

POLS 525 — Summer 2016
Civil War and Terrorism

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Class: TTh 2:30–5:15pm, ERB 1127
Office Hours: MW 1-2:00pm
and by appointment.

Course Description

This course, Civil War & Terrorism, surveys the major theories and empirical findings of international relations and comparative politics research on these two kinds of, typically, anti-state violence. Part of the course seeks to figure out what commonly causes both kinds of activities, while also examining the unique correlates of civil war and terrorism. Students may have had previous exposure to many of these ideas at a superficial level, but this course will instead investigate the primary research and debates political science has offered thus far. Much of the work we will discuss will be game theoretic, quantitative, or comparative case study. Students, by the end of the course, should be able to articulate the major trends within the literature and begin to be able to test their own ideas about these topics.

Course Format

Like most substantive graduate courses, this course progresses through classroom-based discussion. My goal is to keep my lecturing to a minimum, but this can only happen with student participation and engagement. Additionally, assignments in this course are oriented towards the goal of facilitating discussion and student participation.

Required Text

In the summer session, there will be no required books, but there are several articles due each class.

Course Requirements

1. Discussion 25%

It is not nearly enough for students to be present, but they must also engage in the material and give life to the theories as well as combat them within the confines of the classroom. As such, student participation and discussion is pivotal to both the course as well as the graduate student experience. At the conclusion of each class, students will hand in a one paragraph summary of how they participated and their own participation score on a scale of one to ten. The instructor will assign a final grade after assessing the student's self-assessment. For this course, students should be able to reference the works they have read and the context in which they have read them.

2. Discussion Memos 15%

Students will write three short memos (3 pages) on a particular chapter or reading assigned for the day. The memo will be distributed to class by 5pm the night previous to class via Blackboard (so people have a chance to read it). If you are not familiar with how to send emails via Blackboard, consult with another student or with the instructor. The memo is four parts in single spaced text: a brief (no longer than one paragraph) summary of the work, 2-3 paragraphs synthesizing the material with other works or critiquing the work directly, four (4) solid discussion questions, and one citation or link to material (film, academic article, newspaper article, youtube video, song, board game, video

game, etc.) related to the reading. Students will assume the lead for discussing the material for the day they have adopted.

3. **Research Design 35%**

Near the end of the semester, students will hand in a 25 page paper that is a proposed research design. The paper will include most of the elements of a normal paper, but will leave out the actual data collection and testing of the paper. As such, the paper should include the following elements:

- (a) Title page (1 page)
- (b) Abstract (1 page)
- (c) Introduction (1-3 pages)
- (d) Literature Review (5-7 pages)
- (e) Theory Section (3-6 pages)
- (f) Research Design (3-5 pages)
- (g) Bibliography (2 pages)

The paper will propose a large-n (observations), cross-sectional, time-series project that predicts some phenomenon related to the topics within this class. The literature review must cite at least 15 relevant sources, the theory must propose a causal mechanism that links some interesting independent variable to a dependent variable as well as a relevant hypothesis, and the research design will specify a dependent variable, at least one independent variable of interest, and two or more control variables. The students must identify likely sources for their data. **This paper is due June 16th**

- 4. **Final 25%** Students will receive a take-home final that will contain two questions. Students will answer one of two questions and write a research-informed response to the question.

Final Grades

A+: 97-100%	A: 93-96%	A-: 90-92%
B+: 87-89%	B: 83-86%	B-:80-82%
C+: 77-79%	C: 73-76%	C-:70-72%
D+: 67-69%	D: 63-66%	D-: 60-62%
F: 0-59%		

General Guidelines and Information

1. **Class will begin on time.** Avoid arriving late to class; otherwise, you may miss important material, quizzes, or information about class assignments. However, being late is better than not showing up at all. If you do arrive late, attempt to arrive quietly into class and avoid making too much of a disruption. The same is true if you have to leave class early. If you miss any information due to your absence, ask a classmate for notes and to help you catch up. In general, it is a good policy to find people within the class that you can share notes with and be able to study collectively.
2. **Please avoid classroom disruptions.** Turn your cellphones to silent before class begins.
3. **Use the APSA style of reference.** To standardize citations and references, follow the guidelines set out by the *American Political Science Association*. Information and guidelines can be found in the following PDF file: http://www.westmont.edu/_academics/departments/political_science/documents/APSASStyleManual2006.pdf. You can also use a site like the Citation Machine to generate your bibliography.

4. **Cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated.** All written work is subject to being submitted to SafeAssignment through Blackboard. This is a program that will find copied work from both published sources, the internet, and other work by students. Student who are found to be plagiarizing or cheating on a given assignment or test will automatically fail that assignment or test. If you wish to use work from another class, you must obtain permission from both instructors. Doing so without permission is a form of plagiarism.
5. **SafeAssignment:** All written assignments must be turned in through SafeAssignment given the appropriate links on Blackboard as well as providing a physical copy to the instructor/teaching assistant. The digital copy is due by 5pm on the day the assignment is due to be turned in. Assignments not turned in digitally as well as physically will not be graded and receive a zero for that assignment. If you have trouble with submitting an assignment, contact the instructor immediately.
6. **Missing exams and late assignments:** There will not be makeup exams or quizzes. Late paper assignments will be severely penalized—as such, having work completed early will increase your chances of avoiding penalties to your grade. The standard deduction will be one full letter grade per day that the assignment is late. That is, an B- will become a C-.
7. **The syllabus.** the syllabus is a living document that can and will be altered throughout the duration of the course based both on need and design. Generally, this may means readings will be removed or added as needed. All changes will be listed on Blackboard, so make sure to check announcements for any such change.
8. **Contacting the instructor.** The best way to get in touch with me is either through email. Any question that is of general interest to the entire class should may be answered in a way that provides the answer to the entire class.
9. **Accommodations:** To request academic accommodations for a disability contact the Disability Resource Center by phone, (208) 426-1583, or e-mail, drcinfo@boisestate.edu. Students are required to meet with a Disability Specialist prior to receiving accommodations and may be required to provide documentation to clarify accommodation requests. Information about a disability is confidential. More information on the accommodation process can be found at <http://drc.boisestate.edu>.

Course Schedule

This is the reading you are expected to have done *by the day it is assigned*. For this class, every student will collectively read one article. Each student is also responsible for reading two articles, of their choosing. As we discuss the topic in class, students should reference the reading they did.

Day 1 - Introduction

May 10th
Introductions
Discuss Syllabus

Day 2 - Defining civil war and civil war data

May 12th

Required

–Sambanis, N., 2004. “What is civil war? Conceptual and empirical complexities of an operational definition,” *Journal of conflict resolution* 48(6):814-858.

Elective

–Gurr, T., 1968. “Psychological factors in civil violence.” *World politics*, 20(2):245-278.

–Buhaug, H. and Gates, S., 2002. “The geography of civil war.” *Journal of peace research*, 39(4):417-433.

–Collier, P. and Sambanis, N., 2002. “Understanding civil war: a new agenda.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 46(1):3-12.

–Gleditsch, N.P., Wallensteen, P., Eriksson, M., Sollenberg, M. and Strand, H., 2002. “Armed conflict 1946-2001: A new dataset.” *Journal of peace research*, 39(5):615-637.

–Sarkees, M.R., Wayman, F.W. and Singer, J.D., 2003. “Inter-state, intrastate, and extrastate wars: a comprehensive look at their distribution over time, 1816-1997.” *International studies quarterly*, 47(1): 49-70.

–Humphreys, M. and Weinstein, J.M., 2008. “Who fights? The determinants of participation in civil war.” *American journal of political science*, 52(2):436-455.

–Themnr, L. and Wallensteen, P., 2011. “Armed conflict, 1946–2010.” *Journal of peace research*, 48(4):525-536.

Day 3 - Ethnicity and religion

May 17th

Required

–Cederman, L.E., Wimmer, A. and Min, B., 2010. “Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and analysis.” *World politics*, 62(1):87-119.

Elective

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

–Sambanis, N., 2001. “Do ethnic and nonethnic civil wars have the same causes? A theoretical and empirical inquiry (Part 1).” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 45(3):259-282.

–Reynal-Querol, M., 2002. “Ethnicity, political systems, and civil wars.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 46(1):29-54

–Blimes, R.J., 2006. “The indirect effect of ethnic heterogeneity on the likelihood of civil war onset.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 50(4):536-547.

–Bhavnani, R. and Miodownik, D., 2009. “Ethnic polarization, ethnic salience, and civil war.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 53(1):30-49.

–Denny, E.K. and Walter, B.F., 2014. “Ethnicity and civil war.” *Journal of peace research*, 51(2):199-212.

Day 4 - Grievances

May 19th

Required

–Gurr, T., 1968. “A causal model of civil strife: A comparative analysis using new indices.” *American political science review*, 62(4):1104-1124.

Elective

–Hegre, H., 2001, “Toward a democratic civil peace? Democracy, political change, and civil war, 1816–1992.” *American political science review*, 95(1):33-48

–Elbadawi, I. and Sambanis, N., 2002. “How much war will we see? Explaining the prevalence of civil war.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 46(3):307-334.

–Besançon, M.L., 2005. “Relative resources: inequality in ethnic wars, revolutions, and genocides.” *Journal of peace research*, 42(4):393-415.

–Boix, C., 2008. “Economic roots of civil wars and revolutions in the contemporary world.” *World politics*, 60(3):390-437.

–Djankov, S. and Reynal-Querol, M., 2010. “Poverty and civil war: Revisiting the evidence.” *The review of economics and statistics*, 92(4):1035-1041.

–Cederman, L.E., Weidmann, N.B. and Gleditsch, K.S., 2011. “Horizontal inequalities and ethnonationalist civil war: A global comparison.” *American political science review*, 105(3):478-495.

Day 5 - Greed

May 24th

Required

Lichbach, M.I., 1994. “What makes rational peasants revolutionary? Dilemma, paradox, and irony in peasant collective action.” *World politics*, 46(3):383-418.

Elective

–Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A., 1998. “On economic causes of civil war.” *Oxford economic papers*, 50(4):563-573.

–Fearon, J. and Laitin, D., 2003. “Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war.” *American political science review* 97(1):75-90.

–Collier, P. and Hoeffler, A., 2004. “Greed and grievance in civil war.” *Oxford economic papers* 56:563-595.

–Ross, M.L., 2004. “How do natural resources influence civil war? Evidence from thirteen cases.” *International organization*, 58(1):35-67.

–Sambanis, N., 2004. “Using case studies to expand economic models of civil war.” *Perspectives on politics*, 2(2):259-279.

–Fearon, J.D., 2005. “Primary commodity exports and civil war.” *Journal of conflict Resolution*, 49(4):483-507.

–Humphreys, M., 2005. “Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution uncovering the mechanisms.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 49(4):508-537.

–Lujala, P., Gleditsch, N.P. and Gilmore, E., 2005. “A diamond curse? Civil war and a lootable resource.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 49(4):538-562.

–Regan, P.M. and Norton, D., 2005. “Greed, grievance, and mobilization in civil wars.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 49(3):319-336.

–Ross, M., 2006. “A closer look at oil, diamonds, and civil war.” *Annual review of political science*, 9:265-300.

–Collier, P., Hoeffler, A. and Rohner, D., 2008. “Beyond greed and grievance: feasibility and civil war.” *Oxford economic papers*, p.gpn029.

–Hegre, H., Østby, G. and Raleigh, C., 2009. “Poverty and civil war events a disaggregated study of Liberia.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 53(4):598-623.

Day 6 - Repression

May 26th

Required

–Kalyvas, S.N., 2004. “The paradox of terrorism in civil war.” *The journal of ethics*, 8(1):97-138.

Elective

–Gartner, S.S. and Regan, P.M., 1996. “Threat and repression: The non-linear relationship between government and opposition violence.” *Journal of peace research*, 33(3):273-287.

–Heger, L. and Salehyan, I., 2007. “Ruthless rulers: Coalition size and the severity of civil conflict.” *International studies quarterly*, 51(2):385-403.

–Humphreys, M. and Weinstein, J.M., 2006. “Handling and manhandling civilians in civil war.” *American political science review*, 100(3):429-447

–Eck, K. and Hultman, L., 2007. “One-sided violence against civilians in war insights from new fatality data.” *Journal of peace research*, 44(2):233-246.

–Downes, A.B., 2007. “Draining the sea by filling the graves: investigating the effectiveness of indiscriminate violence as a counterinsurgency strategy.” *Civil wars*, 9(4):420-444.

–Vreeland, J.R., 2008. “The effect of political regime on civil war unpacking anocracy.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 52(3):401-425.

–Llyall, J.M., 2009. “Does indiscriminate repression incite insurgent attacks? Evidence from Chechnya.” *Journal of conflict resolution* 53(3):331-362.

–Young, J.K., 2012. “Repression, dissent, and the onset of civil war.” *Political research quarterly*, 66(3)516-532

Day 7 - Civil war duration, intervention, and outcomes

May 31st

Required

–Walter, B.F., 1997. “The critical barrier to civil war settlement.” *International organization*, 51(3):335-364.

Elective

–Mack, A., 1975. “Why big nations lose small wars: The politics of asymmetric conflict.” *World politics*, 27(2):175-200.

–Kaufmann, C., 1996. “Possible and impossible solutions to ethnic civil wars.” *International security*, 20(4):136-175.

–Balch-Lindsay, D. and Enterline, A.J., 2000. “Killing time: The world politics of civil war duration, 1820–1992.” *International studies quarterly*, 44(4):615-642.

–Hartzell, C. and Hoddie, M., 2003. “Institutionalizing peace: Power sharing and post-civil war conflict management.” *American journal of political science*, 47(2):318-332.

–Fearon, J.D., 2004. “Why do some civil wars last so much longer than others?” *Journal of peace research*, 41(3):275-301.

–Regan, P.M. and Aydin, A., 2006. “Diplomacy and other forms of intervention in civil wars.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 50(5):736-756.

–Gent, S., 2008. “Going in when it counts: Military intervention and the outcome of civil conflicts.” *International studies quarterly* 52(4):713-735.

–Toft, M.D., 2010. “Ending civil wars: A case for rebel victory?” *International security*, 34(4):7-36.

–Wucherpfennig, J., Metternich, N.W., Cederman, L.E. and Gleditsch, K.S., 2012. “Ethnicity, the state, and the duration of civil war.” *World politics*, 64(1):79-115.

Day 8 - Coups

June 2nd

Required

–Albrecht, H. and Ohl, D., 2016. “Exit, resistance, loyalty: Military behavior during unrest in authoritarian regimes.” *Perspectives on politics*, 14(1):38-52.

Elective

–Zuk, G. and Thompson, W.R., 1982. “The post-coup military spending question: a pooled cross-sectional time series analysis.” *American political science review*, 76(1):60-74.

–Londregan, J.B. and Poole, K.T., 1990. “Poverty, the coup trap, and the seizure of executive power.” *World politics*, 42(2):151-183.

–Kimenyi, M.S. and Mbaku, J.M., 1996. “Rents, military elites, and political democracy.” *European journal of political economy*, 11(4):699-708.

–Belkin, A. and Schofer, E., 2003. “Toward a structural understanding of coup risk.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 47(5):594-620.

–McGowan, P.J., 2003. “African military coups d’état, 1956–2001: frequency, trends and distribution.” *The journal of modern African studies*, 41(3):339-370.

–Little, A.T., 2015. “Coordination, learning, and coups.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, early online access.

Day 9 - Defining terrorism and terrorism data

June 7th

Required

–Crenshaw, M., 1981. “The causes of terrorism.” *Comparative politics*, 13(4):379-399.

Elective

–Thompson, J.L., 1989. “Deprivation and political violence in Northern Ireland, 1922-1985 A time-Series analysis.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 33(4):676-699.

–Lake, D.A., 2002. “Rational extremism: Understanding terrorism in the twenty-first century.” *Dialogue IO*, 1(1):15-29.

–LaFree, G. and Dugan, L., 2007. “Introducing the global terrorism database.” *Terrorism and political violence*, 19(2):181-204.

–Lee, J., 2008. “Exploring global terrorism data: a web-based visualization of temporal data.” *Crossroads*, 15(2):7-14.

–Enders, W., Sandler, T. and Gaibulloev, K., 2011. “Domestic versus transnational terrorism: Data, decomposition, and dynamics.” *Journal of peace research*, 48(3):319-337.

Day 10 - Psychological and Institutional models

June 9th

Required

–Krieger, T. and Meierrieks, D., 2011. “What causes terrorism?” *Public choice*, 147(1):3-27.

Elective

–Hutchinson, M.C., 1972. “The concept of revolutionary terrorism.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 16(3):383-396.

–Hudson, R.A. and Majeska, M., 1999, September. “The sociology and psychology of terrorism: Who becomes a terrorist and why?” Washington, DC: Library of Congress.

–Crenshaw, M., 2000. “The psychology of terrorism: An agenda for the 21st century.” *Political psychology*, 21(2):405-420.

–Blomberg, S.B., Hess, G.D. and Weerapana, A., 2004. “Economic conditions and terrorism.” *European journal of political economy*, 20(2):463-478.

–Sandler, T. and Enders, W., 2004. “An economic perspective on transnational terrorism.” *European journal of political economy*, 20(2):301-316.

–Li, Q., 2005. “Does democracy promote or reduce transnational terrorist incidents?.” *Journal of conflict resolution* 49(2): 278-297.

–Victoroff, J., 2005. “The mind of the terrorist A review and critique of psychological approaches.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 49(1):3-42.

–Savun, B. and Phillips, B.J., 2009. “Democracy, foreign policy, and terrorism.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 53(6):878-904.

–Walsh, J.I. and Piazza, J.A., 2010. “Why respecting physical integrity rights reduces terrorism.” *Comparative political studies*, 43(5):551-577

Day 11 - Terrorism efficacy

June 14th

Required

–Kydd, A.H. and Walter, B.F., 2006. “The strategies of terrorism.” *International security*, 31(1):49-80.

Elective

–Sandler, T. and Scott, J.L., 1987. “Terrorist success in hostage-taking incidents: An empirical study.” *Journal of conflict resolution*, 31(1):35-53.

–Crenshaw, M., 1991. “How terrorism declines.” *Terrorism and political violence*, 3(1):69-87.

–Pape, R.A., 2003. “The strategic logic of suicide terrorism.” *American political science review*, 97(3):343-361.

–Sobek, D. and Braithwaite, A., 2005. “Victim of success: American dominance and terrorism.” *Conflict management and peace science*, 22(2):135-148.

–Moghadam, A., 2006. “Suicide terrorism, occupation, and the globalization of martyrdom: A critique of Dying to Win.” *Studies in conflict & terrorism*, 29(8):707-729.

–Abrahms, M., 2006. “Why terrorism does not work,” *International security* 31(2):42-78

–Piazza, J.A., 2008. “A supply-side view of suicide terrorism: A cross-national study,” *Journal of politics*. 70(1): 28-39.

Day 12 - Civil war and terrorism

June 16th

Required

–Findley, M.G. and Young, J.K., 2012. “Terrorism and civil war: A spatial and temporal approach to a conceptual problem.” *Perspectives on politics*, 10(2):285-305.

Elective

–Bloom, M.M., 2004. “Palestinian suicide bombing: Public support, market share, and outbidding.” *Political science quarterly*, 119(1):61-88.

–Hultman, L., 2007. “Battle losses and rebel violence: Raising the costs for fighting.” *Terrorism and political violence*, 19(2):205-222.

–Moghadam, A., 2009. “Motives for martyrdom: Al-Qaida, Salafi Jihad, and the spread of suicide attacks.” *International security*, 33(3):46-78.

–Balcells, L., 2010. “Rivalry and revenge: Violence against civilians in conventional civil wars.” *International studies quarterly*, 54(2):291-313.

–Stanton, J.A., 2013. “Terrorism in the context of civil war.” *The journal of politics*, 75(4):1009-1022.

–Fortna, V.P., 2015. “Do terrorists win? Rebels’ use of terrorism and civil war outcomes.” *International organization*, 69(3):519-556.

Research Design Paper Due

Day 13 - Counterinsurgency

June 20th

Required

–Kilcullen, D., 2006. “Twenty-eight articles: Fundamentals of company-level counterinsurgency.” *Marine corps Gazette*, 90(7):29-35.

Elective

–DiMarco, L., 2006. “Losing the moral compass: torture and guerre revolutionnaire in the Algerian War.” *Parameters*. 36(2):63-76.

–Bennett, D.S., 2008. “Governments, civilians, and the evolution of insurgency: Modeling the early dynamics of insurgencies.” *Journal of artificial societies and social simulation* 11(4). <http://jasss.soc.surrey.ac.uk/11/4/7.html>

Lyall, J. and Wilson, I., 2009. “Rage against the machines: Explaining outcomes in counterinsurgency wars.” *International organization*, 63(1):67-106.

–Dixon, P., 2009. “‘Hearts and minds’? British counter-insurgency strategy in Northern Ireland.” *Journal of strategic studies* 32(3):353-381.

Kocher, M.A., Pepinsky, T.B. and Kalyvas, S.N., 2011. “Aerial bombing and counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War.” *American journal of political science*, 55(2):201-218.

Braithwaite, A. and Johnson, S.D., 2012. “Space-time modeling of insurgency and counterinsurgency in Iraq.” *Journal of quantitative criminology*, 28(1):31-48.

Johnston, P.B., 2012. “Does decapitation work? Assessing the effectiveness of leadership targeting in counterinsurgency campaigns.” *International security*, 36(4):47-79.

Day 14 - Beyond borders, Contagion, Migration, and refugees

June 23rd

Required

–Salehyan, I. and Gleditsch, K.S., 2006. “Refugees and the spread of civil war.” *International organization*, 60(2):335-366.

Elective

–Toole, M.J. and Waldman, R.J., 1993. “Refugees and displaced persons: War, hunger, and public health.” *Jama*, 270(5):600-605.

–Gleditsch, K.S., 2007. “Transnational dimensions of civil war.” *Journal of peace research*, 44(3):293-309.

–Moore, W. H., and Shellman S.M., 2007. “Whither will they go? A global study of refugees destinations, 1965–1995.” *International studies quarterly*, 51(4):811-834.

–Salehyan, I., 2007. “Refugees and the study of civil war.” *Civil wars*, 9(2):127-141.

–Choi, S., and Salehyan, I., 2013. “No good deed goes unpunished: refugees, humanitarian aid, and terrorism.” *Conflict management and peace science* 30(1):53-75.

Take-home Exam