

Government and Politics 888E
Contentious Politics
Tydings Hall 1136
Fall 2009

Instructor:	Office	Phone	email:
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Time and Location: Thursdays 9:30am-12:15pm in Tydings 1136

Office hrs: Tuesdays and Thursdays from 1-2 (and by appointment)

About the course

The contentious political literature within the subfield of Comparative Politics tends to be quite segmented. For example, theories and findings in the literature on the role of social movements in conflict often do not inform the literature on civil war or terrorism and vice versa. The principal objective of this course is to encourage a more integrated approach to the study of conflict. To this end the first part of the course surveys the principal theoretical strands in the conflict literature as a whole. These are structure, agency and bargaining. Second, we consider a selected subset of explanations of conflict that focus on particular explanatory variables. These are social movements, economics, state repression and identity in the context of elections. Third, we survey a selection of literatures that focus on particular types of conflict. Here the types of conflict examined are transition, insurgency, civil war and terrorism. In this part of the course we will pay particular attention to the juxtaposition of segmented theoretical and empirical approaches and approaches that integrate a cross section of theories and empirical findings with an eye to the concomitant change in explanations about onset, duration and termination of sub-national conflict. Finally, throughout the course students are encouraged to consider how segmented theoretical and empirical approaches affect their own research and how student research designs may be improved with a more integrated approach to the study of conflict.

This Course and CIDCM

This graduate seminar is an important part of an initiative to develop a new research program within CIDCM that focuses on the integrated study of civil, transnational and international conflict. While the emphasis in this course is primarily on domestic politics the segmented nature of conflict study is as endemic in the study of conflict types between the domestic and international levels of analysis as it is across conflict types at the sub-national level. It is expected, therefore, that students interested in conflict will study further the integration of approaches between levels of analysis in other courses offered in the concentration.

Broadly stated, the goals of the new research program are as follows:

1. To support and encourage innovative basic research on the inter-related connections between domestic, transnational, and international conflict. Faculty publications in

leading academic journals and university presses would establish a national reputation of excellence for UMD and CIDCM as leading centers for academic research on conflict behavior in the social sciences. The trademarks of research produced by this new program would be the combination of rigorous theory, original data collection, and sophisticated statistical methods for empirical testing of theory.

2. To integrate closely the research projects of faculty within the program with the recruitment, training, and placement of graduate students. The core graduate seminars in conflict studies would be established as well as a regular, ongoing internal research seminars and outside speaker series. Competitive research fellowships would be offered to support the best dissertation projects and graduate students would be expected to collaborate with faculty on specific projects as research assistants. The expectation would be that graduate students associated with the program would acquire advanced training in quantitative methods and/or formal theory, have opportunities to co-author with faculty, and seek academic positions in top departments across the country.

The rationale for this new program begins with the widespread recognition among scholars and policy makers alike that domestic and international politics are increasingly inter-related and that efforts to promote cooperative and stable relations vs. conflictual outcomes in either domain require a better understanding of those inter-relationships. Civil wars thus give way to state building that threatens neighbors, domestic conflict entices interventionist foreign states, regime change creates revolutionary states with adventurist foreign policies, government failure turns into state collapse with system-level consequences, and state terror morphs into genocidal states to which the international community responds “never again.” That is, complex and reciprocal linkages exist whereby patterns of behavior and political outcomes at one level are not only shaped by conditions at the other level but those outcomes in turn have important consequences for politics at the other level.

While domestic-international problems remain enormously important, in recent decades significant new patterns of transnational conflict have arisen. Al Qaida and political Islam, the spread of suicide-bombing tactics among terrorist groups, separatist and irredentist nationalist movements, globalized diasporas, and global social movements (e.g., global justice, human rights, environment, and peace) involve the transnational or cross-border mobilization of activists into contention with multiple layers – local, state, regional, and international - of global governance. International institutions, sovereign states, and activist civil societies are intertwined in new and important ways.

The institutionalization of conflict through domestic and international processes has heretofore aimed at avoiding violence by assuring domestic tranquility and securing international peace. The interrelationships of civil, transnational, and international conflicts pose more complex problems of global governance. For example, (1) While democracy affects the democratic peace among states, do democratic institutions always pacify populations within states? (2) While economic development influences the capitalist peace among states, does the drive toward prosperity automatically create domestic political stability? (3) While trade forms a part of the pacifying trade-conflict

nexus among states, when do citizens in domestic civil societies take trade to the streets?
(4) How does the existence of culturally distinct civilizations among states influence their intermingling within states?

Given the significance of such questions, a necessary development in political science scholarship will be to integrate not only the general fields of comparative and international politics but the study of domestic and international conflict behavior as well. A related rationale for the program is that civil, transnational, and international conflicts are now widely believed to result from a common set of peace and conflict mechanisms. Security dilemmas, norms, enduring rivalries, principal-agent problems, collective action problems, deterrence, informational asymmetries, signaling, credible commitments, alliances, bargaining, and institutional choice underlay all types of conflicts. Recent theoretical developments thus imply that another central challenge confronting scholars of conflict studies will be to develop more compelling statistical tests by marrying advanced quantitative methods with formal theory and more valid large-N data sets. Two important criticisms of quantitative conflict studies are the need for more attention to theoretical specification of equations and better data quality. The best quantitative work to be done in the future will draw more heavily on formal theory and employ new and original data sets. There is an opportunity to apply some of the new theories of conflict developed in international relations to the new problems of conflict that appear in comparative politics.

By developing an innovative research agenda that brings together scholars of domestic, transnational, and international conflict that are committed to producing first-rate basic research, CIDCM can position itself to be a leader in these ongoing and future shifts in conflict studies. A program on the integrated study of domestic, transnational, and international conflict draws upon and seeks to enhance existing areas of expertise and strength within CIDCM and the Government and Politics Department.

The research agenda of the Program for the Integrated Study of Civil, Transnational and International Conflict would focus on fundamental questions about political violence and contention. Across each main area of research, the unifying approach would be to:

- 1) Develop and draw upon common theoretical concepts and arguments to address similar questions about the dynamics of civil, transnational, and international conflict.
- 2) Pay close attention to how domestic conflict outcomes influence transnational and international conflict and vice versa.
- 3) Focus on deriving deductive arguments with well-specified hypotheses.
- 4) Collect new and original data sets that can be tested with sophisticated statistical methods when possible.

In sum, this research initiative within CIDCM seeks to establish a coherent program for the study of civil and international conflict that seeks to:

- A) Stimulate and sustain first-rate scholarship by faculty and graduate students
- B) Enhance graduate training and mentorship
- C) Promote the national and international reputation of the University of Maryland as a center of excellence in social science research.

Course Requirements

Seminar attendance and active participation in discussion throughout the semester is required. This includes regular discussions of how the students own theories her/his topic of interest change when employing the varied theoretical tools examined in the class (20% of grade.) Each student is expected to hand in weekly summaries of the readings (15%) and make one presentation that extends the literature beyond the assigned readings (15%).

Students are expected to write an empirical research design on a selected topic in the domain of contentious politics. The topic is subject to instructor approval and students will be required to explore possible data sources. A first draft of the research design is due towards the middle of the class (November 5th) and a final draft of the research design is due during finals week (50% of grade). No extensions will be granted.

Academic conduct:

It is assumed that all students are familiar with and adhere to the code of academic integrity see: <http://www.studenthonorcouncil.umd.edu/index.html>

Readings:

A number of books and articles are required for the course. The books are available through the University bookstore.

- Jóhanna K Birnir. 2007. *Ethnicity and Elelctoral Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Christian Davenport. 2007. *State repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gary King, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing social inquiry: Scientific research in qualitative research*. Princeton new Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York:Cambridge University Press.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro and Tarek Masoud (eds), 2008. *Order, Conflict, Violence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jeremy, Weinstein. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chapters and articles are available through the library online databases or posted on ELMS.

Dates

September 3:
(APSA No class)

Gary King, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing social inquiry: Scientific research in qualitative research*. Princeton new Jersey: Princeton University Press.

**September 10:
Introduction**

Mark I Lichbach. 1992. "Nobody cites nobody else: Mathematical models of domestic political conflict." *Defence Economics* 3:341-357.

Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro and Tarek Masoud (eds), 2008. *Order, Conflict, Violence*. Cambridge University Press.

The Theory

**September 17:
Structure and culture**

Barrington Moore Jr. 1966. *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. New York: Beacon. chs. 1, 7-9

Theda Skocpol. 1979. *States and social revolutions : a comparative analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1979. Introduction and chapter 2 pp 3-99.

Benedict Anderson. 1983. *Imagined communities : reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London ; New York : Verso. Chapters 1-3 pp 1-46.

Robert M. Hayden. 2002. "Imagined communities and real victims: Self-determination and Ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia." In Alexander Laban Hinton. Ed. *Genocide an anthropological reader*. Massachusetts and Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

**September 24:
Agency**

Hindmoor, Andrew. 2006. *Rational Choice*. England: Palgrave. Chapter 1: Introduction. Pp 1-14.

Mancur Olson. 1968. *Logic of Collective Action*. New York: Schocken Books. Chapters 1 and 2. Pp 1-65.

Mark I. Lichbach. 1994. "Rethinking rationality and rebellion: Theories of collective action and problems of collective dissent." *Rationality and Society*. 6:8-39.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. 2008. "Who fights? The determinants of participation in civil war." *American Journal of Political Science*. 52(2)436-455.

Michael Hecter. "Nationalism and Rationality," *Studies in Comparative International*

Development, 35, 1 (Spring 2000): 3-19

October 1:

No class Professor Birnir attending a workshop on ethnicity, elections and violence in Zurich

October 8:

Bargaining

O'Donnell and Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore and London, The John Hopkins University Press.

James DeNardo. 1985. *Power in Numbers: the political strategy of protest and rebellion*. Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press. Chapters 2 (pp 33-57), 6 (124-143), 8 (154-187)

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence. *International Organization* 59(1):145-176.

James D. Fearon. 1995. "Explanations for War." *International Organization*. 49(2):379-414.

Explanations of conflict

October 15:

Social movement theories in contentious politics

Kitchelt, Herbert. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structure and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16, pp. 57-85.

Doug McAdam. 1996. "The framing function of Movement Tactics: Strategic dramaturgy in the American Civil Rights Movement." In D. McAdam, J.D. McCarthy, and M.N. Zald (eds) *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing structures, and cultural Framings*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 338-355.

Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

October 22:

Economics of Conflict

Ted R. Gurr. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1,2, and 10 and appendix

Charles Tilly. 1973. Does modernization breed revolution? *Comparative Politics* 5:426-47.

Ronald Rogowski. 1987. "Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 81, 4.

Macartan Humphreys. 2005. "Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: Uncovering the mechanisms." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49(4):508-537.

Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and grievance in civil war." *Oxford Economic Papers*. 56(4)563-595.

Review Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. 2008.

Robert Bates, Avner Greif and Smita Singh. 2002. "Organizing Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 46(5):599-629

Will Moore, Ronny Lindström and Valerie O'Regan. 1996. "Land Reform, Political Violence and the Economic Inequality–Political Conflict Nexus: A Longitudinal Analysis." *International Interactions*, 21(4): 335-363.

Susan Olzak. 1994. *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflict*. California: Stanford University Press. Chapters 2 and 3 pp 15-47.

October 29: Ethnicity and electoral politics

Horowitz, Donald L. 1990. "Making moderation pay: The comparative politics of ethnic conflict management." In Joseph V Montville (ed.). *Conflict and Peacemaking in Multiethnic Societies*. Lexington, Ma.: Lexington Books.

Arend Lijphart. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Chapters 2 and 7.

Jóhanna K Birnir. 2007. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Steven Wilkinson. *Votes and violence; Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1,2 and 5.

Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min. 2010. Why do ethnic groups rebel? New data and Analysis. *World Politics*. Forthcoming.

November 5:

Repression and dissent

Will Moore. 1998. Repression and dissent: Substitution, Context and timing. *American Journal of Political Science*. 42(3):851-873.

Christian Davenport. 2007. *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Christian Davenport. 1997. "From bullets to ballots: An empirical assessment of how national elections influence state uses of political repression." *Electoral Studies*. 16(4):517-540.

Steven Wilkinson. 2009. "Riots." *Annual review of Political science*, 12:329-343.

Research design drafts due.

Types of Conflict

November 12: Political transition/Democratization

Review O'Donnell and Schmitter.

Samuel P. Huntington. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Chapter 1 pp 1-92 and Chapter 3 pp 140-191.

Scott Gates and Brian Humes. 1997. *Games, Information and Politics*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. Ch 5.

Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle, 1994. "Patrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa," *World Politics*, 46: 453-89.

November 19: Insurgency (and Civil War)

Samuel L. Popkin. 1979. *The rational peasant*. California: University of California Press.

James Fearon and David Laitin. 2003. Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review* 97(1):75-90.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. "Handling and manhandling civilians in civil war: Determinants of the strategies of warring factions." *American Political Science Review*. 100:429-447.

November 26: (Thanksgiving No class)

**December 3: Topics:
Civil War (and Insurgency)**

Chris Blattman and Edward Miguel. 2009. Civil War. Forthcoming in the *Journal of Economic Literature*. Available at <http://www.chrisblattman.org/>

Stathis Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 7,8 173- 245, 10 and 11 pp 330-387.

Barbara Walter. 2002. *Committing to Peace*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2 pp.19-44 and Chapter 4 pp 70-91.

Sidney Tarrow. 2007 “Inside Insurgencies: Politics and Violence in an age of Civil Wars”. *Perspectives on Politics*. 5(3):587-600.

**December 10:
Terrorism**

Silke, Andrew. 2004. “The Road Less Traveled: Recent Trends in Terrorism Research.” In Silke, Andrew (ed) *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements and Failures*. London: Frank Cass.

David D. Laitin and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2008. “The Political, Economic and Organizational Sources of Terrorism.” And Fernanda Llussa and Jose Tavares. “Economics and Terrorism: What we know, What we should know and the data we need.” In Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza (ed.) *Terrorism, economic development and political openness*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

William Eubank and Leonard Weinberg. 2001. “Terrorism and Democracy: Perpetrators and Victims.” *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 13(1):155-164.

Scott Atran. 2006. The Moral Logic and Growth of Suicide Terrorism. *The Washington Quarterly*. 29(2):127-147.

LaFree, Gary, Laura Dugan, and Raven Korte. 2009. “Is Counter Terrorism Counterproductive? Northern Ireland 1969-1992,” *Criminology*, 47: 501-530.

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence. *International Organization*. 59(1):145-176.

Birnir TBA

17 Finals week Revised research designs due