

Sub-State Political Violence

Gabriella Levy

Instructor: Gabriella Levy (gabriella.levy@duke.edu)

Office Hours:

Course Overview:

Why do civil wars begin? Which people join rebel groups? Why do some states and rebel groups hurt civilians, both during civil war and during “peacetime?” How can durable peace be achieved following civil wars? What are the differences between rebel groups, terrorist organizations, and organized criminal groups? These are some of the questions we will address in this upper-level undergraduate course. The class aims introduce students to theories about and cases of sub-state political violence.

In this class, students will be expected to actively engage in respectful debate about these topics. The scholars that we will read frequently disagree, and students should marshal evidence and logic in presenting their own unique arguments. In doing so, students will draw from empirical cases to evaluate theoretical arguments as well as use scholars’ theories to inform their understanding of empirical cases.

Required Readings:

You are expected to come to class having read the pages assigned for that day. All readings are available on Sakai. While many of the readings are quantitative in nature, a previous background in statistics is not required for the course. I expect you to consider the argument made, the kinds of data used, and the conclusions of each piece.

Assignments:

<i>Assignment</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>How it will be assessed</i>	<i>Date</i>
Class Participation	30	Attendance & participation in weekly classes	Every week
Critique Short Paper	15	4-page critique of a reading from weeks 1-4	Week 4
Application Short Paper	15	4-page application of the argument made in a reading in weeks 5-8 to a new empirical case not discussed in the reading	Week 8
Literature Review Proposal	10	Question/topic the literature review will address + annotated bibliography of at least 10 preliminary sources	Week 10
Literature Review	30	10-15-page discussion of the state of literature on a topic relevant to this class	1 week after the last class

Policies:

You are expected to not only attend but to actively participate in class. The first half of each class will be a lecture, and the second half will be a discussion. If you must miss class, please provide me with documentation of the reason for the absence in order for it to be excused. Each student can take one unexcused absence without a penalty, and all further unexcused absences will result in a 5% reduction of the class participation grade. Similarly, if you need an extension on an assignment for illness or other emergency reasons, please reach out to me as soon as possible. Extensions due to university events or religious holidays can be accommodated with two weeks' notice. I will accept late at-home assignments for which I have not granted an extension, but each day that the assignment is late will result in a 5% reduction on the grade. All essays should be double-spaced, with 12-point Times New Roman font and 1-inch margins.

If you would like me to review a graded assignment, I will happily do so. Please submit your requests in writing. You must wait 48 hours between the time you receive the graded assignment and when you contact me. I reserve the right to raise or lower your grade.

I expect you to comply with the Duke Community Standard. You can find details at <https://studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/about-us/duke-community-standard>.

Resources and Support:

1) My goal is to create a learning environment that supports a diverse range of perspectives, experiences, and identities.

- The topics that we're covering in this class are often difficult, not just intellectually but also emotionally. While I expect rigorous discussion and even disagreement in the course of our class discussions, I ask that you engage in discussion with care and empathy for the other members in the classroom. I will not tolerate insults; gender or racial slurs; or any other form of bullying, intimidation, or hate speech. I expect all members of this class to contribute to a respectful, welcoming, and inclusive environment for every other member of this class.
- If you have a name and/or set of pronouns that differ from those that appear in your official records, please let me know!
- If you have already registered with the Student Disability Access Office, please meet with me early in the course to discuss, plan, and implement your accommodations in this course.

2) Resources:

- I recommend that students take full advantage of the Thompson Writing Program's Writing Studio (<https://twp.duke.edu/twp-writing-studio>) as well as the office hours of myself and the TAs for the course.
- Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) (<https://studentaffairs.duke.edu/caps> or 919-660-1000) can help students who are having difficulties managing stress, adjusting to college, feeling anxious or depressed, or more.

- For tips on how to read academic articles, I recommend the following resources, courtesy of Amelia Hoover Green and Leanne C Powner:
 - i. https://calgara.github.io/Pol157_Spring2019/howtoread.pdf
 - ii. <https://www.leannepowner.com/tchdocs/readingps.pdf>

Schedule:

1) What is political violence?

- a. Tilly, Charles. 2003. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge University Press. → Chapter 1: Varieties of Violence
- b. Walter, Barbara F. 2017. “The New New Civil Wars.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1): 469–86.
- c. Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2015. “How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime—and How They Do Not.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (8): 1517–40.
- d. Pettersson, Therése, and Magnus Öberg. 2020. “Organized Violence, 1989–2019.” *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (4): 597–613.
- e. Davenport, Christian. 2007. “State Repression and Political Order.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (1): 1–23.

2) Civil Wars 1: State-Level Causes

- a. Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97 (01): 75–90.
- b. Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4): 563–95.
- c. Cederman, Lars-Erik, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2011. “Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison.” *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 478–95.
- d. Walter, Barbara. 2004. “Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War.” *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 371–88.

3) Civil Wars 2: Individual-Level Mobilization

- a. Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2): 436–55.
- b. Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco. 2008. “Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War.” *Politics & Society* 36 (1): 3–34.
- c. Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. “Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War.” *The American Political Science Review* 107 (3): 418–32.
- d. Thomas, Jakana L and Kanisha D. Bond. “Women’s Participation in Violent Political Organizations.” *The American Political Science Review; Washington* 109 (3): 488–506.

4) Civil Wars 3: Violence against Civilians (**Critique Short Paper Due in Class Today**)

- a. Balcells, Laia, and Jessica Stanton. 2021. "Violence Against Civilians During Armed Conflict: Moving Beyond the Macro- and Micro- Level Divide." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24: 2.1-2.25.
- b. Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. 1st edition. Cambridge University Press. → Introduction
- c. Hoover Green, Amelia. 2016. "The Commander's Dilemma: Creating and Controlling Armed Group Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (5): 619–32.
- d. Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Matthew Adam Kocher. 2007. "How 'Free' Is Free Riding in Civil Wars?: Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem." *World Politics* 59 (2): 177–216.
- e. Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107 (03): 461–77.

5) Civil Wars 4: Third Parties

- a. Fortna, Virginia-Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Work? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 269–92.
- b. 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.
- c. Walter, Barbara F. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51 (3): 335–64.
- d. Stanton, Jessica A. 2020. "Rebel Groups, International Humanitarian Law, and Civil War Outcomes in the Post-Cold War Era." *International Organization* 74 (3): 523–59.

6) Civil Wars 5: Endings

- a. Hartzell, Caroline, and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2): 318–32.
- b. Prorok, Alyssa K. 2016. "Leader Incentives and Civil War Outcomes." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 70–84.
- c. Matanock, Aila M. 2017. "Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict." *International Security* 41 (4): 93–132.
- d. Snyder, Jack, and Leslie Vinjamuri. 2003. "Trials and Errors: Principle and Pragmatism in Strategies of International Justice." *International Security* 28 (3): 5–44.

7) Revolutions:

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

- b. Petersen, Roger D. 2009. *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Introduction
 - c. Corstange, Daniel, and Erin A. York. 2018. "Sectarian Framing in the Syrian Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (2): 441–55.
 - d. Ketchley, Neil, and Thoraya El-Rayyes. 2020. "Unpopular Protest: Mass Mobilization and Attitudes to Democracy in Post-Mubarak Egypt." *The Journal of Politics* 83 (1): 291–305.
- 8) State-Sponsored Violence 1: Repression (**Application Short Paper Due in Class Today**)
- a. Ritter, Emily Hencken and Courtenay R Conrad. 2016. "Preventing and Responding to Dissent: The Observational Challenges of Explaining Strategic Repression." *The American Political Science Review* 110 (1): 85–99.
 - b. Zhukov, Yuri M, and Roya Talibova. 2018. "Stalin's Terror and the Long-Term Political Effects of Mass Repression." *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (2): 267–83.
 - c. Soss, Joe, and Vesla Weaver. 2017. "Police Are Our Government: Politics, Political Science, and the Policing of Race–Class Subjugated Communities." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1): 565–91.
 - d. Flores-Macías, Gustavo A., and Jessica Zarkin. 2021. "The Militarization of Law Enforcement: Evidence from Latin America." *Perspectives on Politics* 19 (2): 519–38.
- 9) State-Sponsored Violence 2: Genocide
- a. Straus, Scott. 2015. *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. → Chapter 3
 - b. Harff, Barbara. 2003. "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955." *The American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 57–73.
 - c. Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, and Donald P. Green. 2009. "Deference, Dissent, and Dispute Resolution: An Experimental Intervention Using Mass Media to Change Norms and Behavior in Rwanda." *American Political Science Review* 103 (4): 622–44.
 - d. Fujii, Lee Ann. 2013. "The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence." *Perspectives on Politics; Cambridge* 11 (2): 410–26.
- 10) Terrorism 1: Causes (**Literature Review Proposal Due in Class Today**)
- a. Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. "Defining Terrorism." In *Inside Terrorism*, 13–44. New York, N.Y.: Columbia University Press.
 - b. Savun, Burcu, and Brian J. Phillips. 2009. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53 (6): 878–904.
 - c. Shapiro, Jacob N., and C. Christine Fair. 2010. "Understanding Support for Islamist Militancy in Pakistan." *International Security* 34 (3): 79–118.

- d. Mesquita, Ethan Bueno de. 2005. "The Quality of Terror." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 515–30.

11) Terrorism 2: Effects

- a. Thomas, Jakana. 2014. "Rewarding Bad Behavior: How Governments Respond to Terrorism in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (4): 804–18.
- b. 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.
- c. Abrahms, Max. 2012. "The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited." *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (3): 366–93.
- d. Huff, Connor, and Joshua D. Kertzer. 2018. "How the Public Defines Terrorism." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 (1): 55–71.

12) Criminal Groups:

- a. Trejo, Guillermo, and Sandra Ley. 2018. "Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Party Alternation, the Breakdown of Criminal Protection, and the Onset of Large-Scale Violence." *Comparative Political Studies* 51 (7): 900–937.
- b. Duran-Martinez, Angelica. 2015. "To Kill and Tell? State Power, Criminal Competition, and Drug Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (8): 1377–1402.
- c. Yashar, Deborah J. 2018. *Homicidal Ecologies: Illicit Economies and Complicit States in Latin America*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Chapter 4
- d. Magaloni, Beatriz, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, and Vanessa Melo. 2020. "Killing in the Slums: Social Order, Criminal Governance, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro." *American Political Science Review* 114 (2): 552–72.

13) An Alternative -- Nonviolent Resistance:

- a. Stephan, Maria J., and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security* 33 (1): 7–44.
- b. Chenoweth, Erica, and Jay Ulfelder. 2017. "Can Structural Conditions Explain the Onset of Nonviolent Uprisings?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (2): 298–324.
- c. Kaplan, Oliver. 2013. "Protecting Civilians in Civil War: The Institution of the ATCC in Colombia." *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (3): 351–67.
- d. Dudouet, Véronique. 2013. "Dynamics and Factors of Transition from Armed Struggle to Nonviolent Resistance." *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (3): 401–13.