UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Political Science 225
Political Violence

Winter Quarter 2019
Philip G. Roeder

I. Types, agendas, and strategies

II. Causes and origins

III. Dynamics, processes, and tactics

IV. Ending political violence

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Listed readings. This syllabus provides both an extensive bibliography of recent articles (since January 2015) and a more selective bibliography of books and articles that have shown themselves to have enduring importance. The recent articles (since January 2015) include almost all articles published on civil conflict in the three most prominent journals in political science (American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, and Journal of Politics), the four most prominent journals in the sub-fields of international relations and comparative politics (International Security, International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, and Comparative Political Studies), and the two most prominent journals of conflict studies (Journal of Peace Research and Journal of Conflict Resolution). Not all of the recent articles will withstand the test of time, but they provide a snapshot of the state of published research at this moment.

Participation. Each week we will select a few readings for discussion at the next meeting depending on the needs of the students enrolled in the seminar. Please come prepared to contribute to each week's discussion of these selected readings.

Writing assignment. You should complete two literature reviews throughout the quarter. The first should survey the recent articles in week 3, 4, or 5 and the second should survey the recent articles in weeks 6-7 or 8-9. Write these to inform and share with your colleagues who might want to use these in preparing for comprehensive exams or planning future research.

TritonED Web-site. On the TritonED Web-site there is a copy of this syllabus, compilations of abstracts of the articles published since January 2015, and copies of the assigned articles.

Datasets. Widely used and cited datasets on political violence, state failures, terrorism, and civil wars include the following:

Correlates of War Project Intrastate War Data. http://www.correlatesofwar.org/

Global Terrorism Database. http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd

Political Instability Task Force. http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html

Uppsala Conflict Data Program. http://www.ucdp.uu.se

Also note the following recent announcements of new data sources:

- Ansorg, Nadine, Felix Haass, and Julia Strasheim. 2016. "Police Reforms in Peace Agreements, 1975-2011: Introducing the PRPA Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (4): 597-607.
- Birnir, Jóhanna K., et al. 2018. "Introducing the AMAR (All Minorities at Risk) Data." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (1): 203-226.
- Chenoweth, Erica, Jonathan Pinckney, and Orion Lewis. 2018. "Days of Rage: Introducing the NAVCO [Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes] 3.0 Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (4): 524-534.
- Clodfelter, Michael. 2008. Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and other Figures, 1494-2007, 3rd ed. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.
- Goldstone, Jack A., et al. 2010. "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability." *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (1): 190-208.
- Haer, Roos, and Tobias Böhmelt. 2018. "Girl Soldiering in Rebel Groups, 1989-2013: Introducing a New Dataset" *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (3): 395-403.
- Joshi, Madhav, Jason Michael Quinn, and Patrick M. Regan. 2015. "Annualized Implementation Data on Comprehensive Intrastate Peace Accords, 1989-2012." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (4): 551-562.
- LaFree, Gary. And Laura Dugan. 2007. "Introducing the Global Terrorism Database." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19 (2): 181-204.
- Loyle, Cyanne E., and Helga Malmin Binningsbø. 2018. "Justice During Armed Conflict: A New Dataset on Government and Rebel Strategies." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (2): 442-466.
- Matanock, Aila M. 2016. "Using Violence, Seeking Votes: Introducing the Militant Group Electoral Participation (MGEP) Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (6): 845-853.
- Mattes, Michaela, Brett Ashley Leeds, and Naoko Matsumara. 2016. "Reputation of Terror Groups Dataset: Measuring Popularity of Terror Groups." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (2): 268-277.
- Sambanis, Nicholas, Micha German, and Andreas Schadel. 2018. "SDM: A New Data Set of Selfdetermination Movements with an Application to the Reputational Theory of Conflict." *Journal* of Conflict Resolution 62 (3): 656-686.
- Salehyan, Idean, ed. 2015. "Special Data Section." Journal of Peace Research 52 (1): 105-138.
- Svensson, Isak, and Desirée Nilsson. 2018. "Disputes over the Divine: Introducing the Religion and Armed Conflict (RELAC) Data, 1975 to 2015." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (5): 1127-1148.
- Vogt, Manuel, et al. 2015. "Integrating Data on Ethnicity, Geography, and Conflict: The Ethnic Power Relations Data Set Family." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (7): 1327-1342.

Week 1. Introductory meeting

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

Week 2. Types, agendas, and strategies of political violence

Articles since January 2015

- Tir, Jaroslav, and Shane P. Singh. 2015. "Get Off My Lawn: Territorial Civil Wars and Subsequent Social Intolerance in the Public." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (4): 478-491.
- Zellman, Ariel. 2015. "Framing Consensus: Evaluating the Narrative Specificity of Territorial Indivisibility." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (4): 492-507.

Typologies

- Balcells, Laia, and Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2014. "Does Warfare Matter? Severity, Duratoin, and Outcomes of Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58 (8): 1390-1418.
- Eckstein, Harry. 1965. "On the Etiology of Internal Wars." History and Theory 4, 133-63.
- Hibbs, Douglas A. Jr. 1973. *Mass Political Violence: A Cross-National Causal Analysis*. New York: John Wiley & Sons. Chapter 2.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2001. "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" World Politics 54 (October), 99-118.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (December), 814-58.

Studies of specific types of conflicts

- Brinton, Crane. 1965. *The Anatomy of Revolution*, rev. ed. New York: Vintage Books. Pp. 3-8, 21-6, 250-61.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolution: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 1978. From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley. Chapter 7.
- Paige, Jeffery M. 1975. Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World. New York: Free Press.
- Wolf, Eric R. 1973. Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century. New York: Harper and Row.
- Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Brubaker, Rogers, and David D. Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24: 423-452.
- Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. 2014. *Inside the Politics of Self-determination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roeder, Philip G. 2018. *National Secession: Persuasion and Violence in Independence Campaigns.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2007. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, eds. Carles Boix and Susan Carol Stokes, 274-296. Oxford University Press.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 2001. The Deadly Ethnic Riot. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 1.
- Hoffman, Bruce. 1998. Inside Terrorism. New York: Columbia University Press.

- Harff, Barbara. 2003. "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder Since 1955." *American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 57-73.
- Ron, James. 2003. *Frontiers and Ghettos: State Violence in Serbia and Israel*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Straus, Scott. 2006. The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Valentino, Benjamin. 2004. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Albrecht, Holger, and Ferdinand Eibl. 2018. "How to Keep Officers in the Barracks: Causes, Agents, and Types of Military Coups." *International Studies Quarterly* 62 (2): 315-328.

Strategies of insurgency and revolution

Lenin, Vladimir I. 1906 [1972]. "Guerrilla Warfare," *Proletary,* September 30, 1906. In *Collected Works,* 11:213-23. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Mao Zedong. 1937. "On Guerrilla Warfare."

Mao Zedong. 1938. "On Protracted War."

Guevara, Ernesto Che. 1961. Guerrilla Warfare.

- Giap, Vo Nguyen. 1961. People's War, People's Army. Hanoi: Foreign Language Publishing House.
- Irish Republic Army General Headquarters. 1956. A Handbook for Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army. (Available with additional items in Irish Republican Army Manual of Guerrilla Warfare, Mikazuki Publishing House; or as Handbook for Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army, Boulder, CO: Paladin Press.)
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. Logic of Violence in Civil War. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 16-31.
- United States. Department of the Army. 2007. *The U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- United States. Joint Chiefs of Staff. 2009. *Counterinsurgency Operations*. Jt. Pub 3-24. Washington, DC: JCS.

Luttwak, Edward. 1968. Coup d'Etat: A Practical Handbook. London: Allen Lane. Chapters 3-5.

Commentaries and assessments of counterinsurgency

Galula, David. 2006. Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Krepinevich, Andrew F. 1986. *The Army and Vietnam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Long, Austin. 2006. *On "Other War": Lessons from Five Decades of RAND Counterinsurgency Research.*Washington, DC: RAND Corporation.
- Nagl, John A. 2002. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shafer, D. Michael. 1988. *Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week 3. Causes/origins—Sociological and psychological explanations

- Asal, Victor, et al. 2016. "Political Exclusion, Oil, and Ethnic Armed Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (8): 1343-1367.
- Baele, Stephanie J., Olivier C. Sterk, and Elisabeth Meur. 2016. "Theorizing and Measuring Emotions in Conflict: The Case of the 2011 Palestinian Bid." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (4): 718-747.
- Basedau, Matthias, Birte Pfeiffer, and Johannes Vüllers. 2016. "Bad Religion? Religion, Collective Action, and the Onset of Armed Conflict in Developing Countries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (2): 226-255.
- Bjarnedgård, Elin, Karen Brounéus, and Erik Melander. 2017. "Honor and Political Violence: Micro-level Findings from a Survey in Thailand." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (6): 748-761.
- Bormann, Nils-Christian, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Manuel Vogt. 2017. "Language, Religion, and Ethnic Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (4): 744-771.
- Bormann, Nils-Christian, and Jesse Hammond. 2016. "A Slippery Slope: The Domestic Diffusion of Ethnic Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (4): 587-598.
- Bormann, Nils-Christian, and Burcu Savun. 2018. "Reputation, Concessions, and Territorial Civil War: Do Ethnic Dominoes Fall, or Don't They?" *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (5): 671-686.
- Bunte, Jonas B., and Laura Thaut Vinson. 2016. "Local Power-sharing Institutions and Interreligious Violence in Nigeria." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (1): 49-65.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2017. "Predicting the Decline of Ethnic Civil War: Was Gurr Right and for the Right Reasons?" *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (2): 262-274.
- Choi, Seung-Whan, and James A. Piazza. 2016. "Internally Displaced Populations and Suicide Terrorism." Journal of Conflict Resolution 60 (6): 1008-1040.
- Costalli, Stefano, and Andrea Ruggeri. 2015. "Indignation, Ideologies, and Armed Mobilization: Civil War in Italy, 1943-45." *International Security* 40 (2): 119-157.
- Dornschneider, Stephanie, and Nick Henderson. 2016. "A Computational Model of Cognitive Maps: Analyzing Violence and Nonviolent Activity in Egypt and Germany." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (2): 368-399.
- Hillesund, Solveig. 2015. "A Dangerous Discrepancy: Testing the Micro-dynamics of Horizontal Inequality on Palestinian Support for Armed Resistance." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (1): 76-90.
- Hirose, Kentaro, Kosuke Imai, and Jason Lyall. 2017. "Can Civilian Attitudes Predict Insurgent Violence? Ideology and Insurgent Tactical Choice in Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (1): 47-63.
- Hoffman, Michael T., and Elizabeth R. Nugent. 2017. "Communal Religious Practice and Support for Armed Parties: Evidence from Lebanon." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (4): 869-902.
- Houle, Christian, and Cristina Bodea. 2017. "Ethnic Inequality and Coups in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (3): 382-396.

- 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.
- Isaacs, Matthew. 2016. "Sacred Violence or Strategic Faith? Disentangling the Relationship Between Religion and Violence in Armed Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (2): 211-225.
- Isaacs, Matthew. 2017. "Faith in Contention: Explaining the Salience of Religion in Ethnic Conflict." Comparative Political Studies 50 (2): 200-231.
- Kahn, Dennis T., et al. 2016. "Intergroup Sentiments, Political Identity, and Their Influence on Responses to Potentially Ameliorative Proposals in the Context of an Intractable Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (1): 61-88.
- Kenworthy, Jared Bowden, et al. 2016. "Building Trust in a Postconflict Society: An Integrative Model of Cross-group Friendship and Intergroup Emotions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (6): 1041-1070.
- Kim, Nam Kyu. 2018. "Revolutionary Leaders and Mass Killing. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (2): 289-317.
- Klašnja, Marko, and Natalija Novta. 2016. "Segregation, Polarization, and Ethnic Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (5): 927-955.
- Lacina, Bethany. 2015. "Periphery versus Periphery: The Stakes of Separatist War." *Journal of Politics* 77 (3): 692-706.
- Lizotte, Mary-Kate. 2017. "Gender Differences in Support for Torture." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (4): 772-787.
- Oppenheim, Ben, et al. 2015. "True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (5): 794-823.
- Ray, Subhasish. 2016. "Sooner or Later: The Timing of Ethnic Conflict Onsets after Independence." Journal of Peace Research 53 (6): 800-814.
- Rosler, Nimrod, Smadar Cohen-Chen, and Eran Halperin. 2017. "The Distinctive Effects of Empathy and Hope in Intractable Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (1): 114-139.
- Schaftenaar, Susanne. 2017. "How (Wo)men Rebel: Exploring the Effect of Gender Equality on Nonviolent and Armed Conflict Onset." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (6): 762-776.
- Scharpf, Adam. 2019. "Ideology and State Terror: How Officer Beliefs Shaped Repression During Argentina's 'Dirty War'." *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (2): 206-221.
- Souleimanov, Emil Aslan, and Huseyn Aliyev. 2015. "Blood Revenge and Violent Mobilization: Evidence from the Chechen Wars." *International Security* 40 (2): 158-180.
- Staniland, Paul. 2015. "Militias, Ideology, and the State." Journal of Conflict Resolution 59 (5): 770-793.
- Vogt, Manuel. 2018. "Ethnic Stratification and the Equilibrium of Inequality: Ethnic Conflict in Postcolonial States." *International Organization* 72 (1): 105-137.
- Wig, Tore, and Daniela Kromrey. 2018. "Which Ethnic Groups Fight? Customary Institutions and Communal Conflicts in Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (4): 415-429.
- Wood, Reed M., and Jakana L. Thomas. 2017. "Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women's Participation in Violent Rebellion." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (1): 31-46.

Younas, Javed, and Todd Sandler. 2017. "Gender Imbalance and Terrorism in Developing Countries." Journal of Conflict Resolution 61 (3): 483-510.

The debate over ethnic violence

- Brass, Paul. 2003. *The production of Hindu-Muslim violence in contemporary India*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, and Luc Girardin. 2007. "Beyond Fractionalization: Mapping Ethnicity Onto Nationalist Insurgencies." *American Political Science Review* 101 (1): 173-185.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." World Politics 62 (1): 87-119.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90 (4): 715-735.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2000. "Review: Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54 (4): 845-877.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2011. "Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War." World Development 39 (2): 199-211.
- Gagnon, V. P., Jr. 1994/5. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." International Security 19 (3): 130-166.
- Gagnon, V. P. 2004. *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 141-228.
- Kaufman, Stuart J. 2006. "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence." *International Security* 30 (4): 45-86.
- Mueller, John. 2000. "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'." International Security 25 (1): 42-70.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2001. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part I)." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (3): 259-282.
- Toft, Monica Duffy. 2003. The Geography of Ethnic Violence. Princeton University Press.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2002. Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2003. "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality." *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (1): 85-99.
- Walter, Barbara F. 2009. *Reputation and Civil War: Why Separatist Conflicts Are So Violent*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weidmann, Nils B. 2011. "Violence 'from Above' or 'from Below'? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia's Civil War." *Journal of Politics* 73 (4): 363-375.
- Wilkinson, Steven. 2006. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beliefs, ideologies, and cultures

- Gutiérrez Sanin, Francisco, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2014. "Ideology in Civil War: Instrumental Adooption and Beyond." *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (2): 213-226.
- Hassner, Ron E. 2009. War on Sacred Grounds. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Heuser, Beatrice, and Eitan Shamir. 2016. *Insurgencies and Counterinsurgencies: National Style and Strategic Cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moghadam, Assaf. 2009. "Motives for Martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the Spread of Suicide Attacks." *International Security* 33 (3): 46-78.
- Pye, Lucian W. 1956. *Guerrilla Communism in Malaya: Its Social and Political Meaning*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Scott, James C. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Emotions

- Gurr, Ted Robert. 1968. "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence." World Politics 20 (2): 245-278.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 1970. Why Men Rebel. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wagoner, Brady, Fathali M. Moghaddam, and Jaan Valsiner. 2018. *The Psychology of Radical Social Change: From Rage to Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 4. Causes/origins—Economic explanations

- Albertus, Michael, Thomas Brambor, and Ricardo Ceneviva. 2018. "Land Inequality and Rural Unrest: Theory and Evidence from Brazil." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (3): 557-596.
- Bjorvatn, Kjetil, and Mohammad Reza Farzanegan. 2015. "Resource Rents, Balance of Power, and Political Stability." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (6): 758-773.
- Brockhoff, Sarah, Tim Krieger, and Daniel Meierrieks. 2015. "Great Expectations and Hard Times: The (Nontrivial) Impact of Education on Domestic Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (7): 1186-1215.
- Chaudoin, Stephen, Zachary Peskowitz, and Christopher Stanton. 2017. "Beyond Zeroes and Ones: The Intensity and Dynamics of Civil Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (1): 56-83.
- Dreher, Axel, and Merle Kreibaum. 2016. "Weapons of Choice: The Effect of Natural Resources on Terror and Insurgencies." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (4): 539-553.
- Enders, Walter, Gary A. Hoover, and Todd Sandler. 2016. "The Changing Nonlinear Relationship Between Income and Terrorism." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (2): 195-225.
- Gawande, Kishore, Devesh Kapur, and Shanker Satyanath. 2017. "Renewable Natural Resource Shocks and Conflict Intensity: Findings from India's Ongoing Maoist Insurgency." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (1): 140-172.
- 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): 143-157.
- Houle, Christian. 2016. "Why Class Inequality Breeds Coups but not Civil Wars." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (5): 680-695.
- Hudson, Valerie M., and Hilary Matfess. 2017. "In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage Between Bride Price and Violent Conflict." *International Security* 42 (1): 7-40.
- Jones, Benjamin T., Eleonora Mattiacci, and Bear F. Braumoeller. 2017. "Food Scarcity and State Vulnerability: Unpacking the Link Between Climate Variability and Violent Unrest." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (3): 335-350.
- Klaus, Kathleen, and Matthew I. Mitchell. 2015. "Land Grievances and the Mobilization of Electoral Violence: Evidence from Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (5): 622-635.
- Koren, Ore, and Benjamin E. Bagozzi. 2017. "Living Off the Land: The Connection Between Cropland, Food Security, and Violence Against Civilians." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (3): 351-364.
- Lee, Chia-yi. 2018. "Oil and Terrorism: Uncovering the Mechanisms." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (5): 903-928.
- Linke, Andrew M., et al. 2018. "Drought, Local Institutional Contexts, and Support for Violence in Kenya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (7): 1544-1578.
- Nardulli, Peter F., Buddy Peyton, and Joseph Bajjalieh. 2015. "Climate Change and Civil Unrest: The Impact of Rapid-onset Disasters." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (2): 310-335.

- Paine, Jack. 2016. "Rethinking the 'Resource Curse': How Oil Wealth Prevents Cener-seeking Civil Wars." International Organization (4): 727-761.
- Thomson, Henry. 2016. "Rural Grievances, Landholding Inequality, and Civil Conflict [Research Note]." *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (3): 511-519.
- Yeeles, Adam. 2015. "Weathering Unrest: The Ecology of Urban Social Disturbances in Africa and Asia." Journal of Peace Research 52 (2): 158-170.

Economic motivations

- Aspinall, Edward. 2007. "The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (6): 950-972.
- Blattman, Christopher, and Edward Miguel. 2010. "Civil War." *Journal of Economic Literature* 48 (1): 3-57.
- Boix, Carles. 2008. "Economic Roots of Civil Wars and Revolutions in the Contemporary World." World Politics 60 (3): 390-437.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2011. "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist War: A Global Comparison." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 478-495.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." Oxford Economic Papers 56 (4): 563-595.
- Fearon, James D. 2005. "Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (4): 483-507.
- Hegre, Håvard, Gudrun Østby, and Clionadh Raleigh. 2009. "Poverty and Civil War Events." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53 (4): 598 -623.
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas F. 1991. "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict." International Security 16 (2): 76-116.
- Humphreys, Macartan. 2005. "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (4): 508-537.
- Kaufmann, Chaim. 2005. "Rational Choice and Progress in the Study of Ethnic Conflict: A Review Essay." Security Studies 14 (1): 178-207.
- Keen, David. 2012. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." International Affairs, 88 (4): 757-777.
- Le Billon, Philippe. 2012. Wars of Plunder: Conflicts, Profits and the Politics of Resources. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. 2004. "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach." *Journal of Political Economy* 112 (4): 725-753.
- Popkin, Samuel L. 1979. *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam*. Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization* 58 (1): 35-67.

- Ross, Michael L. 2006. "A Closer Look at Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (1): 265-300.
- Ross, Michael L. 2012. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations.*Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sanín, Francisco Gutiérrez. 2004. "Criminal Rebels? A Discussion of Civil War and Criminality from the Colombian Experience." *Politics & Society* 32 (2): 257 -285.

Week 5. Causes/origins—Political explanations and tactical opportunities

- Avdan, Nazli, and Christopher F. Gelpi. 2017. "Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbors? Border Barriers and the Transnational Flow of Terrorist Violence." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (1): 14-27.
- Bagozzi, Benjamin E. 2016. "On Malaria and the Duration of Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60 (5): 813-839.
- Bartusevičius, Henrikas, and Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2018. "Revisiting Democratic Civil Peace: Electoral Regimes and Civil Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (5): 625-640.
- Butcher, Charles. 2015. "'Capital Punishment': Bargaining and the Geography of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (2): 171-186.
- Butcher, Charles, and Benjamin E. Goldsmith. 2017. "Elections, Ethnicity, and Political Instability." *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (10): 1390-1419.
- Coggins, Bridget L. 2015. "Does State Failure Cause Terrorism? An Empirical Analysis (1999-2008)." Journal of Conflict Resolution 59 (3): 455-483.
- Cook, Scott J., and Burcu Savun. 2016. "New Democracies and the Risk of Civil Conflict: The Lasting Legacy of Military Rule." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (6): 745-757.
- Crisman-Cox, Casey. 2018. "Enemies within: Interactions between Terrorists and Democracies." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62 (8): 1661-1685.
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