# POU33102 — Political Violence B: Political Violence and Conflict in Comparative Context<sup>1</sup>

Department of Political Science Lecturer: Dino Hadzic

Lecture Schedule: Wednesdays, 16:00 – 18:00 in Paccar Theatre (Naughton Institute)

Office Hours: by appointment Email: dhadzic@tcd.ie

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This module introduces students to past and current research on civil conflict, interstate conflict, and other forms of political violence. The module is divided into roughly three sections. The first section run from Weeks 1 through 4 and covers civil conflict, including topics such as the relationship between conflict and ethnicity (Week 1), conflict outbreak (Week 2), conflict severity (Week 3), and conflict cessation and peace (Week 4). The second section addresses interstate conflict, and topics include bargaining and conflict (Week 5), borders and conflict (Week 6), economic interdependence and conflict (Week 8), and the democratic peace (Week 9). Finally, in the concluding weeks of the term, we will cover terrorism (Week 10), repression (Week 11), and human rights (Week 12).

In addition to our weekly meetings, I have uploaded the below materials to Blackboard:

- This syllabus, which can be found in the "Syllabus" folder.
- All assigned readings. These can be found in each folder that corresponds to a particular week. For instance, the assigned readings for conflict outbreak can be found in the "Week 2: Conflict Outbreak" folder.
- PDF versions of the slides, which can be found in the "Lecture Slides" folder. I will upload the relevant slides after each week's meeting.
- Advice on writing an effective essay, which can be found in the "Essay Advice" folder.

#### Course Structure

The course is structured around a set of lectures, and a set of tutorials that take place every two weeks (starting Teaching Week 2). The purpose of the lectures is not solely to provide a review of the literature of each week, but rather to invite students to think about the subject material from a variety of perspectives. It is imperative that students complete the assigned readings for each week. The lectures are participatory, in the sense that the opinion of students is sought directly and consistently from the opening to end of the lecture.

#### Course Assessment

This one-semester course is examined entirely by continuous assessment. The assessment consists of (1) tutorial attendance and associated discussion questions (5%), (2) a mid-term essay assignment (35%) and (3) an end-of-term essay assignment (60%). All students (TCD students and visiting students) fulfill the same requirements.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This course is inspired by and adapted from the previous Political Violence B module developed by Dr. Liam Kneafsey. I am indebted to him for his help in putting this syllabus together.

## Assignments

(1) Tutorial attendance and discussion points (5%): By 9:00pm on the evening before the tutorial (e.g., 9:00pm Tuesday for a Wednesday tutorial), students should submit three discussion points or questions to the TA using the "Discussion Points" folder on Blackboard. Here you are asked to provide a concise discussion or analysis. You are required to raise some interesting points or questions about the week's readings and materials that will form the basis of in-class discussion. These should be in the form of three numbered points/questions; each should be a paragraph or two in length. Consider what points/questions will make for an interesting discussion in the tutorial. Think of applying questions like: Are the arguments logically coherent? How do the authors defend their cases? Do the papers use qualitative or quantitative evidence and how well executed is the empirical analysis? How do the results/theories of one paper challenge another? Outline your own critical assessment and the avenues you believe are open for further interrogation. These will help guide the discussion in the tutorial and help make the tutorial more participatory.

Tutorial attendance and discussion questions will count for 5% of the overall module mark. Each student must post a set of discussion questions, and attend the tutorial the next day, a minimum of four times per term (out of five tutorials). Per department policy, participation and attendance marks are capped at 80. For a breakdown of marks per submission and attendance, please see the table below.

| Discussion Points Submitted and Tutorials Attended | Mark |
|--|------|
| 1  | 20   |
| 2  | 40   |
| 3  | 60   |
| 4  | 80   |

A student should attend the tutorial on the day after submitting the discussion questions in order to receive credit for them. If a student cannot attend due to illness, please contact the TA and lecturer and we can make alternative arrangements.

(2) Mid-term essay (35%): this essay is due at 11:59pm on Friday, March 24th, 2023. It should not exceed 1,500 words in length, including footnotes but not the list of references. I will deduct five points for every 100 words the essay is above the word limit. I have no preference for any particular citation style, but please make sure you use citation procedures consistently throughout. You should double-space the essay and provide the word count at the beginning. Additionally, all late submissions, unless excused ahead of time by me or justified with a medical note or tutor's note, will be penalized five points per day. Under no circumstances will work be accepted after it has been marked and returned to other students or after the end of the term. The essay should be submitted via Turnitin. You can do so in the "Mid-term essay" folder on Blackboard.

For this essay, please respond one of these four questions/prompts. Each corresponds to material from the first half of the term:

- 1. "Local, pre-war antagonisms between groups are the most important factor in understanding and predicting the distribution and severity of violence during civil war." Discuss.
- 2. The "greed" and "grievance" approaches to understanding civil war offer different predictions with respect to what policies will prevent and end civil wars. What sorts of policies will be effective at avoiding and ending civil war according to each approach and why?
- 3. In societies emerging from civil conflict, is power-sharing between groups necessary to avoid conflict relapse?
- 4. Territory is highly divisible and yet perhaps the most common good/stake over which states go to war. Explain why states often fail to reach peaceful solutions/bargains to competing territorial claims.
- (3) End-of-term essay (60%): this essay is due at 11:59pm on Monday, April 24th, 2023. It should not exceed 2,000 words in length, including footnotes but not the list of references. Otherwise, all other instructions from the mid-term essay (regarding penalties, citation style, formatting, etc.) is the same for the end-of-term essay. This essay should be submitted via Turnitin. You can do so in the "End-of-term essay" folder on Blackboard.

For this essay, you have two options with respect to the question/prompt. If you would like, you can respond to one of the questions/prompts listed above (obviously, it needs to be one of the three prompts you did not respond to for your mid-term essay). Alternatively, you can submit your own essay question. If you chose the latter option, you will need to submit your proposed question via Turnitin by 11:59pm on Monday, April 10th, but can certainly do so earlier. I will regularly check the "End-of-term essay question" folder to see who has submitted and will return feedback promptly. When I review the essay question I may modify it. This is to ensure that we are both satisfied with the essay question. Obviously, your proposed question needs to be connected to the topics covered in this module. Also, please make your question broadly theoretical, i.e., it should not be restricted to a specific place and time. You are certainly welcome to include empirical examples/case studies in your essay, but the argument/conclusions should be generalizable rather than limited to a particular case. Your proposed essay question will not be formally marked/assessed.

# Academic Integrity

Violations of academic integrity (cheating, plagiarism, representing someone else's work as your own, etc.) will not be tolerated. In that vein, please follow best practices as described in the College Calendar (https://libguides.tcd.ie/friendly.php?s=plagiarism/calendar). Also, please complete the university's online tutorial on avoiding plagiarism as soon as possible (https://libguides.tcd.ie/friendly.php?s=plagiarism/ready-steady-write).

## Disability-Related Accommodations

Students who require any disability-related accommodations are encouraged to register with the Trinity Disability Service (https://www.tcd.ie/disability/).

#### Term Outline

| Section 1 – Civil Conflict                          |     |
|---|-----|
| Week 1: Conflict and Ethnicity                      | 4   |
| Week 2: Conflict Outbreak                           | 4   |
| Week 3: Conflict Severity                           | 5   |
| Week 4: Conflict Cessation and Peace                | 5   |
| Section 2 – Interstate Conflict                     |     |
| Week 5: Bargaining and Conflict                     | 5   |
| Week 6: Borders and Conflict                        | 5-6 |
| Week 7: Reading Week                                | 6   |
| Week 8: Economic Interdependence and Conflict       | 6   |
| Week 9: Democratic Peace                            | 6   |
| Section 3 – Terrorism, Repression, and Human Rights |     |
| Week 10: Terrorism                                  | 6-7 |
| Week 11: Repression                                 | 7   |
| Week 12: Human Rights                               | 7   |

## Schedule and Readings

## Section 1 – Civil Conflict

# Week 1: Conflict and Ethnicity

- Denny, Elaine K. and Barbara F. Walter. 2014. "Ethnicity and Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 199–212.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54(4): 845–877.
- Hale, Henry E. 2004. "Explaining Ethnicity." Comparative Political Studies 37(4): 458–485
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2007. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict." In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 274–294.

## Week 2: Conflict Outbreak

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." World Politics 62(1): 87–119.
- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Oxford Economic Papers 56(4): 563–595.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75–90.

## Week 3: Conflict Severity

- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291–313.
- Balcells, Laia. 2011. "Continuation of Politics by Two Means: Direct and Indirect Violence in Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3): 397–422.
- Lacina, Bethany. 2006. "Explaining the Severity of Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(2): 276–289.
- Weidmann, Nils B. 2011. "Violence 'from above' or 'from below'? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia's Civil War." *Journal of Politics* 73(4): 1178–1190.

#### Week 4: Conflict Cessation and Peace

- Hartzell, Caroline and Matthew Hoodie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." American Journal of Political Science 47(2): 318–332.
- Matanock, Alia M. 2017. "Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict." *International Security* 41(4): 93–132.
- Regan, Patrick M. 2002. "Third-Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1): 55–73.
- Walter, Barbara. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51(3): 335–364.

#### Section 2 – Interstate Conflict

#### Week 5: Bargaining and Conflict

- Crescenzi, Mark J. C. 2007. "Reputation and Interstate Conflict." American Journal of Political Science 51(2): 382-396.
- Fearon, James D. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49(3): 379–414.
- Reed, William, David H. Clark, Timothy Nordstrom, and Wonjae Hwang. 2008. "War, Power, and Bargaining." *Journal of Politics* 70(4): 1203–1216.

#### Week 6: Borders and Conflict

- Brochmann, Marit, Jan Ketil Rød, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2012. "International Borders and Conflict Revisited." Conflict Management and Peace Science 29(2): 170–194.
- Carter, David B. and H. E. Goemans. 2011. "The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict." *International Organization* 65(2): 275–309.

- Gibler, Douglas M. and Alex Braithwaite. 2013. "Dangerous Neighbours, Regional Territorial Conflict and the Democratic Peace." *British Journal of Political Science* 43(4): 877–887.
- Starr, Harvey and G. Dale Thomas. 2005. "The Nature of Borders and International Conflict: Revisiting Hypotheses on Territory." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(1): 123–139

#### Week 7: Reading Week

### Week 8: Economic Interdependence and Conflict

- Barbieri, Katherine. 1996. "Economic Interdependence: A Path to Peace or a Source of Interstate Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 33(1): 29–49.
- Martin, Philippe, Thierry Mayer, and Mathias Thoenig. 2008. "Make Trade Not War?" The Review of Economic Studies 75(3): 865–900.
- Rosecrance, Richard and Peter Thompson. 2003. "Trade, Foreign Investment, and Security." Annual Review of Political Science 6(1): 377–398.
- Schultz, Kenneth A. 2015. "Borders, Conflict, and Trade." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18(1): 125–145.

#### Week 9: Democratic Peace

- Carter, Jeff. 2017. "The Political Cost of War Mobilization in Democracies and Dictatorships." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(8): 1768–1794.
- Gartzke, Erik and Alex Weisiger. 2013. "Permanent Friends? Dynamic Difference and the Democratic Peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 57(1): 171–185.
- Gries, Peter, Andrew Fox, Yiming Jing, Matthias Mader, Thomas J. Scotto, and Jason Reifler. 2020. "A new measure of the 'democratic peace': what country feeling thermometer data can teach us about the drivers of American and Western European foreign policy." *Political Research Exchange* 2(1): 1–13.
- Hegre, Håvard. 2014. "Democracy and armed conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 159–172.

# Section 3 – Terrorism, Repression, and Human Rights

## Week 10: Terrorism

- Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31(2): 42-78.
- Aksoy, Deniz. 2014. "Elections and the Timing of Terrorist Attacks." *Journal of Politcs* 76(4): 899–913.
- Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. 2008. "Are Voters Sensitive to Terrorism? Direct Evidence from the Israeli Electorate." American Political Science Review 102(3): 279–301.

• Kibris, Arzu. 2011. "Funeral and Elections: The Effects of Terrorism on Voting Behavior in Turkey." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(2): 220–247.

### Week 11: Repression

- Hill Jr., Daniel and Zachary M. Jones. 2014. "An Empirical Evaluation of Explanations for State Repression." *American Political Science Review* 108(3): 661–687.
- 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): 569–583.
- Young, Lauren E. 2018. "The Psychology of State Repression: Fear and Dissent Decisions in Zimbabwe." *American Political Science Review* 113(1): 140–155.
- Zhukov, Yuri and Roya Talibova. 2018. "Stalin's Terror and the Long-Term Political Effects of Mass Repression." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(2): 267–283.

### Week 12: Human Rights

- Carey, Sabine C. 2007. "European Aid: Human Rights Versus Bureaucratic Inertia?" Journal of Peace Research 44(4): 447–464.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. 2012. "International Regimes for Human Rights." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15(1): 265–286.
- Peterson, Timothy M. and Leah Graham. 2011. "Shared Human Rights Norms and Military Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(2): 248–273.