

**POLITICAL SCIENCE (POL S) 527  
DYNAMICS OF VIOLENCE DURING WAR**

Fall 2016  
W 1:30pm – 4:20pm  
Savery Hall 137

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Office Hours: Mondays 1:30-3:00pm, or by appointment  
Course website: On Canvas (<https://canvas.uw.edu>)

**Course Description**

This graduate-level course surveys major debates in the field of wartime violence with a particular focus on the treatment of noncombatants. 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, but 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 wartime 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 wartime 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 wartime violence, including those emphasizing race and ethnicity, domestic politics, organizational factors, information and territorial control, international law, 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 atrocities.

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.

## **Readings**

There are no required books for purchase. All readings are available in electronic format and will be posted on the Canvas course website.

## **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 wartime 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. All students will be expected to contribute to the discussion during class meetings. Quality of comments is valued over quantity.

Students not assigned to a specific role for a given week (see below for further details) must submit 2-3 discussion questions based on theoretical or empirical issues raised in the assigned readings. Discussion questions should be emailed to me by noon on the Tuesday before class meets. I will then distribute a summary of the questions to the entire class. Of course, students are encouraged to come with additional questions to be raised during the seminar.

### *Critical Response Memos (20%)*

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 4-6 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. Memos cannot overlap with the weeks you present or assume the role of author's defendant. Memos should be submitted by noon on the Tuesday 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 December 7. A one-page single-spaced outline is due by November 2. Unexcused late papers will be penalized 10% per day.

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*, and *World Politics*.

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.

**Academic Dishonesty**

Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and are treated as such by both the university and the instructor. Be aware that the instructor is apt to impose the most severe penalty allowed by university rules, which includes but is not limited to issuing an automatic grade of 0.0 for the course. University policies and guidelines regarding cheating and plagiarism can be found at <https://depts.washington.edu/grading/pdf/AcademicResponsibility.pdf>. The Political Science/JSIS/LSJ/CHID Writing Center also offers guidance on plagiarism and related issues of academic integrity, <http://depts.washington.edu/pswrite/forstudents.html>.

**Students with Disabilities**

If you have already established accommodations with Disability Resources for Students (DRS), please communicate your approved accommodations to me 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 encouraged to contact DRS at 206-543-8924 or [uwdrs@uw.edu](mailto:uwdrs@uw.edu) or [disability.uw.edu](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.

### **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 (September 28): 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.
- Thomas, Ward. 2006. "Victory by Duress: Civilian Infrastructure as a Target in Air Campaigns." *Security Studies* 15(1): 1-33.

#### **Week 2 (October 5): Conceptualizing and Measuring Wartime Violence**

##### *Conceptualizing Wartime 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 Wartime Measures for Violence*

- Eck, Kristine. 2012. "In Data We Trust? A Comparison of UCDP GED and ACLED Conflict Events Datasets." *Conflict and Cooperation* 47(1): 124-141.
- 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 (October 12): Race, Ethnicity, and Culture**

- Dower, John W. 1986. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War*. New York: Pantheon Books. Ch.3 "War Hates and War Crimes" (33-73).

- 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).
- Lyll, Jason. 2010. "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 1-20.
- 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 4 (October 19): Domestic Politics and Regime Type**

- Rummel, R.J. 1995. "Democracy, Power, Genocide, and Mass Murder." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39(1): 3-26.
- Merom, Gil. 2003. *How Democracies Lose Small Wars: State, Society, and the Failures of France in Algeria, Israel in Lebanon, and the United States in Vietnam*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch.1 "Introduction" (3-32).
- Valentino, Benjamin A., Paul K. Huth, and Sarah E. Croco. 2010. "Bear Any Burden? How Democracies Minimize the Costs of War." *The Journal of Politics* 72(2): 528-544.
- Downes, Alexander B. 2007. "Restraint or Propellant? Democracy and Civilian Fatalities in Interstate Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(6): 872-904.
- Wallace, Geoffrey P.R. 2015. *Life and Death in Captivity: The Abuse of Prisoners during War*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. Ch.2 "The Captor's Dilemma" (Excerpt 58-66) and Ch.4 "World War II, Democracies, and the (Mis)Treatment of Prisoners" (98-131).

#### **Week 5 (October 26): 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 (November 2): 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.
- Wood, Reed M. 2014. "Opportunities to Kill or Incentives for Restraint? Rebel Capabilities, the Origins of Support, and Civilian Victimization in Civil War." *Conflict Management Peace Science* 31(5): 461-480.
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(2): 291-313.
- Zhukov, Yuri M. Forthcoming. "External Resources and Indiscriminate Violence: Evidence from German-occupied Belarus." *World Politics*.

**Week 7 (November 9): 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.
- Belge, Ceren. 2016. "Civilian Victimization and the Politics of Information in the Kurdish Conflict in Turkey." *World Politics* 68(2): 275-306.

**Week 8 (November 16): International Law and Legitimacy**

- Morrow, James D. 2007. "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 559-572.
- Fazal, Tanisha M. 2012. "Why States No Longer Declare War." *Security Studies* 21(4): 557-593.
- Prorok, Alyssa K., and Benjamin J. Appel. 2014. "Compliance with International Humanitarian Law: Democratic Third Parties and Civilian Targeting in Interstate War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(4): 713-740.
- Jo, Hyeran, and Catarina Thomson. 2014. "Legitimacy and Compliance with International Law: Access to Detainees in Civil Conflicts, 1991–2006." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(2): 323-355.
- Stanton, Jessica A. 2016. *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Selections TBD.

**Week 9 (November 23): 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.
- Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 231-247.
- Lyall, 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.

**Week 10 (November 30): Evaluating the Effectiveness of Violence**

- Downes, Alexander 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.
- Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63(3): 331-362.
- 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.
- Pape, Robert A. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 343-361.
- Toft, Monica Duffy, and Yuri M Zhukov. 2012 "Denial and Punishment in the North Caucasus: Evaluating the Effectiveness of Coercive Counterinsurgency." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(6): 785-800.

**Week 11 (December 7): Preventing Atrocities**

- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2013. "United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 875-891.
- Autesserre, Séverine. 2009. "Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention." *International Organization* 63(2): 249-280.
- Wood, Reed M. and Christopher Sullivan. 2015. "Doing Harm by Doing Good? The Negative Externalities of Humanitarian Aid Provision during Civil Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 77(3): 736-748.
- Hultman, Lisa and Dursun Peksen. Forthcoming. "Successful or Counterproductive? The Effect of International Sanctions on Conflict Intensity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Jo, Hyeran and Beth A. Simmons. Forthcoming. "Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?" *International Organization*.