

**POLITICAL SCIENCE (POL S) 527 & 544
POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

Winter 2020

M 4:30pm-7:20pm

Mary Gates Hall (MGH), Room 097

Professor: Geoffrey Wallace

Office: Gowen Hall 139

Email: gprwall@uw.edu (preferred method of contact)

Office Hours: M 2:45pm-4:15pm, or by appointment

Course website: On Canvas (<https://canvas.uw.edu>)

Course Description

This graduate-level course surveys major debates in the field of political violence with a particular focus on the treatment of noncombatants during armed conflict. While much scholarly attention has traditionally centered on the *causes* of war, a smaller but growing body of work examines the *conduct* of actors in the midst of conflict. Politics does not end when belligerents take up arms, but rather influences all aspects of warfare. This is especially the case with the resort to violence against civilians as a tool of war. Civilians have been brutally targeted in some wars or by some armed groups, while largely spared in others. Moreover, the timing, location, severity, and type of violence directed against civilians can vary dramatically.

Students will examine these dynamics of political violence through a series of weekly topics. Assigned readings illustrate the diverse range of research designs employed in the field, providing an opportunity to evaluate the merits of different methodological approaches to the study of political violence. The readings also draw on research from a variety of types of armed conflict, regions of the world, and historical time periods in order to highlight patterns of violence through differing contexts.

The course begins with an overview of just war theory and the normative basis for limits on the use of violence during war. This is followed by an assessment of the challenges in conceptualizing and measuring violence. Subsequent weeks investigate some of the main approaches put forward to explain violence against civilians, including those emphasizing race and ethnicity, domestic politics, organizational factors, information and territorial control, and individual-level motives. The course concludes with research on the effectiveness of wartime violence as a strategy, as well as policies seeking to prevent abuse.

In a quarter-length course certain topics, by necessity, cannot be covered. Similarly, many of the week's topics, such as those on just war theory or race and violence, could constitute entire courses on their own. Nevertheless, the course aims to provide students a firm theoretical and empirical foundation for further research into wartime conduct and the broader study of political violence. As an additional overall objective, the course requirements are designed for students to develop professionalization skills and improve their ability to present their ideas both verbally and in writing.

An Administrative Note: This course can either count for students under POL S 527 Special Topics in International Relations Research, or POL S 544 Problems in Comparative Government.

Course Requirements

- Regular Seminar Participation (30%)
- Two Critical Response Memos (20%)
- Article Presentation (10%)
- Author's Defendant (5%)
- Final Paper (35%)

Regular Seminar Participation (30%)

For meaningful discussion and a successful overall seminar, everyone must actively participate. This is particularly important given the subject matter of the course since research on political violence is vibrant and highly contested with few (if any) settled conclusions. Students are expected to attend class meetings, complete all assigned readings beforehand, and come prepared to discuss the material and raise questions of their own. The professor is also apt to call on students to answer questions related to the main points from the readings. All students will be expected to contribute to the discussion during class meetings. Quality of comments is valued over quantity.

Critical Response Memos (20% – 10% each)

Students will write two critical response memos over the course of the quarter. These memos, to be assigned in advance, will critically engage a selected set of readings from a given week. Each memo should be about 5-7 double-spaced pages in length. The memo should not simply summarize the assigned texts, since all students are already expected to have done the readings. Rather, you should develop an argument based on some aspect of the readings (theoretical, empirical, methodological), which improves our understanding of the underlying issues of the week's topic. Students are expected to defend this memo and lead discussion of their assigned articles during class (e.g. by preparing and posing questions for other students to consider). Memos cannot overlap with the weeks you assume the role of author's defendant. Memos should be emailed to the instructor and other students by noon on the day before class meets. Late memos will not be accepted for credit.

Article Presentation (10%)

Students will be asked to lead discussion by presenting core aspects of one assigned reading in a 10-15 minute presentation using slideware (e.g. PowerPoint, Beamer, etc.). The presentation is intended to simulate a conference-style presentation and the presenter will present as if he/she is one of the authors of the work. Other students in the class will then be able to ask questions about the work in a 10-minute discussion session following the presentation. The presentation should include the following:

- a. What is the research question?
- b. What literature/work is this work contributing to?
- c. What is the theory and hypotheses?
- d. What is the methodological approach and research design?
- e. What are the findings?
- f. What is the central contribution of the work and implications?

Author's Defendant (5%)

All students will be assigned at least once during the semester to serve as "Author's Defendant" for a selection of readings during a course meeting. This role does not require any written work but rather is a type of participation. As is the case in many graduate seminars, critiques are plentiful, however there often is little praise or defense of work. You will be called on to defend the merits of

the relevant readings by speaking for the relevant authors and keeping the discussion balanced. As part of this task you will also serve as “resident expert” and will be called on to explain or clarify questions the professor or other students may have about the readings.

Final Paper (35%)

The final paper can be one of two types: 1) Literature Review, or 2) Research Proposal. The paper should engage some aspect of wartime conduct or the study of political violence more broadly. The paper should be 15-20 double-spaced pages in length and is due by 5pm on Wednesday, March 18, 2019. A one-page single-spaced outline is due by the start of class on Monday, February 10, 2019.

Literature Review Option: Literature reviews offer an opportunity to explore a topic in greater depth than is normally possible in the weekly readings of the class. Literature reviews should not simply take the form of an annotated bibliography summarizing one scholarly book or article in sequential order. Rather, reviews should situate the chosen scholarly works within the intellectual development of the topic, consider how the works relate to each other, and discuss their relative strengths and weaknesses. Key concepts and arguments should be outlined and compared and contrasted. In particular, reviews should identify areas of debate and formulate questions for future research. Examples of the style of review essays can be seen in past issues of the *Annual Review of Political Science*, *International Organization*, *Perspectives on Politics*, and *World Politics*, among other scholarly journals.

Research Proposal Option: Research proposals should be structured as an initial version of a grant or dissertation proposal. It should offer a clear research question, situate it within the existing literature, and define key concepts. Proposals should then put forward a theoretical argument with attention to developing specific hypotheses and identifying likely alternative explanations. Proposals should then formulate and justify a research design for testing these hypotheses, specifying the types of data to be used, how they will be analyzed, and assessing possible inferential challenges. Finally, the proposal should state how the proposed research promises to contribute to the relevant topic and the broader study of political violence.

Late Penalties and Extensions: Since none of the written assignments is a research paper, and in the interest of encouraging you to complete your work on time, late assignments will be penalized substantially. Late critical short essays will not be accepted, since other students should have ample time to read these essays before class meets. Final papers must be submitted by the end of the relevant deadline. Papers will be graded down one letter grade (i.e. 10%) for each day the paper is late, and will not be accepted after 72 hours. Of course, there may be circumstances, such as illness, family, or personal emergencies that could merit adjustments to this grading policy. However, such situations are generally extremely rare. Only after written confirmation from the instructor should a student consider that an extension has been granted.

For the university’s policy on religious accommodations, please see <https://registrar.washington.edu/staffandfaculty/religious-accommodations-policy/>.

Accessibility

If you have already established accommodations with Disability Resources for Students (DRS), please communicate your approved accommodations to the instructor as soon as possible so we can discuss your needs in this course. If you have not yet established services through DRS, but have a temporary health condition or permanent disability that requires accommodations (conditions

include but not limited to: mental health, attention-related, learning, vision, hearing, physical or health impacts), you are welcome to contact DRS at 206-543-8924, email uwdrs@uw.edu, or online at <http://disability.uw.edu>. DRS offers resources and coordinates reasonable accommodations for students with disabilities and/or temporary health conditions. Reasonable accommodations are established through an interactive process between you, your instructor, and DRS. It is the policy and practice of the University of Washington to create inclusive and accessible learning environments consistent with federal and state law.

Academic Misconduct

Academic misconduct is a serious offense at The University of Washington. All cases of suspected academic misconduct will be referred to the Arts and Sciences Committee on Academic Conduct, and may result in a grade of 0.0 for the assignment in question.

University policies and guidelines regarding cheating and plagiarism can be found at <https://depts.washington.edu/grading/pdf/AcademicResponsibility.pdf>.

What constitutes academic misconduct? The University of Washington Student Conduct Code defines it as the following (WAC 478-120-024).

Academic misconduct includes:

- (a) **“Cheating,”** which includes, but is not limited to:
 - (i) The use of unauthorized assistance in taking quizzes, tests, or examinations; or
 - (ii) The acquisition, use, or distribution of unpublished materials created by another student without the express permission of the original author(s).
- (b) **“Falsification,”** which is the intentional use or submission of falsified data, records, or other information including, but not limited to, records of internship or practicum experiences or attendance at any required event(s). Falsification also includes falsifying scientific and/or scholarly research.
- (c) **“Plagiarism,”** which is the submission or presentation of someone else’s words, composition, research, or expressed ideas, whether published or unpublished, without attribution. Plagiarism includes, but is not limited to:
 - (i) The use, by paraphrase or direct quotation, of the published or unpublished work of another person without full and clear acknowledgment; or
 - (ii) The unacknowledged use of materials prepared by another person or acquired from an entity engaging in the selling of term papers or other academic materials.
- (d) **Prohibited collaboration.**
- (e) Engaging in behavior specifically prohibited by an instructor in the course of class instruction or in a course syllabus.
- (f) **Multiple submissions** of the same work in separate courses without the express permission of the instructor(s).
- (g) Taking deliberate action to destroy or damage another’s academic work in order to gain an advantage for oneself or another.
- (h) The recording of instructional content without the express permission of the instructor(s), and/or the dissemination or use of such unauthorized records.

If you are uncertain what constitutes plagiarism, please ask the instructor. The Political Science/JSIS/LSJ/CHID Writing Center also offers guidance on plagiarism, general advice on

writing, and related issues of academic integrity:
<http://depts.washington.edu/pswrite/forstudents.html>.

Classroom Expectations & Communication

Some of the material covered in this course may be controversial. While debate is expected and in fact encouraged, students are required to conduct themselves in a professional manner at all times during the course. Students are expected to arrive on time and ready to start class. We have a very short period of time for each class, and it is disrespectful to the instructor and your fellow classmates to show up late. If you miss a class you are still responsible for the information covered, and the instructor will not provide you with notes. All disruptive behavior is not permitted during class, including but by no means limited to sleeping, talking outside of regular discussion, using cell phones, and insulting classmates and/or the instructor. Laptops are permitted, but should be used solely for course work (e.g. taking notes, accessing course readings, etc.). Eating is permitted as long as it does not disrupt others.

Email is the preferred method of contact for most logistical questions. For more in-depth issues, please talk to the instructor before/after class or during office hours. All e-mail related to the course should begin with the subject heading “Political Violence: ...”. Assignments should be submitted by e-mail attachment with the subject heading “Political Violence: <Your Name> - <Assignment Name>”.

Readings

There are no required books for purchase. All readings are available in electronic format and will be posted on the Canvas course website. The reading load for this course is quite heavy (often several hundred pages per week) – plan and prepare accordingly.

In addition, you are encouraged to consult any of the MIT Press International Security Readers, which contain collections of key readings on particular themes in international relations in general, and security studies in particular. The *Annual Review of Political Science*, published annually, provides articles that succinctly review the literature on particular topics across Political Science. The International Studies Association (ISA), in conjunction with Oxford University Press, has put together an online compendium, the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, with similar types of review essays across a wide range of topics in international relations (see <https://www.isanet.org/Publications/Encyclopedia>, access available to ISA members only).

Many of the readings assigned in this course come from the following selection of journals, though this list is by no means exhaustive. You are encouraged to consult some of these journals on a regular basis to keep abreast of the latest developments in the field.

General Political Science

American Political Science Review
American Journal of Political Science
Journal of Politics
British Journal of Political Science
Political Science Quarterly

General IR

International Organization
International Studies Quarterly
World Politics

Field-specific

International Security
Journal of Conflict Resolution
Security Studies
Journal of Peace Research
International Interactions
Conflict Management and Peace Science
Foreign Policy Analysis
International Theory
Review of International Organizations
Review of International Political Economy

A Few Notes on Note-Taking

You should take an organized and long-term approach to your notes. You will likely need to refer back to your notes from this course many times in the future – making connections to other courses, preparing for comprehensive exams, researching a paper, etc. In fact, I still regularly consult my own notes when I took courses like the following many years ago!

Here are two general recommendations on note-taking:

1. Your notes should be a combination of a) specifics to the particular reading and b) big picture thinking. Having detailed notes on each reading is important, but getting bogged down in the minutiae can conceal the bigger picture and how a reading fits within the broader field. Along with reading-specific notes, you should also include (often at the beginning) a brief paragraph or set of points where you take a step back and situate the reading in the relevant literature. In general, keep the following questions in mind when reading each piece (not necessarily in this order):
 - a. What is the research question?
 - b. What literature/work is this work contributing to?
 - c. What is the theory and hypotheses?
 - d. What is the methodological approach and research design?
 - e. What are the findings?
 - f. What is the central contribution of the work and implications?
2. You should also experiment with some electronic system for managing your notes. Reference management systems (e.g. Bookends, Mendeley, Zotero, BibTeX, etc.) can be extremely flexible and efficient for organizing your materials, citing works, and updating your notes with new thoughts and connections.

Course Schedule

The following is a preliminary schedule of topics and readings for the course. The schedule is subject to change based on the pace of the class. The instructor will clearly announce changes to the course schedule should any occur. Please be mindful that some of the readings for a particular week may be split across separate pages in the syllabus.

Week 1 (January 6): Course Overview and the Humanitarian Ideal – Just War Theory and Moral Limits on Wartime Violence

- Walzer, Michael. 2000. *Just and Unjust Wars*. Third Edition ed. New York, N.Y.: Basic Books. Ch.3 (34-47), Ch.8-9 (127-159), Ch.14 (225-232), and Ch.16 (251-268).
- McMahan, Jeff. 2006. “The Ethics of Killing in War.” *Philosophia* 24(1): 23-41.
- Sagan, Scott D., and Benjamin A. Valentino. 2018. “Not Just a War Theory: American Public Opinion on Ethics in Combat.” *International Studies Quarterly* 62(3): 548-561.

Week 2 (January 13): Conceptualizing and Measuring Political Violence

Conceptualizing Political Violence

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. “The Ontology of ‘Political Violence’: Action and Identity in Civil Wars.” *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 475-494.
- Eck, Kristine, and Lisa Hultman. 2007. “One-Sided Violence against Civilians in War: Insights from New Fatality Data.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44(2): 233-46.
- Morrow, James D., and Hyeran Jo. 2006. “Compliance with the Laws of War: Dataset and Coding Rules.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 23(1): 91-113.

The Fog of Measuring Violence

- Van der Windt, Peter, and Macartan Humphreys. 2016. “Crowdseeding in Eastern Congo: Using Cell Phones to Collect Conflict Events Data in Real Time.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(4): 748-781.
- Ron, James, Howard Ramos, and Kathleen Rodgers. 2005. “Transnational Information Politics: NGO Human Rights Reporting, 1986–2000.” *International Studies Quarterly* 49(3): 557-588.
- Fariss, Christopher J. 2014. “Respect for Human Rights Has Improved over Time: Modeling the Changing Standard of Accountability.” *American Political Science Review* 108(2): 297-318.

Week 3 (January 20): **No Class – Martin Luther King Day**

Week 4 (January 27): Race, Ethnicity, and Culture

- Fazal, Tanisha M., and Brooke C. Greene. 2015. “A Particular Difference: European Identity and Civilian Targeting.” *British Journal of Political Science* 45(4): 829-851.
- Straus, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.2 “Genocide at the National and Regional Levels” (41-64 and accompanying appendices 249-260).
- Lyall, Jason. 2010. “Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War.” *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 1-20.
- Kopstein, Jeffrey S., and Jason Wittenberg. 2018. *Intimate Violence: Anti-Jewish Pogroms on the Eve of the Holocaust*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.1 “Why Neighbors Kill Neighbors” (1-21) and Ch.4 “Beyond Jedwabne” (57-83).
- Braun, Robert. 2016. “Religious Minorities and Resistance to Genocide: The Collective Rescue of Jews in the Netherlands During the Holocaust.” *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 127-147.

Week 5 (February 3): Organizational Factors*Organizational Culture*

- Legro, Jeffrey W. 1997. "Which Norms Matter? Revisiting the 'Failure' of Internationalism." *International Organization* 51(1): 31-64.
- Isabel V. Hull. 2003. "Military Culture and the Production of 'Final Solutions' in the Colonies: The Example of Wilhelminian Germany." In *The Specter of Genocide: Mass Murder in Historical Perspective*, ed. Robert Gellately and Ben Kiernan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 141-162.
- Kahl, Colin H. 2007. "In the Crossfire or the Crosshairs? Norms, Civilian Casualties, and U.S. Conduct in Iraq." *International Security* 32(1): 7-46.

Organizational Structure

- Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. Ch.1 "The Industrial Organization of Violence" (27-60) and Ch.6 "Violence" (Excerpt 198-239).
- Cohen, Dara K. 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 461-77.

Week 6 (February 10): Capabilities and Battlefield Dynamics

- Downes, Alexander B. 2006. "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War." *International Security* 30(4): 152–195.
- Hultman, Lisa. 2007. "Battle Losses and Rebel Violence: Raising the Costs for Fighting." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19(2): 205-222.
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291-313.
- Salehyan Idean, David Siroky, Reed M. Wood. 2014. "External Rebel Sponsorship and Civilian Abuse: A Principal-Agent Analysis of Wartime Atrocities." *International Organization* 68(3): 633-661.
- Zhukov, Yuri M. 2017. "External Resources and Indiscriminate Violence: Evidence from German-occupied Belarus." *World Politics* 69(1): 54-97.

*****Outline for Final Paper due by the start of class on Monday, February 10*****

Week 7 (February 17): **No Class – Presidents Day****Week 8 (February 24): Insurgency, Information, and Control**

- Valentino, Benjamin, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "'Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* 58(2): 375–407.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 1999. "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars." *Rationality and Society* 11(3): 243-285.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Matthew A. Kocher. 2009. "The Dynamics of Violence in Vietnam: An Analysis of the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES)." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(3): 335-355.
- Zhukov, Yuri M. 2015. "Population Resettlement in War: Theory and Evidence from Soviet Archives." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7): 1155-1185.

Gade, Emily Kalah. Forthcoming. "Social Isolation and Repertoires of Resistance." *American Political Science Review*.

Week 9 (March 2): Microfoundations and the Role of Individuals

Valentino, Benjamin A. 2004. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.2 "The Perpetrators and the Public" (30-65).

Straus, Scott. 2006. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.5 "Why Perpetrators Say They Committed Genocide" (122-152).

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

Jha, Saumitra, and Steven I. Wilkinson. 2012. "Does Combat Experience Foster Organizational Skill? Evidence from Ethnic Cleansing During the Partition of South Asia." *American Political Science Review* 106(4): 883-907.

Lyll, Jason, Graham Blair, and Kosuke Imai. 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107(4): 679-705.

Balcells, Laia, and Gerard Torrats-Espinosa. 2018. "Using a Natural Experiment to Estimate the Electoral Consequences of Terrorist Attacks." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 115(42): 10624-10629.

Week 10 (March 9): Evaluating the Effectiveness of Violence

Lyll, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(3): 331-362.

Souleimanov, Emil Aslan, and David S. Siroky. 2016. "Random or Retributive?: Indiscriminate Violence in the Chechen Wars." *World Politics* 68(4): 677-712.

Kocher, Matthew A., Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Thomas B. Pepinsky. 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 201-218.

Schutte, Sebastian. 2017. "Violence and Civilian Loyalties: Evidence From Afghanistan." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(8): 1595-625.

Stephan, Maria J. and Erica Chenoweth. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security* 33(1): 7-44.