: Network Disruptions and Violence in Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 52(3): 352-367.

Earl, Jennifer. 2006. "Pursuing Social Change Online: The Use of Four Protest Tactics on the Internet." *Social Science Computer Review* 24(3): 362-377.

Chen, Hsinchun, Wingyan Chung, Jialun Qin, Edna Reid, Marc Sageman, and Gabriel Weimann. 2008. "Uncovering the Dark Web: A Case Study of Jihad on the Web." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 59(8): 1347-1359.

Bruns, Axel, Tim Highfield, and Jean Burgess. 2013. "The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences: English and Arabic Twitter Users and their Networks." *American Behavioral Scientist* 57(7): 871-898.

Clarke, Killian and Korhan Koçak. Forthcoming. "Launching Revolution: Social Media and the Egyptian Uprising's First Movers." *British Journal of Political Science*.

Brooke, Steven, and Neil Ketchley. 2018. "Social and Institutional Origins of Political Islam." *American Political Science Review* 112 (02): 376-394.

Andrews, Kenneth T., and Michael Biggs. 2005. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks, and News Media in the 1960 Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71(5): 752-777.

Kern, Holger Lutz. 2011. "Foreign Media and Protest Diffusion in Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of the 1989 East German Revolution." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(9): 1179-1205.

Yanagizawa-Drott, David. 2014. "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129(4): 1947-94.

Rapoport, David C. 2002. "The Four Waves of Rebel Terror and September 11." *Anthropoetics* 8(1): 1-17.

Week 7. Ideologies of Resistance

- What is ideology and what is political extremism?

- How do non-state actors make use of ideology?
- And how do ideology and extremism affect conflict dynamics?

Required readings:

Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco, and Elisabeth J. Wood. 2014. "Ideology in Civil War: Instrumental Adoption and beyond." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 213–226.

Costalli, Stefano, and Andrea Ruggeri. 2015. "Indignation, Ideologies, and Armed Mobilization: Civil War in Italy, 1943–45." *International Security* 40(2): 119-157.

Additional literature:

Leader Maynard, Jonathan. Forthcoming. "Ideology and Armed Conflict." Journal of Peace Research.

McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2008. "Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20(3): 415–433.

Thaler, Kai M. 2012. "Ideology and Violence in Civil Wars: Theory and Evidence from Mozambique and Angola." *Civil Wars* 14(4): 546-567.

Ugarriza, Juan E., and Matthew J. Craig. 2013. "The Relevance of Ideology to Contemporary Armed Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(3): 445-477.

Schubiger, Livia, and Matthew Zelina. 2017. "Ideology in Armed Groups." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 50(04): 948-952.

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Mitchell, Neil J. 2004. Agents of Atrocity: Leaders, Followers, and the Violation of Human Rights in Civil War. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 29-39.

Week 8: Polarization, Mobilization, and Voting

Required readings:

Gillion, Daniel Q. "Protest and congressional behavior: assessing racial and ethnic minority protests in the district." The Journal of Politics 74.4 (2012): 950-962.

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Gillion, Daniel Q., and Sarah A. Soule. "The impact of protest on elections in the United States." Social Science Quarterly 99.5 (2018): 1649-1664.

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Week 9. Conflict Management I: The State – Human Rights, Institutions, and Good Governance

- What strategies can governments apply to prevent or manage conflict?

- And what policy options does the international community have to fence in rogue governments?

Required readings:

Rothchild, Donald, and Philip G. Roeder. 2005. "Dilemmas of State-Building in Divided Societies." In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*, edited by P. G. Roeder and D. Rothchild. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 1-25.

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Roessler, Philip. 2011. "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa." *World Politics* 63(2): 300-346.

Diamond, Larry. 2006. "Promoting Democracy in Post-Conflict and Failed States: Lessons and Challenges." *Taiwan Journal of Democracy* 2(2): 93-116.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Simon Hug. 2012. "Elections and Ethnic Civil War." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(3): 387–417.

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Brancati, Dawn, and Jack Snyder. 2013. "Time to Kill: The Impact of Election Timing on Postconflict Stability." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(5): 822-853.

Tezcür, Güneş Murat. 2010. "When Democratization Radicalizes: The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Turkey." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(6): 775-789.

McGarry, John, and Brendan O'Leary. 2009. "Must Pluri-national Federations Fail?" *Ethnopolitics* 8 (1):5-25.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Simon Hug, Andreas Schädel, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2015. "Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late?" *American Political Science Review* 109(2): 354-370.

Downes, Alexander B., and Jonathan Monten. 2013. "Forced to Be Free?: Why Foreign-Imposed Regime Change Rarely Leads to Democratization." *International Security* 37(4): 90-131.

Darden, Keith and Harris Mylonas. 2012. "The Promethean Dilemma: Third-Party State-Building in Occupied Territories." *Ethnopolitics* 11(1):85-93.

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20(4):136-75.

Week 10. Conflict Management II: Shaping the Motivations and Constraints of Non- state Actors

- How can non-violent strategies of opposition be fostered?

- How can the incentives of individuals be shaped in a way that they abstain from violence?

- Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration

Required readings:

Matanock, Aila M., and Paul Staniland. "How and why armed groups participate in elections." *Perspectives on Politics* 16.3 (2018): 710-727.

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