

## MACIS Core Seminar

# Political Violence

Prof. Lars-Erik Cederman ([cederman@icr.gess.ethz.ch](mailto:cederman@icr.gess.ethz.ch))

Dr. Govinda Clayton ([govinda.clayton@sipo.gess.ethz.ch](mailto:govinda.clayton@sipo.gess.ethz.ch))

**Fall Term 2021**

**Wednesdays 13:15-15:00, Location TBC (Online / IFW D 42)**

This seminar offers an introduction to political violence and conflict in domestic and international politics. We start by considering key concepts and classical theory, before covering the process of state formation, the role of nationalism in warfare, and the decline of inter-state war. We then focus on different forms of contestation, focusing on civil war, one-sided violence and non-violence resistance. In the final session we focus on different methods of managing and resolving political violence.

## Course sessions

Week 1, September 22	Introduction
Week 2, September 29	Concepts and Classical Theories of War
Week 3, October 6	State Formation and War
Week 4, October 13	Nationalism and War
Week 5, October 20	Decline of Interstate War
Week 6, October 27	Civil Wars: Material Incentives
Week 7, November 3	<i>No class (reading week)</i>
Week 8, November 10	Civil Wars: Non-Material Incentives
Week 9, November 17	One-sided violence and terrorism
Week 10, November 24	Riots, Protests and Non-Violent Resistance
Week 11, December 1	Managing and Resolving Political Violence
Week 12, December 8	<i>Presentation and discussion of research papers</i>
Week 13, December 15	<i>Presentation and discussion of research papers</i>
Week 14, December 22	<i>Presentation and discussion of research papers</i>

## Readings

The required readings for each week will be made available online, on the e-learning platform *Moodle* (<https://moodle-app2.let.ethz.ch/>). You must do the readings to participate in the course. The recommended readings are designed to assist students in the preparation of their weekly response papers and the preparation of their final research paper. Obviously, the list is not exhaustive and we welcome suggestions for additions. In general, those readings not available via Moodle are available in the library, in our collection of books and journals online (check <https://library.ethz.ch/en/>).

## Course requirements

The requirements for the course include participation in class discussions, two weekly response papers, and one research paper.

**Participation:** The quality of your experience in this course depends on your participation. Class participation constitutes a significant portion of the course grade. Students will be expected to read the required readings, think critically about them, and discuss them in class.

**Weekly response papers:** A 2-page response paper is required for two weeks of the semester (one for weeks 2-6, and one for weeks 8-11). The papers should critically discuss and assess the strengths and weaknesses of the required and some of the recommended readings. Students need to be prepared to briefly present the main arguments of their weekly response papers in class. These response papers should be submitted for further distribution by midnight on the Monday night before class to Oliver Roos - [oliver.roos@sipo.gess.ethz.ch](mailto:oliver.roos@sipo.gess.ethz.ch).

**Research paper:** A research paper is required for the course (25-30 pages, double spaced). These papers should ask questions related to the courses content. Topics will be selected in consultation with the instructors. Students will prepare a research design (**due by Monday night before presentation**) that outlines the research question and the relevant literature for the research paper. During the last seminar sessions, students will be asked to give a brief presentation on the subject of their final paper and discuss the research design of another student. **The final research papers should be submitted** for further distribution by Sunday, February 6, 2022 to Oliver Roos - [oliver.roos@sipo.gess.ethz.ch](mailto:oliver.roos@sipo.gess.ethz.ch)

## Moodle registration

In addition to the registration for this course in *myStudies*, students will also have to subscribe to the course's e-learning page on *Moodle* (<https://moodle-app2.let.ethz.ch/>). A separate hand-out with instructions for the Moodle access will be distributed in class.

## Logistics

The class will meet online (<https://ethz.zoom.us/j/61980511788>) until everyone has submitted a valid Covid certificate. After that point, we plan to meet in person in IFW C33. Please note that masks are obligatory even during the seminar.

# 1. Introduction

- Welcome!
- Course goals and logistics

## 2. Concepts & Classical Theories of War

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2019. "The Landscape of Political Violence" in Erica Chenoweth; Richard English; Andreas Gofas and Stathis Kalyvas *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism*.

Levy, Jack. 2005. "Theories of Interstate and Intrastate War: A Levels-of-Analysis Approach" in Chester Crocker; Fen Hampson and Pamela Aall *Turbulent Peace* Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Pettersson, Therése; Shawn Davies; Amber Deniz; Garoun Engström; Nanar Hawach; Stina Högladh; Margareta Sollenberg and Magnus Öberg. 2021. Organized Violence, 1989–2020, with a special emphasis on Syria. *Journal of Peace Research*, 58(4): 809-825.

### Recommended readings:

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): 20–41.

Bull, Hedley. 1977. *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 8.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars. *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 475-94.

Waltz, Kenneth. 1959. *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wright, Quincy. 1983. *A Study of War*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, pp. 3-19.

## 3. State Formation and War

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime". In *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, pp. 169-91. Cambridge University Press. (Or *Coercion, Capital and European States*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

Hintze, Otto. 1975. "Military Organization and the Organization of the State". In *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, ed. F. Gilbert. New York: Oxford University Press.

Spruyt, Hendrik. 2017. "War and State Formation: Amending the Bellicist Theory of State Making." In *Does War Make States? Investigations of Charles Tilly's Historical Sociology*, eds. Lars Bo Kaspersen and Jeppe Strandsbjerg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Recommended readings:

Holsti, Kalevi J. 1991. *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters. 1-5.

Mazower, Mark. 2002. Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century. *American Historical Review* 107(4): 1158-78.

Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Howard, Michael. 2001. *War in European History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Downing, Brian M. 1992. *The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

## 4. Nationalism and War

Clausewitz, Carl Von. 1976. *On War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Book 8, Chap. 3B.

Wimmer, Andreas and Brian Min. 2006. From empire to nation-state. Explaining wars in the modern world, 1816-2001. *American Sociological Review* 71(6): 867-897.

Hutchinson, John. 2018. "Bringing the Study of Warfare into Theories of Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 24: 6-21.

### Recommended readings:

Holsti, Kalevi J. 1991. *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chaps. 6-13.

Cederman, Lars-Erik; T. Camber Warren and Didier Sornette, 2011. Testing Clausewitz: Nationalism, Mass Mobilization, and the Severity of War. *International Organization* 65(4): 605–38.

Cederman, Lars-Erik. 2010. "Nationalism and Ethnicity in International Relations". In *The Handbook of International Relations*, ed. W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. Simmons, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., pp. 409-28. London: Sage.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Cornell University Press.

Posen, Barry R. 1993. Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power. *International Security* 18(2): 80-124.

## 5. Decline of Interstate War

Gleditsch, Nils Petter, Steven Pinker, Bradley A. Thayer, Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, 2013. The Forum: The Decline of War, *International Studies Review* 15(3): 396-419.

Kant, Immanuel. [1795] 1970. Perpetual Peace. In *Kant's Political Writings*, ed. Hans Reiss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zacher, Mark W. 2001. The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force. *International Organization* 55(2):215–50.

### Recommended readings:

Fazal, Tanisha M. 2012. Why States No Longer Declare War. *Security Studies* 21(4): 557-593.

Fazal, Tanisha M. Dead Wrong?: Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War's Demise *International Security* 39(1):95-125.

Harbom, Lotta, and Peter Wallensteen. 2005. Armed Conflict and Its International Dimensions, 1946-2004. *Journal of Peace Research* 42(5): 623-35.

Russett, Bruce. 1993. *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brown, Michael E., Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, eds. 1996. *Debating the Democratic Peace*. New York: MIT Press.

## 6. No class (reading week)

## 7. Civil Wars: Material Incentives

Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. Greed and Grievance in Civil Wars. *Oxford Economic Papers* 56: 563-95.

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

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War. *Perspectives on Politics* 2(2): 259-79.

### Recommended readings:

Berdal, Mats, and David Malone. 2000. *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

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

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2002. A Review of Recent Advances and Future Directions in the Quantitative Literature on Civil War. *Defense and Peace Economics* 13(3): 215-43.

Ross, Michael. 2004. How Does Natural Resource Wealth Influence Civil War? *International Organization* 58:35-67.

## 8. Civil Wars: Non-Material Incentives

Cederman, Lars-Erik; Nils B. Weidmann and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2011). Horizontal Inequalities and Ethno-Nationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison. *American Political Science Review* 105(3): 478-495.

Posen, Barry R. 1993. 'The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict', in *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, ed. Michael E. Brown. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Costalli, Stefano and Andrea Ruggeri. 2015 Indignation, Ideology and Armed Mobilization *International Security* 40(2): 119-157

### Recommended readings:

Leader Maynard, Jonathan. 2019. Ideology and Armed Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research* 56(5): 635–49.

Sanín, Francisco Gutiérrez, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2014. Ideology in Civil War: Instrumental Adoption and Beyond. *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 213–26.

Stewart, Frances. 2009. Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: an Introduction and some Hypotheses. In: Frances Stewart (ed.), *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 3-24.

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

Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weiner, Myron. 1971. The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development. *World Politics* 23, pp. 665-83.

## 9. One-sided violence and terrorism

Abrahms, Max. 2008. What Terrorists Really Want. *International Security* 32:4, pp. 78-105.

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

Salehyan, Idean, David Siroky & Reed M Wood. 2014. External Rebel Sponsorship and Civilian Abuse: A Principal-Agent Analysis of Wartime Atrocities. *International Organization* 68(03): 633–661.

## Recommended readings:

- Balcells, Laia & 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.
- Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. 'The Strategies of Terrorism'. *International Security* 31(1): 49–79.
- Wood, Reed M & Jacob D Kathman (2014) Too Much of a Bad Thing? Civilian Victimization and Bargaining in Civil War. *British Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 685–706.
- Clayton, Govinda, and Andrew Thomson. 'Civilianizing Civil Conflict: Civilian Defense Militias and the Logic of Violence in Intrastate Conflict'. *International Studies Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2016): 499–510.
- Polo, Sara, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2021. 'Trojan Horse, Copycat, or Scapegoat? Unpacking the Refugees-Terrorism Nexus'. *The Journal of Politics* Online First.
- Byman, Daniel. 2016. Understanding the Islamic State—A Review Essay. *International Security* 40(4): 127–165.
- Findley, Michael G. & Joseph K. Young. 2012. Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem. *Perspectives on Politics* 10(02): 285–305.
- Crenshaw, Martha. 1995. *Terrorism in Context*. Pennsylvania State University Press.

## **10. Riots, Protests and Non-violent resistance**

- Stephan, Maria J., and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict. *International Security* 33(1): 7–44.
- Hendrix, Cullen S, and Stephan Haggard. 2015. Global Food Prices, Regime Type, and Urban Unrest in the Developing World'. *Journal of Peace Research* 52(2): 143–57.
- Pearlman, Wendy. 'Emotions and the Microfoundations of the Arab Uprisings'. *Perspectives on Politics* 11(2): 387–409.

## Recommended readings:

- Schock, Kurt. 2013. 'The Practice and Study of Civil Resistance'. *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3): 277–90.
- Wilkinson, Steven I. 'Riots'. 2009. *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1): 329–43.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2008. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life*. Yale University Press. Chapter 1.
- Gleditsch, Kristian S., and Mauricio Rivera. 2017. The Diffusion of Nonviolent Campaigns. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(5): 1120–45.

Svensson, Isak & Mathilda Lindgen (2011) Community and consent: unarmed insurrections in non-democracies. *European Journal of International Relations* 17(1): 97-120.

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

Sharp, Gene, 1973. 198 Methods of Non-violent action - [http://www.aeinstein.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/198\\_methods-1.pdf](http://www.aeinstein.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/198_methods-1.pdf)

## 11. Managing and resolving political violence

Beardsley, Kyle. 2008. 'Agreement without Peace? International Mediation and Time Inconsistency Problems'. *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 723-40.

Clayton, Govinda and Valerie Sticher. 2021. 'The Logic of Ceasefires in Civil War', *International Studies Quarterly* 65(3): 633-646.

Di Salvatore, Jessica and Andrea Ruggeri. 2017. "Peacekeeping Effectiveness" in *Oxford Encyclopaedia of Empirical International Relations*, Oxford University Press: New York & Oxford.

Binningsbo, Helga. 2013. "Power Sharing, peace and democracy: Any obvious relationships?" *International Studies Review* 16(1): 89-112.

### Recommended readings:

Bormann, Nils-Christian, Lars-Erik Cederman, Scott Gates, Benjamin A. T. Graham, Simon Hug, Kaare W. Strøm, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2019. Power Sharing: Institutions, Behavior, and Peace. *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1): 84-100.

Duursma, Allard. 2020. African Solutions to African Challenges: The Role of Legitimacy in Mediating Civil Wars in Africa. *International Organization* 74(2): 295-330.

Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2013. 'United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War'. *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 875-91.

Stewart, Rory and Gerald Knaus. 2011. *Can Intervention Work?* London, W.W. Norton & Company. Introduction.

Zartman, I. William. 2001. 'The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments'. *Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1(1): 8-18.