

**Research Seminar: Political Order and Conflict**  
MACIS Optional Research Seminar, Spring Term 2019

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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 and pacification 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. The 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 at the sessions of the seminar
- Read the required readings for each meeting in advance. 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 ideas of how to address the identified gaps. 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 appearing in 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 by the students (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 will be available at: <https://icr.ethz.ch/teaching/>

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

## **Block I: Introduction & Concepts**

### **Week 1 (20 February). Introduction & Logistics**

### **Week 2 (27 February). 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.

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

#### Recommended reading:

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

## **Block II: Onset, Dynamics, Duration, Termination**

### **Week 3 (6 March). Political Economy**

Bazzi, Samuel and Blattman, Christopher. 2014. Economic Shocks and Conflict: Evidence from Commodity Prices. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 6(4): 1–38

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.

McGuirk, Eoin and Marshall Burke. 2018. "The Economic Origins of Conflict in Africa." Working Paper.

#### Recommended reading:

Ross, Michael. 2015. What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse? *Annual Review of Political Science* 18:239–259. (sufficient to read the section on civil war.)

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.

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

#### **Week 4 (13 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).

Pengl, Yannick. 2018. *Resources, Rule and Rebellion in Sub-Saharan Africa*. ETH Dissertation No. 25494 (Chapters 1,6,9 & 10)

##### Recommended reading:

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

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.

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

#### **Week 5 (20 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.

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2006. Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War: Determinants of the Strategies of Warring Factions. *American Political Science Review* 100(3):429-447.

Wood, Elizabeth J. 2015. Social Mobilization and Violence in Civil War and Their Social Legacies. In: *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*. Donatella della Porte and Mario Diani (eds.):434–466.

##### Recommended reading:

Straus, Scott. 2012. Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint. *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2):343–362.

Yanagizawa-Drott, David. 2014. Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129(4):1947–1994.

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

## **Week 6 (27 March). Borders and Trans-Border Dynamics**

Weiner, Myron. 1971. The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development. *World Politics* 23 (4): 665–683.

Forsberg, Erika. 2014. Diffusion in the Study of Civil Wars: A Cautionary Tale. *International Studies Review* 16(2): 143–165.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Idean Salehyan, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2013. Transborder Ethnic Kin and Civil War. *International Organization* 67(2): 389–410.

### Recommended Reading:

Abramson, Scott F., and David B. Carter 2016. The Historical Origins of Territorial Disputes. *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 675-698.

Kalyvas, Stathis and Laia Balcells. 2010. International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict. *American Political Science Review*. 104(3):415–429

## **Week 7 (3 April). Duration and Termination**

Fearon, James D. 2004. Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others? *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3):275–301.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8.

Balcells, Laia and Stathis Kalyvas. 2017. Does Warfare Matter? Severity, Duration, and Outcomes of Civil Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(8):1390–1418.

### Recommended Reading

Cunningham, David E., Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Idean Salehyan. 2009. It Takes Two: A Dyadic Analysis of Civil War Duration and Outcome. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(4):570-97.

## **Block III: Prevention & Pacification**

### **Week 8 (10 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 (17 April). Peacekeeping, Democracy, Elections**

Hegre, Håvard. 2014. Democracy and Armed Conflict. *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2):159-172.

Mann, Michael. 1999. The Dark Side of Democracy: The Modern Tradition of Ethnic and Political Cleansing. *New Left Review* 1/235.

Hegre, Håvard, Lisa Hultman, and Håvard Møkleiv Nygård. Evaluating the Conflict-Reducing Effect of UN Peacekeeping Operations. *The Journal of Politics* 81(1).

#### Recommended reading:

Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman and Megan Shannon. 2014. Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting. *American Political Science Review* 108(04):737-753.

Müller-Crepon, Carl. 2018. Sowing Hatred: Local Ethno-Political Competition and Pre-Election Violence in Majoritarian Elections. Working Paper.

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

### **1 May. No Session (Labor Day)**

## **Week 10 (8 May). Partition, Separation, State-Led Nationalism**

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.

Blouin, Arthur T. and Mukand, Sharun W. *Forthcoming*. Erasing Ethnicity? Propaganda, Nation Building and Identity in Rwanda. *Journal of Political Economy*.

### Recommended Reading:

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

Rutherford, Alex, et al. 2014. Good Fences: The Importance of Setting Boundaries for Peaceful Coexistence. *PloS ONE* 9(5): e95660.

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

### **Week 11 (15 May). War, Governance, and State Formation**

Tilly, Charles. Cities and States in Europe, 1000–1800. 1989. *Theory and Society* 18(5): 563-584.

De La Sierra, Raúl Sánchez. *Forthcoming*. On the Origin of States: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo. *Journal of Political Economy*.

Revkin, Mara R. 2018. What Explains Taxation by Resource-Rich Rebels? Evidence from the Islamic State in Syria. Working Paper.

### Recommended reading:

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

Dincecco, Mark and Yuhua Wang. 2018. Violent Conflict and Political Development over the Long Run: China versus Europe. *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 341-358.

Dincecco, Mark, James E. Fenske, and Massimiliano Gaetano Onorato. 2018. Is Africa Different? Historical Conflict and State Development. Working Paper.

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 12 (22 May). Student Presentations**

### **Week 13 (29 May). Student Presentations**

**Final Papers Due: Tuesday, 27 August 2019, 23:59**