

## Government vs. People

Prof. Christian Davenport  
Wednesday: 6:30-9:00pm

IIPS 60610, POLS 60230, SOC 63511  
Locale: Edward J. DeBartolo Hall 201

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### Course Outline

The battle between governments and those subject to their rule is as old as the nation-state. **Government vs. People** is directed towards filling the gap within existing literature regarding the complex and often deadly relationship between state coercive activity (i.e., state repression, counter-insurgency, protest policing and social control) and challenging coercive activity (i.e., protest, rebellion, insurgency and revolution). We will rigorously go through the available research and then attempt to develop it further - pushing the discipline as far as possible.

The student taking this class will be at the forefront of social science research regarding conflict. Moving across theories, methodologies and cases, they will come to understand how government activity influences political challengers, how the activities of challengers influences governments as well as how these two relationships influence each other. Knowledge of diverse theoretical orientations, methodological approaches and substantive interests are not required but will be useful as well as cultivated within the class.

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### Course Requirements

The course is run on six principles:

- 1) careful reading of the assigned material
- 2) active participation in class (15% of the grade)
- 3) clear and concise oral presentations (30% of the grade)
- 4) several brief (5 page) and well constructed review essays of specific readings (20% 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 will utilize a computer program called Stella II which will be used to illustrate the theoretical argument under discussion. On assigned days (the number to be determined by the number of students in the class), each student will be required to present to the rest of the class the Stella II characterization of what they read, guiding us through it step by step.

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

***Final paper*** – At the end of class, a paper will be submitted concerning a topic of the student's 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. 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.

As the area that we are addressing is relatively underdeveloped this task should not be that difficult. The paper is open to geographic location, time period, and methodological technique (i.e., econometrics, computer simulation, experiments, historical analyses, in-depth interviews or some combination [recall that you will not actually be undertaking the research but merely discussing how it would be done as well as why you have selected the method that you have]). Throughout the course we shall be going over all of these differences in some detail, so if you do not feel comfortable with one, you will be.

#### Group Readings:

There are 6 books required for the course that all individuals will read. Other readings will be given to individual students to read. Only three books need to be purchased for the class (noted with an “\*”). Three will be available in electronic form.

- 1) Robert J. Goldstein (2001) – *Political Repression in Modern America* (University of Illinois).\*
- 2) Christian Davenport (2009) - *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace* (Cambridge University Press) – an electronic copy will be provided by the instructor.
- 3) Christian Davenport – *To Kill a Movement: Repression, Dissent and Demobilization* (Manuscript) – an electronic copy will be provided by the instructor.
- 4) James Scott (2009) - *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (Yale University Press).\*
- 5) Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston & Carol Mueller (2005) – *Repression and Mobilization* (University of Minnesota Press).\*
- 6) General Petraeus (2006) – *The Army Counterinsurgency Manual* (US Army); <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fmi3-07-22.pdf>

All articles are available via the internet (JSTOR, Ebscohost and so forth)

Software:

There is one software program that is required for the course as well: Stella II (<http://www.iseesystems.com/software/education/StellaSoftware.aspx>). Now, before you purchase the software, there are a few things to discuss (which will take place during the first class). Stella II is very easy to use and you should not be intimidated by it. The software simply provides a clear way of communicating our ideas and experimenting with them. Think less formalization than form.

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## Schedule and Readings

### From Challengers to Governments

January 13

General Introduction: to the topic, to the format, to each other

General Background Reading (not mandatory; all other reading is mandatory):

William Gamson (1975) – *The Strategy of Social Protest* (Dorsey Press: Homewood)

John McCamant. (1984) – Governance without Blood: Social Sciences Antiseptic View of Rule; or, the Neglect of Political Repression. In *The State as Terrorist: The Dynamics of Governmental Violence and Repression*.

Christian Davenport (2007) – “State Repression and Political Order.” *Annual Review of Political Science*

Tulia Falleti & Julia Lynch (2009) – “Context and Causation in Political Analysis” *Comparative Political Studies* 42(9): 1143-1166.

General discussion of format & Stella II

January 20

Christian Davenport (1995) – "Multi-dimensional Threat Perception and State Repression: An Inquiry into Why States Apply Negative Sanctions." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(3): 683-713.

Pat Regan & Scott Gartner (1996) – “Threat and repression: The non-linear

relationship between government and opposition.” *Journal of Peace Research* 33(3): 273-287.

Matthew Krain (1997) – “State-Sponsored Mass Murder: The Onset and Severity of Genocides and Politicides.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41(3): 331-360.

James Ron (1997) – “Varying Methods of State Violence.” *International Organization* 51(2): 275-300.

Will Moore (1998) – “The Repression of Dissent: A Substitution Model of Government Coercion.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(1): 107-27.

Steve Poe (2002) – “The Decision to Repress: An Integrated Theoretical Approach to Research on Human Rights and Repression.”

<http://www.essex.ac.uk/ECPR/events/jointsessions/paperarchive/turin/ws9/Steve%20Poe.pdf>

January 27

Jennifer Earl (2003) – “Tanks, Tear Gas and Taxes: Toward a Theory of Movement Repression.” *Sociological Theory* 21(1): 44-68.

Barbara Harff (2003) – “No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955.” *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 57-73.

David Cunningham (2003) – “The Patterning of Repression: FBI Counterintelligence and the New Left.” *Social Forces* 82(1): 209-240.

Christian Davenport (2005) – “Understanding Covert Repressive Action: The Case of the US Government Against the Republic of New Africa.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1): 120-40.

Jillian Schwedler (2005) – “Cop Rock: Protest, Identity, and Dancing Riot Police in Jordan.” *Social Movement Studies* 4(2): 155-175

Sabine Carey (2009) – “The Use of Repression as a Response to Domestic Dissent.” *Political Studies*: 1-20.

Sarah Soule & Christian Davenport (2009) – “Velvet Glove, Iron Fist or Even Hand? Protest Policing in the United States, 1960-1990.” *Mobilization* 14(1): 1-22.

Christian Davenport & Sarah Soule (R&R) – “Protesting While Black: Racial Profiling in the Policing of American Activism.” *American Sociological Review*

Related Reading:

Christopher Butler, Sabine Carey & Neil Mitchell (2009) – “Delegating Repression: The Effect of Pro-Government Militias on Human Rights Violations.” Manuscript:  
[http://www.unm.edu/~ckbutler/workingpapers/ButlerCarey Mitchell2009.pdf](http://www.unm.edu/~ckbutler/workingpapers/ButlerCareyMitchell2009.pdf)

February 3

Robert J. Goldstein (2001) – *Political Repression in Modern America* (University of Illinois)

February 10

Christian Davenport (2009) – *State Repression and the Domestic Democratic Peace* (Cambridge University Press)

**From Governments to Challengers**

February 17

David Snyder & Charles Tilly (1972) – “Hardship and collective violence in France, 1830 to 1960.” *American Sociological Review* 37 (October): 520-532.

Doug McAdam (1983) – “Tactical Innovation and the Pace of Insurgency.” *American Sociological Review* 48(6): 735-754.

Edward Muller (1985) – “Income Inequality, Regime Repressiveness, and Political Violence.” *American Sociological Review* 50(1): 47-61.

Mark Lichbach (1987) – “Deterrence or Escalation - The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 31(2): 266-297.

T. David Mason & Dale Krane (1989) – “The Political Economy of Death Squads – Toward a Theory of the Impact of State-Sanctioned Terror.” *International Studies Quarterly* 33(2): 175-198.

Walter Enders & Todd Sandler (1993) – “The Effectiveness of Antiterrorism Policies: A Vector-Autoregression-Intervention Analysis.” *American Political Science Review* 87(4): 829-844.

Dipak Gupta, Harinder Singh & Tom Sprague (1993) – “Government Coercion of

Dissidents – Deterrence or Provocation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* **37**(2): 301-339.

Koopmans, Ruud (1993) – “The Dynamics of Protest Waves: West Germany, 1965 to 1989.” *American Sociological Review* **58**(5): 637-658.

Karen Rasler (1996) – "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* **61**(1): 132-152.

Mara Lovemen (1998) – “High-Risk Collective Action: Defending Human Rights in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina.” *American Journal of Sociology* **104**(2): 477-525.

James Scott (2008) – “Everyday Forms of Resistance.” *The Copenhagen Journal of Asian Studies* **4**(1): 33-62.

#### General Background Reading:

Ted Gurr (1970) – *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton University Press: Selected chapters)

Charles Tilly (1978) – *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Addison Wesley: Selected chapters)

Doug McAdam, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald (1996) – *Comparative Perspectives in Social Movements* (Cambridge University Press: Selected chapters)

#### February 24

Mark Lichbach (1998) – “Contending Theories of Contentious Politics and the Structure-Action Problem of Social Order.” *Annual Review of Political Science* **1**: 401-424.

Stathis Kalyvas (1999) – “Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria.” *Rationality and Society* **11**(3): 243-285.

Will Moore (2000) – “Repression and Dissent: Substitution, Context and Timing.” *American Journal of Political Science* **42**(3): 851-873.

A.R. Chaturvedi, D. Dolk, R. Chaturvedi, M. Mulpuri, D. Lengacher, S. Mellema, P. Poddar, C. Foong & B. Armstrong (2005) – “Understanding Insurgency by Using Agents-Based Computational Experimentation: Case Study of Indonesia.” *Proceedings of the Agent 2005 Conference on Generative Social Processes, Models and Mechanisms*:

[http://agent2007.anl.gov/2005procpdf/Agent\\_2005\\_Chaturvedi.pdf](http://agent2007.anl.gov/2005procpdf/Agent_2005_Chaturvedi.pdf)

Annette Linden & Bert Klandermans (2006) – “Stigmatization and Repression of

Extreme-Right Activism in the Netherlands.” *Mobilization* 11(2): 213-228.

Steve Barkan (2006) – “Criminal Prosecution and the Legal Control of Protest.” *Mobilization* 11(2): 181-194.

Jason Lyall (2006) – “Pocket Protests: Rhetorical Coercion and the Micropolitics of Collective Action in Semiauthoritarian Regimes.” *World Politics* 58(3): 378-412.

Clifford Bob & Sharon Nepstad (2007) – “Kill a Leader, Murder a Movement? Leadership and Assassination in Social Movements.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 50(10): 1370-1394.

Stathis Kalyvas & Matt Kocher (2007) – How Free is “Free Riding” in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem. *World Politics* 59(2): 177-216.

Oskar Thoms & James Ron (2007) – “Do Human Rights Violations Cause Internal Conflict?” *Human Rights Quarterly* 29(3): 674-705.

Amory Starr, Louis Fernandez, Randall Amster, Lesley Wood & Manuel Caro (2008) – “The Impacts of State Surveillance on Political Assembly and Association: A Socio-Legal Analysis.” *Qualitative Sociology* 31: 251-270.

Gary Lafree, Laura Dugan and Raven Korte (2009) – “The Impact of British Counterterrorist Strategies on Political Violence in Northern Ireland: Comparing Deterrence and Backlash Models.” *Criminology* 47(1): 17-45.

Hanne Fjelde & Indra de Soysa (2009) – “Coercion, Co-optation or Cooperation: State Capacity and the Risk of Civil War, 1961-2004.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26(1): 5-25.

Jason Lyall (Forthcoming) – “Ethnicity and Violence During Civil War: An Analysis of “Sweep” Operations in Chechnya.” *American Political Science Review*.

March 3

Christian Davenport – *To Kill a Movement: Repression, Dissent and Demobilization* (Manuscript: Selected chapters).

March 17

James Scott – *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia* (Yale University Press).

## **Governments vs. Challengers**

March 24

Ted Gurr (1970) – *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton University Press: Selected chapters)

Gary Marx (1974) – “Thoughts on a Neglected Category of Social Movement Participant: The Agent Provocateur and the Informant.” *American Journal of Sociology* 80(2): 402-442.

Charles Tilly (1978) – *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Addison Wesley: Selected chapters)

Steven Jackson, Bruce Russett, Duncan Snidal & David Sylvan (1978) – “Conflict and Coercion in Dependent States.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 22(4): 627-657.

David Kowalewski & Dean Hoover (1992) – “Dynamic Models of Dissent and Repression.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36(1): 150-182.

Ron Francisco (1996) – “Coercion and Protest: An Empirical Test in Two Democratic States.” *American Journal of Political Science* 40(4): 1179-1204.

### Background Reading:

Douglass Hibbs (1973) – *Mass Political Violence* (John Wiley & Sons: Selected Chapters)

Ekhardt Zimmerman (1983) – *Political Violence, Crises, and Revolutions: Theories and Research* (G.K. Hall).

Wolf Deiter-Eberwein (1987) – Domestic Political Processes. *The Globus Model: Computer Simulation of Worldwide Political and Economic Developments*. Stuart Bremer. (Westview Press).

March 31

Ivan Arreguin-Toft (2001) – “How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict.” *International Security* 26(1): 93-128.

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

Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth & Dylan Balch-Lindsay (2004) – “Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerilla Warfare.” *International Organization* 58(2): 375-407.

Jorge Restrepo & Michael Spagat (2004) – “Violence Against Civilians in the Colombian



Conflict.” Manuscript:

<http://www.prio.no/upload/Techniques%20of%20Violence/Violence%20a%20gains%20civilians%20in%20Colombian%20CW%20Ver9.pdf>

Stephen Shellman (2006) – “Leaders' Motivations and Actions: Explaining Government-Dissident Conflict-Cooperation Processes.” *Conflict Management and Peace Studies* 23(1): 73-90.

Jason Lyall & Lt. Colonel Isaiah Wilson (2009) – “Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars.” *International Organization* 63(1): 67-106.

Stathis Kalyvas & Matt Kocher (2009) – “The Dynamics of Violence in the Vietnam War: An Analysis of the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES).” *Journal of Peace Research* 46(3): 335-355

Lars-Erik Cederman, Halvard Buhaug and Jan Ketil Rod (2009) – “Ethno-Nationalist Dyads and Civil War: A GIS-Based Analysis.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(4): 496-525.

O’Hearn, Denis (2009) – “Repression and Solidary Cultures of Resistance: Irish Political Prisoners on Protest.” *American Journal of Sociology* 1115(2): 491-526.

Emily Ritter (manuscript) – “Expecting the Worst: A Strategic Model of Repression and Dissent.”

Christian Davenport, David Armstrong & Mark Lichbach (manuscript) – “From Mountains to Movements: Understanding Repression, Dissent and the Escalation to Civil War.”

#### Related Reading:

Will Moore (1998) – *Dissent and Repression: Substitution Effects in Violent Political Conflict Behavior* (Manuscript:

<http://mailer.fsu.edu/~whmoore/garnet-whmoore/research/book.1space.pdf>)

Mark Lichbach (1998) – *The Rebels Dilemma* (University of Michigan)

Stephen Shellman (2006) – “Process Matters: Conflict and Cooperation in Sequential Government-Dissident Interactions.” *Security Studies* 15(4): 563-599.

April 7

General Petraeus (2006) – *The Army Counterinsurgency Manual* (US Army)

April 14

Christian Davenport, Hank Johnston & Carol Mueller (2005) – *Repression and Mobilization* (University of Minnesota Press)

**Innovations in the Conflict-Repression Nexus**

April 21 – Open Discussion

April 28 – Open Discussion

May 3 (by 3:00pm or earlier) – Submission of final paper