

**Research Seminar: Political Order and Conflict**  
MACIS Optional Research Seminar, Spring Term 2022  
Weekly on Wednesday, 10:15-12:00. D42(or D44) ([Zoom link](#))

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This seminar covers the literature on political violence in the contemporary world. We will study the determinants, processes, and outcomes of civil war and other forms of conflict. Specific topics include ethnic violence, the role of natural resources and other economic factors, the intricate relationship between state building and violence, as well as various combat, pacification and conflict prevention strategies. In the weekly sessions, we discuss the state-of-the-art of the literature and identify theoretical, empirical, and methodological gaps that may inspire your own research. Over the course of the seminar, each student develops a research design presenting a convincing and feasible strategy to address an open research question. This design serves as the basis for the final term paper and, potentially, a MA thesis.

**Requirements and Grading:**

Students will have to fulfill the following requirements:

- Actively participate in the seminar sessions
- Read the required readings for each meeting in advance. In addition, we encourage you to consult the recommended readings and/or additional literature on topics you want to focus on in your memos and term paper
- Write short memos on three of the ten weekly topics. The memos should actively challenge the week's readings, raise questions, and may already contain some research ideas. These memos are due on Monday evening of the week in which this topic is scheduled. Students need to be prepared to briefly present the main arguments of their memos in class to kick off our discussion
- Prepare and present a research design (due in week 14) that outlines the research question, relevant literature, and empirical strategy for the research paper
- Discuss a research design of another student
- Write a research paper on a topic chosen in agreement with the instructors

The final grade will primarily depend on the term paper (70%). However, the written memos, research design, and class participation are also taken into consideration (30%).

Course materials are available in a polybox (will be sent around per email).

If you have any questions or feedback on course contents, structure, and requirements, do not hesitate to contact us.

## **Part I: Introduction & Concepts**

### **Week 1 (23 February). Introduction & Logistics**

### **Week 2 (2 March). Concepts & Classical Approaches**

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

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

Gurr, Ted. 1968. Psychological Factors in Civil Violence. *World Politics* 20(2):245–278.

#### Recommended reading:

Lake, D. A. 2003. International relations theory and internal conflict: insights from the interstices. *International Studies Review*, 5(4), 81-89.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

Tilly, Charles. 1978. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing. Chapter 3.

## **Part II: Onset, Dynamics, Termination**

### **Week 3 (9 March). Political Economy**

Dube, Oeindrila and Juan F. Vargas. 2013. "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia." *The Review of Economic Studies* 80(4): 1384–1421.

Christensen, Darin. 2019. "Concession Stands: How Mining Investments Incite Protest in Africa." *International Organization* 73(1): 65–101.

Blair, Graeme, Darin Christensen, and Aaron Rudkin. 2021. "Do Commodity Price Shocks Cause Armed Conflict? A Meta-Analysis of Natural Experiments." *American Political Science Review* 115(2): 709–16

#### Recommended reading:

Ross, Michael. 2015. What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse? *Annual Review of Political Science* 18:239–259.

Berman, Nicolas, Mathieu Couttenier, Dominic Rohner, and Mathias Thoenig. 2017. "This Mine is Mine! How Minerals Fuel Conflicts in Africa." *American Economic Review* 107(6): 1564–1610.

Hunziker, Philipp and Lars-Erik Cederman. 2017. No Extraction without Representation: The Ethno-Regional Oil Curse and Secessionist Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research* 54(3): 365–381.

#### **Week 4 (16 March). Inequality & Ethnic Conflict**

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3-5.

Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of California Press. Chapter 5 (pp. 185-228).

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1994. Peoples Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System. *International Studies Quarterly* 38(3):347-377.

#### Recommended reading:

Guariso, Andrea, and Thorsten Rogall. 2017. Rainfall Inequality, Political Power, and Ethnic Conflict in Africa. *LICOS Discussion Paper* No. 391

#### **Week 5 (23 March). Nationalism, Secession and Irredentism**

Weiner, M. 1971. The Macedonian syndrome: An historical model of international relations and political development. *World Politics*, 23(4), 665-683.

Shelef, N. G. 2016. Unequal ground: Homelands and conflict. *International Organization*, 70(1), 33-63.

Cederman, L. E., Pengl, Y., Girardin, L. & Müller-Crepon. C. 2022. The Future is History: Restorative Nationalism and Conflict in Post-Napoleonic Europe. Working Paper.

#### Recommended reading:

Cederman, L. E., Pengl, Y., Atzenhofer, D. & Girardin, L. 2022. Nationality Problems and War: Revisiting the Macedonian Syndrome. Working Paper.

Cederman, L. E., Rügger, S., & Schvitz, G. 2021. Redemption through Rebellion: Border Change, Lost Unity and Nationalist Conflict. *American Journal of Political Science* 66(1): 24-42.

Toft, M. D. (2003). *Geography of Ethnic Violence*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 2: Theory

## **Week 6 (30 March). Patterns and Processes of Political Violence**

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2012. "Micro-level Studies of Violence in Civil War: Refining and Extending the Control-Collaboration Model." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(4): 658–668.

Balcells, Laia and Jessica Stanton. 2021. Violence Against Civilians During Armed Conflict: Moving Beyond the Macro- and Micro-Level Divide. *Annual Reviews of Political Science* 24: 45-69.

Mampilly, Zachariah and Megan Stewart. 2021. A Typology of Rebel Political Institutional Arrangements. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(1): 15-45.

### Recommended reading:

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

## **7 April. No Session (Easter Break)**

### **Part III: Prevention & Pacification**

## **Week 8 (13 April). Power Sharing**

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.

Gates, Scott, Benjamin A. T. Graham, Yonatan Lupu, Håvard Strand, and Kaare W. Strøm. 2016. Power Sharing, Protection, and Peace. *Journal of Politics* 78(3):512-526.

Roessler, Philip, and David Ohls. 2018. Self-Enforcing Power Sharing in Weak States. *International Organization* 72(2): 423-454.

### Recommended Reading:

Bormann, Nils-Christian et al. 2019. Power-Sharing: Institutions, Behavior, and Peace. *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1): 84–100.

Rothchild, Donald, and Philip G. Roeder. 2005. Dilemmas of State Building in Divided Societies. In *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy After Civil War*, eds. P. G. Roeder and D. Rothchild. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

## **Week 9 (20 April). Partition, Separation**

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. *International Security* 20(4):136-175.

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

Chapman, T., & Roeder, P. G. (2007). Partition as a solution to wars of nationalism: The importance of institutions. *American Political Science Review*, 101(4), 677-691.

Recommended Reading:

Tilly Charles. 1994. States and Nationalism in Europe 1492–1992. *Theory and Society* 23(1): 131–146.

Rutherford, A., Harmon, D., Werfel, J., Gard-Murray, A. S., Bar-Yam, S., Gros, A., ... & Bar-Yam, Y. (2014). Good fences: The importance of setting boundaries for peaceful coexistence. *PloS one*, 9(5).

**Week 10 (27 April). International Norms and Interventions.**

Zacher, M. W. (2001). The territorial integrity norm: International boundaries and the use of force. *International Organization*, 55(2), 215-250.

Fazal, T. M., & Griffiths, R. D. (2014). Membership has its privileges: The changing benefits of statehood. *International Studies Review*, 16(1), 79-106.

Walter, B. F., Howard, L. M. & Fortna, V. P. (2021). The Extraordinary Relationship between Peacekeeping and Peace. *British Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 1705-1022.

Recommended reading:

Carter, D. B., & Goemans, H. E. (2011). The making of the territorial order: New borders and the emergence of interstate conflict. *International Organization*, 65(2), 275-309.

Shawt, M. N. (1997). The heritage of states: The principle of uti possidetis juris today. *British yearbook of International Law*, 67(1), 75.

## **Part IV: Political Legacies of Violence**

### **Week 11 (4 May). War, Governance, and State Formation**

Tilly, C. (1989). Cities and states in Europe, 1000-1800. *Theory and Society*, 563-584.

Cantoni, D., Mohr, C., & Weigand, M. (2019). *The rise of fiscal capacity* (No. 172). Discussion Paper.

Paglayan, A.S. (2022). Education or Indoctrination: The Violent Origins of Public School Systems in an Era of State-Building. *American Political Science Review*. Forthcoming.

#### Recommended reading:

Blair, R. A., Moscoso, M, Vargas Castillo, A. & Weintraub, M. 2022. Preventing Rebel Resurgence after Civil War: A Field Experiment in Security and Justice Provision in Rural Colombia. *American Political Science Review*. Forthcoming.

Sánchez De La Sierra, R. (2020). On the origins of the state: Stationary bandits and taxation in Eastern Congo. *Journal of Political Economy*, 128(1), 000-000.

Abramson, Scott F. 2017. The Economic Origins of the Territorial State. *International Organization* 71(1): 97-130.

### **Week 12 (11 May). Social and Political Legacies of Conflict**

De Juan, Alexander, Felix Haass, Carlo Koos, Sascha Riaz and Thomas Tichelbaecker. 2022. "War and Nationalism: Evidence from World War I and the Rise of the Nazi Party." Working Paper.

Gay, Victor. 2021. "The Legacy of the Missing Men. The Long-Run Impact of World War I on Female Labor Force Participation." Working Paper.

Hager, Anselm, Krzysztof Krakowski and Max Schaub. 2019. "Ethnic Riots and Prosocial Behavior: Evidence from Kyrgyzstan." *American Political Science Review* 113(4): 1029-1044.

#### Recommended reading:

Lindsey, Summer. 2022. "Conflict, Protection, and Punishment: Repercussions of Violence in Eastern DR Congo." *American Journal of Political Science*. 66: 187-204

Bauer, Michal, Christopher Blattman, Julie Chytilová, Joseph Henrich, Edward Miguel, and Tamar Mitts. Can War Foster Cooperation? *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 30(3): 249-274.

### **Week 13 (18 May). 'Right-Peopling' the State: Assimilation and Ethnic Cleansing**

O'Leary, B. (2001). The elements of right-sizing and right-peopling the state. *Right-sizing the state: The politics of moving borders*, 15-73.

Mann, M. (1999). The dark side of democracy: the modern tradition of ethnic and political cleansing. *New Left Review*, 18-45.

McNamee, L., & Zhang, A. (2019). Demographic engineering and international conflict: Evidence from China and the Former USSR. *International Organization*, 73(2), 291-327.

#### Recommended reading:

Posen, B. R. (1993). The security dilemma and ethnic conflict. *Survival*, 35(1), 27-47.

Bulutgil, H. Z. (2017). Ethnic Cleansing and Its Alternatives in Wartime: A Comparison of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian Empires. *International Security*, 41(4), 169-201.

Straus, S. (2012). Retreating from the brink: Theorizing mass violence and the dynamics of restraint. *Perspectives on Politics*, 343-362.

### **Week 14 (25 May). Student Presentations**

### **Week 15 (1 June). Student Presentations**

**Final Papers Due: Tuesday, 26 August 2022**