

Civil Conflict

Christian Davenport

Professor of Political Science &
Faculty Associate with Center for Political Studies

Time: Wednesday 11am-1pm

Location: Haven Hall 5664

Office Hours: Tuesday 12:30-3:30

Location: Institute for Social Research

Topic

History abounds with a diverse array of activities that take place within the territorial jurisdiction of nation-states that are classified as “conflictual” or “contentious”, involving (explicitly or implicitly) violence, force and aggression. This course is meant to serve as an advanced introduction to the topic through exploring the range of activities that are discussed within the literature but in a disjointed fashion. Clearly, the course will not be able to cover everything. The topic of civil conflict stands as a large and constantly growing area crossing disciplines (e.g., political science, sociology, history, psychology, economics and biology) and fields (e.g., international relations, comparative and american). Within the course we will address conceptualization, dominant theoretical as well as methodological approaches, data and findings. The objective is to set the student on the path toward creating original research. The final outcome of the course is partial completion of that path with the development of numerous parts of a research article.

The course involves six components

- 1) careful reading of the assigned material
- 2) active participation in class (15% of the grade)
- 3) clear and concise oral presentations (10% of the grade)
- 4) several brief (5 page) and well constructed review essays of specific readings (40% of the grade)
- 5) a 3-5 page outline of the final paper (5%)
- 6) 1 final paper (30% of the grade)

Number 3, 4 and 6 are discussed in more detail below.

Oral Presentations – These represent brief, efficient and entertaining summarizations of the article reviewed, following the outline provided below. We will likely begin with these and then, after having mastered some material, alter the format to be more interactive.

Review essays – each class different individuals will be selected to prepare and submit written assignments (the assignments will rotate between students). The paper is due at the beginning of the class. Late assignments will not be eligible for an A. As people may not be able to read everything the only access to a piece will likely be through the individual presenting it. Consequently do a good job.

The assignments themselves will be 5 pages in length and will address the criteria provided below. Students will be evaluated on how well they meet these criteria.

review of article should address the following:

- **research question** (what do they want to know)
- **literature review** (what is known)
- **theory** (why does the phenomenon of interest take place)
- **hypotheses** (what do they expect)
- **data** (what information do they examine to test the theory)
- **method** (what approach is used to test the argument)
- **findings** (what do they find)
- **conclusion** (what do they conclude regarding the research question)
- **critique:** is the research question clear, is the literature review complete, is the theory clear, do the hypotheses logically follow from the theory, does the data seem appropriate and are reasonable alternatives ignored, does the method seem appropriate for the research question/existing literature and are potential/standard problems with the method addressed, what are the findings specifically and how do they address the initial question, does the conclusion logically follow given all the evidence presented, and what is missed/what should be done (if you note a problem with something make sure to have a solution for it – you can get away with doing this once in a review but not more)
- **spreadsheet entry:** place all the information above into a column that will be entered into one large spreadsheet for all of conflict studies (submit as excel file along with review submission)

As the objective is to write an article, only articles (published or in working paper format will be read). There might be one NGO or think tank report in there but only one or two.

Final paper – At the end of class, a paper will be submitted concerning a topic of the students choice (discussed ahead of time with the Professor). Primarily the student should seek to extend the already existing literature reviewed in the course or take the area in a new direction (exploring

unexamined arguments, sequences of tactics or comparisons across types of civil conflict). The paper should not exceed 20 pages in text (not including notes, tables, references and so forth). This work will not represent a complete piece of scholarship. Rather, it represents an article length paper up until the actual empirical analysis is undertaken: i.e., the puzzle, research question, literature review, theoretical contribution, hypotheses and research design. Preliminary data analysis will be an additional benefit.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you think you need an accommodation for a disability, please let me know at least two weeks prior to the time when the accommodation will be needed. Some aspects of this course, the assignments, the in-class activities, and the way the course is usually taught may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make me aware of your needs, we can work with the Office of Services for Students with Disabilities (SSD) to help us determine appropriate academic accommodations. SSD (734-763-3000; <http://www.umich.edu/sswd>) typically recommends accommodations through a Verified Individualized Services and Accommodations (VISA) form. Any information you provide is private and confidential and will be treated as such.

Communication

There are three ways to communicate with the instructor and I wanted to provide expected response times so that you can make the selection that best meets the students needs.

In-Person meeting during office hours: Immediate response

Telephone: 3-5 days

Email: 7-10 days

Course Schedule

September

5 – Introductions, Definitions, Expectations

Reading (When you get a chance): all material available via Google Scholar and related search engines:

“Is a General Theory of Violence Possible?” – *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 2009. Various authors/special issue (Pick a few).

“The Ontology of ‘Political Violence’: Action and Identity in Civil Wars – Stathis Kalyvas, 2003. *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3): 475-494.

- “On the Etiology of Internal Wars” – Harry Eckstein, 1965. *History and Theory* 4:133–163.
- “Varieties of Violence” – Charles Tilly, 2003. Chapter in *The Politics of Collective Violence*: http://content.schweitzer-online.de/static/content/catalog/newbooks/978/052/182/9780521824286/9780521824286_TOC_001.pdf
- “States vs. Challengers: Unifying the Study of Civil Conflict” – Christian Davenport, 2012. Working Paper.

12 – Protest

Reading

- “Protest as a Political Resource” – Michael Lipsky, 1968. *The American Political Science Review* 62(4): 1144-1158
- “Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory” – John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, 1977. *American Journal of Sociology* 82(6): 1212-1241
- “Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies” – Herbert Kitschelt, 1986. *British Journal of Political Science* 16(1): 57-85
- “Multinational Corporate Penetration, Protest and Basic Needs Provision: A Cross-National Analysis” – Bruce London and Bruce Williams, 1988. *Social Forces*: 747–773.
- “Political Claims Analysis: Integrating Protest Event and Political Discourse Approaches” – Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, 1999. *Mobilization*: 4(2): 203-221
- “Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment” – Robert Benford and David Snow, 2000. *Annual Review of Sociology* 26: 611-639.
- “Protest and Political Opportunities” – David Meyer, 2004. *Annual Review of Sociology*: 30:125–45

19 – Covert Action

Reading

- “Thoughts on a Neglected Category of Social Movement Participant: The Agent Provocateur and the Informant” – Marx, Gary. 1974. *American Journal of Sociology* 80(2): 402-442.
- “The Rise of the Information State: the Development of Central State Surveillance of the Citizen in England, 1500–2000” – Edward Higgs, 2001. *Journal of Historical Sociology* 14(2): 175-197.
- “Understanding Covert Repressive Action: The Case of the US Government Against the Republic of New Africa” – Christian Davenport, 2005. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 120-40.

“Taking a Look at Surveillance Studies: A Symposium Featuring Essays”
– David Lyon, Elia Zureik, John Torpey, David Cunningham and
Gary Marx, 2007. *Contemporary Sociology* 36(2): 107-130

26 – Human Rights Violation/State Repression

Reading

- “Repression Of Human-Rights To Personal Integrity In The 1980s - A
Global Analysis” – Steven Poe and C. Neal Tate, 1994. *American
Political Science Review* 88(4): 853–872.
- “More Murder in the Middle: Life-Integrity Violations and Democracy in
the World” – Fein, Helen, 1995. *Human Rights Quarterly* 17:170–
191.
- “Democracy and the Violation of Human Rights: A Statistical Analysis
from 1976-1996” – Christian Davenport and David A. Armstrong
II, 2004. *American Journal of Political Science* 48.
- “State Repression and Political Order” – Christian Davenport, 2007.
Annual Review of Political Science 10:1-23.
- “Security Forces and Sexual Violence: A Cross-National Analysis of a
Principal-Agent Argument” – Christopher Butler, Tali Gluch, and
Neil J. Mitchell, 2007. *Journal of Peace Research* 44: 669-87.
- “Sticks and Stones: Naming and Shaming the Human Rights Enforcement
Problem” – Emilie Hafner-Burton, 2008. *International
Organization* 62: 689-716.
- “What Stops Torture?” Courtenay Conrad and Will Moore, 2010.
American Journal of Political Science 54(2): 459–476.
- “Explaining Large-Scale Human Rights Violations” – Christian Davenport
and Ben Appel, 2012. Working Paper.
- “Policy Disputes, Political Survival, and the Onset and Severity of State
Repression” – Emily Ritter, 2012. Conditionally accepted at the
Journal of Conflict Resolution.
- “Delegating Repression: Pro-Government Militias and Human Rights
Violations” – Neil Mitchell, Sabine Carey and Chris Butler, 2012.
Working Paper.

October

3 – Revolution

Reading

- “The Paradox of Revolution” – Gordon Tullock, 1971. *Public Choice*
1:89–99
- “The Varieties of Revolution” – Robert Dix, 1983. *Comparative Politics*
15:281–95

- “Explaining Revolutions in the Contemporary Third World” – Jeff Goodwin and Theda Skocpol. 1989. *Politics and Society* 17:489–507
- “Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution” – Timothy Kuran, 1989. *Public Choice* 61:41–74
- “Patterns of Revolution” – Matthew Shugart, 1989. *Theory and Society* 18:249–71
- “Revolutionary Collective Action and the Agent-Structure Problem” – Jeffrey Berejikian 1992. *American Political Science Review* 86:647–57
- “The structural causes of anticolonial revolutions in Africa” – Vernon Johnson, 1993. *Alternatives* 18:201–27
- “Toward a New Sociology of Revolutions” – Jeffrey Goodwin, 1994. *Theory and Society* 23:731–66
- “Toward a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory” – Jack Goldstone, 2001. *Annual Review of Political Science*. 4:139–87
- “The Diffusion of Revolution: 1848 in Europe and Latin America” – Kurt Weyland, 2008. *International Organization* 63(3): 391-423
- “Regime Change and Revolutionary Entrepreneurs” – Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, 2010. *American Political Science Review* 104(3): 446-466

10 – Genocide/Politicide/Democide/Mass Killing

Reading

- “Democracy, Power, Genocide, and Mass Murder” – Rudolph Rummel, 1995. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39(3): 3-26.
- “No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955” – Barbara Harff, 2003. *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 57-73
- “Testing the Double Genocide Thesis for Central and Southern Rwanda” – Philip Verwimp, 2003. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(4): 423-442.
- “Draining the Sea”: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare” -Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay, 2004. *International Organization* 58(Spring): 375–407
- “International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides” – Matthew Krain, 2005. *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (3): 363–88.
- “Development, Democracy and Mass Killings” – William Easterly, Roberta Gatti and Sergio Kurlat, 2005. Working Paper.
- “Identifying Genocide and Related Forms of Mass Atrocity” – Scott Straus, 2011. Working Paper: US Holocaust Museum

17 – Armed Conflict & Civil War

Reading

- “Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset” – Gleditsch, Nils Petter, Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg, and Håvard Strand, 2002. *Journal of Peace Research* 39(5): 615-637.
- “The Devil in the Demographics: The Effect of Youth Bulges on Domestic Armed Conflict, 1950-2000” – Henrik Urdal, 2004. World Bank, Paper #14.
- “Ethnic politics and armed conflict. A configurational analysis of a new global dataset” – Andreas Wimmer, Lars-Erik Cederman and Brian Min. *American Sociological Review* 74(2): 316-33
- “Generals, Dictators, and Kings Authoritarian Regimes and Civil Conflict, 1973–2004” – Hanne Fjelde, 2010. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27(3): 195–218
- “Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change and Civil War, 1916-1992” – Hegre, Havard, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates and Nils Peter Gleditsch. 2001. *American Political Science Review* 95:33–48.
- “On the Incidence of Civil War in Africa” – Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2002. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1):13–28.
- “Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War” – James Fearon and David Laitin, 2003. *American Political Science Review* 97(1):75–90.
- “What Is a Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition” – Nicholas Sambanis, 2004. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6):814–858.
- “Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset” – Havard Hegre and Nicholas Sambanis, 2006. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(4): 508-535

24 – Protest Policing

Reading

- “Under The Spotlight: The Impact of Media Attention on Protest Policing” – Dominique Wisler and Marco Giugni, 1999. *Mobilization* 4(2): 171 – 187.
- “Tanks, Tear Gas and Taxes: Toward a Theory of Movement Repression” – Jennifer Earl, 2003. *Sociological Theory* 21(1): 44-68.
- “Seeing Blue: A Police-Centered Explanation of Protest Policing” – Jennifer Earl and Sarah Soule, 2006. *Mobilization* 11(2): 145- 164.
- “Cop Rock: Protest, Identity, and Dancing Riot Police in Jordan” – Jillian Schwedler, 2006. *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest* 4(2): 155-175.
- “Stigmatization and Repression of Extreme-Right Activism in the Netherlands” – Annette Linden and Bert Klandermans, 2006.

- Mobilization* 11(2): 213–228.
- “Velvet Glove, Iron Fist or Even Hand? Protest Policing in the United States, 1960-1990” – Sarah Soule & Christian Davenport, 2009. *Mobilization* 14(1): 1-22.
- “Repressing Protest: Threat and Weakness in the European Context, 1975-1989” – Phillip M. Ayoub, 2010. *Mobilization* 15(4): 465-488
- “Protesting While Black? The Differential Policing of American Activism, 1960 to 1990” – Christian Davenport, Sarah Soule and David Armstrong II, 2011. *American Sociological Review* 76(1): 152-178

31 – 21 Questions

November

7 – Everyday Resistance & Riots ***Final Paper Submission Next Class***

Reading

Everyday Resistance:

- “Everyday Forms of Resistance” – James Scott, 1989. *Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* 4: 33-62
- “ ‘We Are Not What We Seem’: Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South” – Robin Kelley, 1993. *The Journal of American History* 80(1): 75-112
- “Stigma and Everyday Resistance Practice: Childless Women in South India” – Catherine Kohler Riessman, 2000. *Gender & Society* 14(1): 111-135
- “Covert Political Conflict in Organizations: Challenges from Below” – Calvin Morrill, Mayer Zald and Hayagreeva Rao, 2003. *Annual Review of Sociology* 29: 391-415
- “Layers of Dissent: The Meaning of Time Appropriation” – Roland Paulsen, 2011. *Outlines – Critical Practice Studies* 1: 53-81
- “Between Resistance and Compliance: Non-participation and the Liberal Peace” – Roger MacGinty, 2012. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 6(2): 167-187

Riots:

- “Structural characteristics of cities and severity of racial disorders” – Spilerman S. 1976. *American Sociological Review* 41(5):771–93
- “The J-curve Theory and the Black Urban Riots: An Empirical Test of Progressive Relative Deprivation Theory” – Miller AH, Bolce L, Halligan M. 1977. *American Political Science Review* 71(3):964–82
- "Racial Rioting in the 1960s: An Event History Analysis of Local

- Conditions" – Daniel Myers, 1997. *American Sociological Review* 62(1): 94-112
- "Riots" – Steven Wilkinson, 2009. *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 329-343
- "Violent Protest and Heterogeneous Diffusion Processes: The Spread of U.S. Racial Rioting from 1964 to 1971" – Daniel Myers, 2010. *Mobilization* 15(3): 289-32

14 – Similarities/Differences

Final Paper Idea Submission

Reading

- "Prison Riots as Micro-Revolution: An Extension of State-centered Theories of Revolution" – Jack Goldstone and Bert Useem, 1999. *American Journal of Sociology* 104:985–1029
- "Large-Scale Violence as Contentious Politics" – Charles Tilly, 2000. Chapter in Wilhelm Heitmeyer and John Hagan, eds., *Handbook of Research on Violence*.
- "Repression and Crime Control: Why Social Movement Scholars Should Pay Attention to Mass Incarceration as a Form of Repression" – Pamela Oliver, 2008. *Mobilization* 13(1): 1-24.
- "Criminal Prosecution and the Legal Control of Protest" – Steven Barkan, 2006. *Mobilization* 11(2): 181 – 194.
- "Do Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency go together?" – Michael Boyle, 2010. *International Affairs* 86(2): 333–353
- "Beyond Civil War: A Quantitative Analysis of Sub-state Violence" – David Cunningham and Doug Lemke, 2012. Working Paper.
- "Terrorism and Civil War" – Nicholas Sambanis, 2008. Chapter in *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*; 174-206.
- "Six Feet Over: Internal War, Battle Deaths and the Influence of the Living on the Dead" – Christian Davenport and David Armstrong, 2008. Chapter in *Insecurity in Intra-State Conflicts: Governments, Rebels, and Outsiders*, Stephen M. Saideman and Marie-Joëlle Zahar, eds. (Chapter to be provided)
- "Repression with Synonyms" – Christian Davenport, 2012. Working Paper.

21 – Sequences

Reading

- "Repression and Dissent: Substitution, Context, and Timing" – Will Moore, 1998. *American Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 851-873.

- “The Dark Side of Numbers: The Role of Population Data Systems in Human Rights Abuses” – William Seltzer and Margo Anderson, 2001. *Social Research* 68(2): 481-513.
- "Understanding State Responses to Left vs. Right-Wing Threats" – David Cunningham, 2003. *Social Science History* 27. 3
- "Process Matters: Conflict and Cooperation in Sequential Government-Dissident Interactions" – Stephen Shellman, 2006. *Security Studies* 15(4): 563-99.
- Overkill: The Rise of Paramilitary Police Raids in America* – Radley Balko, 2006. Cato Institute.
- “Private Eyes and Public Order: Policing and Surveillance in the Suppression of Animal Rights Activists in Canada” – Kevin Walby and Jeffrey Monaghan, 2011. *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest* 10(1): 21-37
- “The Coercive Weight of the Past: Temporal Dependence in the Conflict-Repression Nexus” – Cyanne Loyle, Chris Sullivan and Christian Davenport. *International Interactions* 38(4):1-17. 2012.

28 – Escalation/De-escalation

Reading

- “Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency” – Doug McAdam, 1983. *American Sociological Review* 48(6): 735-754
- "The Political-Economy of Death Squads: Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror" – T. David Mason and Dale Krane, 1989. *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2): 175-198.
- “Repression, Micromobilization, and Political Protest,” Karl-Dieter Opp and Wolfgang Roehl. 1990. *Social Forces* 69(2): 521-547.
- “The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany 1965-1989” – Ruud Koopmans, 1993. *American Sociological Review* 58(5): 637-658.
- “Government Coercion of Dissidents – Deterrence Or Provocation” – Dipak Gupta, H. Singh and T. Sprague. 1993. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37(2):301–339.
- “Varying Methods of State Violence” – James Ron, 1997. *International Organization* 51(2): 275-300.
- “Dynamics of Repression and Mobilization: The German Extreme Right in the 1990s” – Ruud Koopmans, 1997. *Mobilization* 2(2): 149-164.
- “After the Massacre: Mobilization in the Wake of Harsh Repression” – Ron Francisco, 2004. *Mobilization* 9(2): 107-126.
- “From Protest to Violence: An Analysis of Conflict Escalation with an Application to Self-Determination Movements” – Nicholas Sambanis and Annalisa Zinn. 2005. Working Paper.
- “Repression, Backfire and the Theory of Transformative Events” –

- David Hess and Brian Martin, 2006. *Mobilization* 11(2): 249-267.
- “Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from a Natural Experiment” – Jason Lyall, 2009. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 53(3): 331-362
- “Protest, Deterrence and Escalation: The Strategic Calculus of Government Repression” – Jan Pierskalla, 2009. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(1): 117-145.
- “From Armed Conflict to War: Ethnic Mobilization and Conflict Intensification” – Eck, Kristine, 2009. *International Studies Quarterly*, 53(2): 369-388
- “The Impacts of Repression: The Effect of Police Presence and Action on Subsequent Protest Rates” – Jennifer Earl and Sarah Soule, 2010. *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 30: 75-113.
- “Why Respecting Physical Integrity Rights Reduces Terrorism” – James Walsh and James Piazza, 2010. *Comparative Political Studies* 43(5): 551-577.
- “The Egyptian Revolution 2011: The Fall of the Virtual Wall - The Revolution Systems Thinking Archetype” – Khaled Wahba, 2011. 29th International System Dynamics Conference.
- “Human Rights Violations, Weak States and Civil War” – Nicolas Rost, 2011. *Human Rights Review* 12: 417-440.
- “From Mountains to Movements: Dissent, Repression and Escalation to Civil War” – Christian Davenport and David Armstrong, 2012. Working Paper.
- Special Issue on (De)Radicalization. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 2012. 6(1): 4-126.

December

5 – Problems, Puzzles and Lucrative Areas of Further Exploration

Reading

Aftereffects

Building Nation-States

- “War, Revolution, and the Growth of the Coercive State” – Ted Gurr, 1988. *Comparative Political Studies* 21:45–65
- “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime” – Charles Tilly, 1985. Chapter in *Bringing the State Back In* by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Creating Refugees/Forced Migrants

"Sometimes You Just Have to Leave: Threat and Refugee Movements, 1964-1989," Christian Davenport, Will Moore, and Steven Poe, 2003. *International Interactions* 29:27-55.

"Fear of Persecution: Forced Migration, 1952-95," Will H. Moore and Stephen M. Shellman, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, October 2004, 48(5):723-745.

Theoretical Insights

Clarifying the Old

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

Developing the New

“Options in the Arsenal: Are Repressive Tactics Complements or Substitutes?” Courtenay Conrad and Jaqueline Demeritt, 2011. Working Paper

“An Evolutionary Theory of State Repression” – Christian Davenport and Rose McDermott, 2012. Working Paper.