

Research Seminar: Political Order and Conflict
MACIS Optional Research Seminar, Spring Term 2021
Weekly on Wednesday, 10:15-12:00 ([Zoom link](#))

Lars-Erik Cederman
CIS, ETHZ, IFW D 49.2
cederman@icr.gess.ethz.ch

Guy Schvitz
CIS, ETHZ, IFW D 48.2
guy.schvitz@icr.gess.ethz.ch

February 8, 2021

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, pacification and conflict prevention 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. This 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 in the seminar sessions
- Read the required readings for each meeting in advance. In addition, we encourage you to 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 research ideas. 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 of 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 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 are available at: <https://polybox.ethz.ch/index.php/s/SM0s4bCJZcTAL4r>
Password: poc2021

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

Block I: Introduction & Concepts

Week 1 (24 February). Introduction & Logistics

Week 2 (3 March). 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.

Recommended reading:

Lake, D. A. (2003). International relations theory and internal conflict: insights from the interstices. *International Studies Review*, 5(4), 81-89.

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

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

Block II: Onset, Dynamics, Duration, Termination

Week 3 (10 March). Political Economy

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.

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.)

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

Recommended reading:

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.

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

Week 4 (17 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).

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

Recommended reading:

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 (24 March). Homelands, Secession and Irredentism

Weiner, M. (1971). The Macedonian syndrome: An historical model of international relations and political development. *World Politics*, 23(4), 665-683.

Shelef, N. G. (2016). Unequal ground: Homelands and conflict. *International Organization*, 70(1), 33-63.

Cederman, L. E., Rügger, S., & Schvitz, G. (2019). Redemption through Rebellion: Border Change, Lost Unity and Nationalist Conflict. Under Review.

Recommended reading:

Michalopoulos, S., & Papaioannou, E. (2016). The long-run effects of the scramble for Africa. *American Economic Review*, 106(7), 1802-48.

Toft, M. D. (2003). *Geography of Ethnic Violence*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 2: Theory

Week 6 (31 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.

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

7 April. No Session (Easter Break)

Block III: Prevention & Pacification

Week 8 (14 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 (21 April). Partition, Separation

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.

Chapman, T., & Roeder, P. G. (2007). Partition as a solution to wars of nationalism: The importance of institutions. *American Political Science Review*, 101(4), 677-691.

Recommended Reading:

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

131–146.

Rutherford, A., Harmon, D., Werfel, J., Gard-Murray, A. S., Bar-Yam, S., Gros, A., ... & Bar-Yam, Y. (2014). Good fences: The importance of setting boundaries for peaceful coexistence. *PloS one*, 9(5).

Week 10 (28 April). Good Fences, Good Neighbors? Border Fixity and Peace

Zacher, M. W. (2001). The territorial integrity norm: International boundaries and the use of force. *International Organization*, 55(2), 215-250.

Carter, D. B., & Goemans, H. E. (2011). The making of the territorial order: New borders and the emergence of interstate conflict. *International Organization*, 65(2), 275-309.

Fazal, T. M., & Griffiths, R. D. (2014). Membership has its privileges: The changing benefits of statehood. *International Studies Review*, 16(1), 79-106.

Recommended reading:

Simmons, B. A. (2005). Rules over real estate: trade, territorial conflict, and international borders as institutions. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(6), 823-848.

Shawt, M. N. (1997). The heritage of states: The principle of uti possidetis juris today. *British yearbook of International Law*, 67(1), 75.

Block IV: Political Legacies of Violence

Week 11 (5 May). War, Governance, and State Formation

Tilly, C. (1989). Cities and states in Europe, 1000-1800. *Theory and Society*, 563-584.

Cantoni, D., Mohr, C., & Weigand, M. (2019). *The rise of fiscal capacity* (No. 172). Discussion Paper.

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

Recommended reading:

Dincecco, M., Fenske, J., & Onorato, M. G. (2019). Is Africa different? Historical conflict and state development. *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 34(2), 209-250.

Sánchez De La Sierra, R. (2020). On the origins of the state: Stationary bandits and taxation in eastern congo. *Journal of Political Economy*, 128(1), 000-000.

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 (12 May). Nationalism and war

Van Evera, Stephen. 1994. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War." *International Security* 18: 5-39.

Malesevic, Sinisa. 2012. "Did Wars Make Nation-States in the Balkans?: Nationalisms, Wars and States in the 19th and Early 20th Century South East Europe." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 25: 299-329.

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

Recommended reading:

Wimmer, Andreas, and Brian Min. 2006. "From Empire to Nation-State: Explaining Wars in the Modern World, 1816-2001." *American Sociological Review* 71: 867-97.

Week 13 (19 May). 'Right-Peopling' the State: Assimilation and Ethnic Cleansing

O'Leary, B. (2001). The elements of right-sizing and right-peopling the state. *Right-sizing the state: The politics of moving borders*, 15-73.

Mann, M. (1999). The dark side of democracy: the modern tradition of ethnic and political cleansing. *New Left Review*, 18-45.

McNamee, L., & Zhang, A. (2019). Demographic engineering and international conflict: Evidence from China and the Former USSR. *International Organization*, 73(2), 291-327.

Recommended reading:

Posen, B. R. (1993). The security dilemma and ethnic conflict. *Survival*, 35(1), 27-47.

Bulutgil, H. Z. (2017). Ethnic Cleansing and Its Alternatives in Wartime: A Comparison of the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, and Russian Empires. *International Security*, 41(4), 169-201.

Straus, S. (2012). Retreating from the brink: Theorizing mass violence and the dynamics of restraint. *Perspectives on Politics*, 343-362.

Week 14 (26 May). Student Presentations

Week 15 (2 June). Student Presentations

Final Papers Due: Tuesday, 25 August 2020, 23:59