



**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  
**Essay Deadline/s:** 8.1.2020 (by 2pm)  
**Lecturer:** Dr Manuel Vogt & Dr Nils Metternich  
**Office Hours:** TBC

## USEFUL LINKS

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## 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 their impact on international security. It surveys a range of issues, including the causes and management of civil wars, violence against civilians, individual participation in political contention, as well as post-conflict economic, political, and social reconstruction. 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 non-state 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 provide students with the analytical and methodological skills to develop and further their own independent theoretical reasoning.

## Module Objectives

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

- They will have acquired a set of conceptual and methodological tools that can be used to empirically analyze the causes of both violent and non-violent political contention.
- They will have familiarized themselves 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.
- They will be equipped to conduct independent empirical research on security issues posed by non-state actors and their interactions with states.

## Communication

The classroom is the best place to raise questions which are relevant for everybody in the class. The best time to ask short questions that might not be relevant for everybody is after class. The office hours should be dedicated to discuss more in-depth questions and your research project. Unlike other modes of communication, this face-to-face setting allows for interactive discussions, including the possibility to ask questions of clarification. Given these clear advantages, we will not reply to

emails with issues that could be resolved (1) in class, (2) after class, or (3) during office hours.

## Schedule

### **Week 1. The Concepts: Non-state Actors, Conflict, and How We Analyze 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.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 1-31.

#### *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.

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.

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

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

### *Additional literature:*

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

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.

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

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.

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.

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

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

#### *Additional literature:*

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

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.

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:*

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

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.

##### *Additional literature:*

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.

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.
- 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.
- Lyll, 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.

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.

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

### *Additional literature:*

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:*

Zeitsoff, 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.

Lyll, 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.

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

### *Additional literature:*

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

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.

Isaacs, Matthew. 2016. "Sacred Violence or Strategic Faith? Disentangling the Relationship between Religion and Violence in Armed Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(2): 211-225.

Wood, Reed M., and Jakana Thomas. 2017. "Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women's Participation in Violent Rebellion." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1): 31-46.

Lake, David A. 2002. "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-first Century." *Dialogue IO* 1(1): 15-29.

Walter, Barbara F. 2017. "The Extremist's Advantage in Civil Wars." *International Security* 42 (2):7-39.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2018. "Jihadi Rebels in Civil War." *Daedalus* 147(1): 36-47.

Moghaddam, F. M. 2005. "The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration." *American Psychologist* 60(2): 161-169.

McCauley, Clark, and Sophia Moskalenko. 2017. "Understanding Political Radicalization: The Two-Pyramids Model." *American Psychologist* 72(3): 205-216.

Doosje, Bertjan, Fathali M. Moghaddam, Arie W. Kruglanski, Arjan de Wolf, Liesbeth Mann, and Allard R. Feddes. 2016. "Terrorism, Radicalization and De-radicalization." *Current Opinion in Psychology* 11: 79-84.

Hafez, Mohammed, and Creighton Mullins. 2015. "The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38(11): 958-975.

Bartlett, Jamie, and Carl Miller. 2012. "The Edge of Violence: Towards Telling the Difference Between Violent and Non-Violent Radicalization." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(1): 1-21.

Jasko, Katarzyna, Gary LaFree, and Arie Kruglanski. 2017. "Quest for Significance and Violent Extremism: The Case of Domestic Radicalization." *Political Psychology* 38(5): 815-831.

Hagan, John, and Wenona Rymond-Richmond. 2008. "The Collective Dynamics of Racial Dehumanization and Genocidal Victimization in Darfur." *American Sociological Review* 73(6): 875–902.

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. 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:*

Hegre, Håvard, and Håvard Mogleiv Nygård. 2015. "Governance and Conflict Relapse." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(6): 984-1016.

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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Sambanis, N. and Schulhofer-Wohl, J. (2009). What's in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War? *International Security* 34(2):82-118.

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Jarstad, Anna K., and Timothy D. Sisk, eds. 2008. *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Appel, Benjamin J. 2016. "In the Shadow of the International Criminal Court: Does the Icc Deter Human Rights Violations?". *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(1):3-28.

Walsh, James I., and James A. Piazza. 2010. "Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 551-577.

Walter, Barbara F. 2015. "Why Bad Governance Leads to Repeat Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7): 1242-1272.

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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.

Samii, Cyrus. 2013. "Perils or Promise of Ethnic Integration? Evidence from a Hard Case in Burundi." *American Political Science Review* 107(03): 558-573.

Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Måns Söderbom. 2008. "Post-Conflict Risks." *Journal of Peace Research* 45(4): 461-478.

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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.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Simon Hug, and Lutz F. Krebs. 2010. "Democratization and Civil War: Empirical Evidence." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(4): 377-394.

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 9. 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:*

Walter, Barbara F. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51(3): 335-364.

Chowdhury, Arjun, and Ronald R. Krebs. 2009. "Making and Mobilizing Moderates: Rhetorical Strategy, Political Networks, and Counterterrorism." *Security Studies* 18(3): 371-399.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Demobilization and Reintegration." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(4): 531-567.

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Karell, Daniel and Sebastian Schutte. 2018. "Aid, Exclusion, and the Local Dynamics of Insurgency in Afghanistan." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(6):711-25.

- Cronin, Audrey K. 2006. "How al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups." *International Security* 31(1): 7-48.
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- LaFree, Gary, and Erin Miller. 2008. "Desistance from Terrorism: What Can We Learn from Criminology?" *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 1(3): 203-230.
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- Regan, Patrick M. 2002. "Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1):55-73.
- Metternich, Nils W. 2011. "Expecting Elections: Interventions, Ethnic Support, and the Duration of Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(6): 909-937.
- Ruggeri, Andrea, Theodora-Ismene Gizelis, and Han Dorussen. 2012. "Managing Mistrust: An Analysis of Cooperation with UN Peacekeeping in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(3): 387-409.
- Hultman, L., Kathman, J. and Shannon, M. (2014). Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting. *American Political Science Review* 108(04):737-753.

## **Week 10. Conflict Management III: Student Expert Panel Discussion**