

# Political Science 4411: Genocide, Terrorism, and Civil War

Tu/Th 12:30 pm to 1:45 pm  
Middlebush Hall, Room 211

Fall 2017

Dr. Christopher Patane  
311 Professional Building  
Email: patanec@missouri.edu  
Office Hours: Tu/Th 2:30-4:30 pm or by appointment

## Course Description

What makes a terrorist willing to carry out a suicide bombing? Why do people decide to rebel against their governments? Does it work when government repress their people? What makes people participate in genocide? This course focuses on these questions, and others like them in the social scientific study of political violence. We will focus on the scientific explanations developed for the structure and behavior of insurgencies and terrorist networks, the causes of genocide and mass killings, and the effects of government's responses to these events. After this class you should have an understanding of the major factors that influence genocide, terrorism, and civil war as well as a sense of where the social science literature sits on these topics. While we will reference specific historic and current events throughout the course, this is not a history class. We will focus on the underlying factors that drive these events as understood by the published research.

We will start the semester with a brief overview of political violence as a whole and the social scientific method. Then we will discuss the underlying theories of collective action, violence, and state repression. Afterward we will discuss the causes of civil war and the behavior of the participants, the factors that lead to genocide and mass killing, and the causes and effects of terrorism.

## Grading

Your final course grade will be calculated from the following sources:

- Exam 1: Midterm (October 12) (30%)
- Exam 2: Final Exam (December 14) (30%)
- Case study papers, 3 at various points in the semester (30%)
- Participation (10%)

## Exams

There will be exams held in class **October 12** and **December 14**. The exams will consist of a mixture of multiple choice, short answer, and/or essay questions that will test your general understanding of social science research into political violence. I will provide a study guide prior to each exam, and will set aside time to review in class if the schedule permits. The second exam will not be cumulative, but you will need to maintain your basic understanding of the social science of political violence for the second exam.

## Case Studies

Understanding political violence requires the ability to examine general trends and specific events or groups. At three times throughout the semester, there will be small projects that will allow you to focus on these specific cases. For each project, you will be responsible for choosing a specific event or group that relates to the topic currently under discussion in class. You will then have to carry out some background research on the case from acceptable sources and produce a 3-5 page (double spaced) paper on the topic and whether the existing research adequately explains your case or not. For example, if you choose to do a case study on ISIL you can discuss how their structure is explained (or not) by current research or focus your study on their behavior and how it is addressed by the literature on political violence. All assignments will be posted and turned in on the course Canvas page.

First paper: Case study on civil conflict or rebel group (Due: September 26).

Second paper: Case study on genocide or mass killing (Due: November 2).

Third paper: Case study on terrorism or terrorist group (Due: December 7).

I will be more than happy to assist students in choosing their paper topics, beginning their case research, or placing their case study in the wider literature. However, given the number of students in the class, I will not be able to proofread or edit drafts of the paper before the due-date. If you want or require help in writing the actual papers, I encourage you to make an appointment with the MU Writing Center.

Because we will be discussing some specific cases in class, I encourage you to use these papers as an opportunity to apply the class discussions to cases not covered during lectures. To that end, I will provide some general lists of particular cases on the course Canvas to help you get started. Please note that you are not limited to these examples or the ones brought up in class. In fact, I look forward most to the cases that are not brought up in class.

## Participation

To receive full credit for the participation component of the grade, simply come to class after having completed the readings and offer your insights or questions during the class. Normally, I will set aside the last fifteen minutes of class on Thursdays to devote to discussion. I will also

make a discussion section on Canvas available where students can post questions/comments related to that week's course material. Posting questions to these sections will count toward the final participation grade, as long as they are original, relevant, and encourage discussion in class. I will also use these questions to help guide discussions during class.

Feel free to come see me in reference to your participation. Always feel free to state your opinion in a way that invites discussion. No outside knowledge of international relations, political violence, or history is required for class participation, and I welcome questions, comments, or examples from students as long as they are relevant to the discussion at hand.

## **Make-up Exams**

While I am more than happy to provide make-up exams for those that miss class, I cannot do so without a reason to excuse the absence. I will excuse absences on a case by case basis. Please note that any alternative or make-up exams may be different than those given to the rest of the class.

## **Grading Scale**

98-100: A+	88-89: B+	78-79: C+	68-69: D+	59 and below: F
94-97: A	84-87: B	74-77: C	64-67: D	
90-93: A-	80-83: B-	70-73: C-	60-63: D-	

## **Canvas**

All communication for this course will be conducted via the course's Canvas site and University email. Any supplementary material, assignments, or changes to the course structure will be made available on this site. Each student should ensure that they have access to these materials and are able to receive emails through their student account. Please note that I cannot accept or respond to student emails that come from a non-university address.

## **Information and University Policies**

### **Academic Honesty**

Academic integrity is fundamental to the activities and principles of a university. All members of the academic community must be confident that each person's work has been responsibly and honorably acquired, developed, and presented. Any effort to gain an advantage not given to all students is dishonest whether or not the effort is successful. The academic community regards breaches of the academic integrity rules as extremely serious matters. Sanctions for such a breach may include academic sanctions from the instructor, including failing the course for any violation, to disciplinary sanctions ranging from probation to expulsion. When in doubt about plagiarism, paraphrasing, quoting, collaboration, or any other form of cheating, consult the course instructor.

## **Classroom Conduct**

The University community welcomes intellectual diversity and respects student rights. Students who have questions or concerns regarding the atmosphere in this class (including respect for diverse opinions) may contact the departmental chair or divisional director; the director of the Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities; the MU Equity Office, or [equity@missouri.edu](mailto:equity@missouri.edu).

All students will have the opportunity to submit an anonymous evaluation of the instructor at the end of the course.

University of Missouri System Executive Order No. 38 lays out principles regarding the sanctity of classroom discussions at the university. The policy is described fully in Section 200.015 of the Collected Rules and Regulations. In this class, students may make audio or video recordings of course activity unless specifically prohibited by the faculty member. However, the redistribution of audio or video recordings of statements or comments from the course to individuals who are not students in the course is prohibited without the express permission of the faculty member and of any students who are recorded. Students found to have violated this policy are subject to discipline in accordance with provisions of section 200.020 of the Collected Rules and Regulations of the University of Missouri pertaining to student conduct matters.

## **Title IX and Mandatory Reporting**

University of Missouri policies and federal law prohibit all forms of sex discrimination in education, including discrimination on the basis of sex, gender, gender identity, gender expression, sexual orientation, and pregnancy. Discrimination includes any form of unequal treatment such as denial of opportunities, harassment, and violence. Sex-based violence includes rape, sexual assault, unwanted touching, stalking, dating/interpersonal violence, and sexual exploitation.

Because we care about our community, Mizzou employees are required to report all incidents of sex discrimination to the Title IX Office. The Title IX Office connects students with resources and helps them decide whether they wish to file a complaint of discrimination. To learn more, contact [title9@missouri.edu](mailto:title9@missouri.edu) or (573) 882-3880, or go to [www.title9.missouri.edu](http://www.title9.missouri.edu). Students may also contact the Relationship & Sexual Violence Prevention (RSVP) Center, a confidential resource, for counseling and other support: [rsvp@missouri.edu](mailto:rsvp@missouri.edu) or (573) 882-6638, or go to [www.rsvp.missouri.edu](http://www.rsvp.missouri.edu). Both the Title IX Office and the RSVP Center can provide accommodations to students who need help with academics, housing, or other issues. The Title IX Office and the RSVP Center will respect your privacy.

## **Disability Services**

If you anticipate barriers related to the format or requirements of this course, if you have emergency medical information to share with me, or if you need to make arrangements in

case the building must be evacuated, please let me know as soon as possible.

If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on exams, captioning), please register with the MU Disability Center, S5 Memorial Union, 573-882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations.

## Copyright on Lecture and Course Materials

Copyright 2017 (Christopher Patane) as to this syllabus and all lectures. During this course, students are prohibited from selling notes or being paid for taking notes by any person or commercial firm without the express written permission of the instructor teaching this course.

## Readings

There are no assigned textbooks for the course. Instead, I will provide PDFs of book chapters, academic journal articles, and other sources for you to read. These will be provided on the course Canvas page.

I expect you to have completed the readings before the day they appear on the syllabus. Fully reading and understanding the material is essential to doing well on the exams and class discussions.

## Class Outline and Schedule

I reserve the right to make changes to this syllabus at any time. Changes will be announced in class, through email, and on the course Canvas site. It is the responsibility of the student to take note of any changes.

### August 22: Introduction to the Course

### August 24: The Social Science of Political Violence

- Valentino, Benjamin A. 2014. "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence Against Civilians." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 17, 89-103.
- Frieden, Jeffrey A. and David A. Lake. 2005. "International Relations as a Social Science: Rigor and Relevance." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 600, 136-156.
- **Recommended:** Avey, Paul C. and Michael C. Desch. 2014. "What Do Policymakers Want From Us? Results of a Survey of Current and Former Senior National Security Decision Makers." *International Studies Quarterly*. 58, 227-246.

### August 29: Defining Political Violence

- Valentino, Benjamin. 2004. "Mass Killing and Genocide." Chapter 1 in *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century*. Cornell University Press. 9-29.
- Young, Joseph K. and Michael G. Findley. 2011. "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research." *International Studies Review*. 13, 411-431.
- Gersovitz, Mark and Norma Kriger. 2013. "What is a Civil War? A Critical Review of its Definition and (Econometric) Consequences." *The World Bank Research Observer*. 28, 159-190.

### **August 31: Why People Rebel**

- Gurr, Ted. 1968. "A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices." *The American Political Science Review*. 62:4, 1104-1124.
- Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *The American Political Science Review*. 107:3, 418-432.

### **September 5: Mobilization**

- Finkel, Steven E. and Edward N. Muller. 1998. "Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Collective Political Action: Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data." *The American Political Science Review*. 92:1, 37-49.
- Gates, Scott. 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 46:1, 111-130.

### **September 7: State Repression I**

- Rasler, Karen. 1996. "Concessions, Repression, and Political Protest in the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review*. 61:1, 132-152.
- Earl, Jennifer. 2003. "Tanks, Tear Gas, and Taxes: Toward a Theory of Movement Repression." *Sociological Theory*. 21:1, 44-68.
- Davenport, Christian and Molly Inman. 2012. "The State of State Repression Research Since the 1990s." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 24:4, 619-634.

### **September 12: State Repression II**

- Sullivan, Christopher. 2015. "Undermining Resistance: Mobilization, Repression, and the Enforcement of Political Order." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 1-28.
- Davenport, Christian. 2015. "Killing Social Movements from the Outside and the Inside." Chapter 2 in *How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa*. Cambridge University Press. 38-57.

- Finkel, Evgeny. 2015. “The Phoenix Effect of State Repression: Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust.” *The American Political Science Review*. 109:2, 339-353.

### **September 14: Coups**

- Quinlivan, James T. 1999. “Coup-proofing: Its Practice and Consequences in the Middle East.” *International Security*. 24:2, 131-165.
- Hiroi, Taeko and Sawa Omori. 2013. “Causes and Triggers of Coups d’état: An Event History Analysis.” *Politics and Policy*. 41:1, 39-64.

### **September 19: Cases of Civil Wars**

- Figes, Orlando. 1990. “The Red Army and Mass Mobilization during the Russian Civil War 1918-1920.” *Past & Present*. 129, 168-211.
- Payne, Stanley G. 2012. “The Breakdown of Democracy.” Chapter 3 in *The Spanish Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. 37-63.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. “Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War.” *Perspectives on Politics*. 2:2, 259-279.

### **September 21: Determinants of Civil War**

- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. “Greed and Grievance in Civil War.” *Oxford Economic Papers*. 56, 563-595.
- Hegre, Håvard. 2004. “The Duration and Termination of Civil War.” *Journal of Peace Research*. 41:3, 243-252.
- Cunningham, David E. Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Idean Salehyan. 2009. “It Takes Two: A Dyadic Analysis of Civil War Duration and Outcome.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 53:4, 570-597.

### **September 26: Preventing Civil Wars**

#### **Case Study 1 Due**

- Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War.” *International Studies Quarterly*. 48, 269-292.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Simon Hug, Andreas Schadel, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2015. “Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late?” *The American Political Science Review*. 109:2, 354-370.

### **September 28: Ethnic Conflicts**

- Toft, Monica Duffy. 2003. Chapters 2 and 3 in *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identities, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory*. Princeton University Press. 17-44.

- Wimmer, Andreas Lars-Erik Cederman, and Brian Min. 2009. "Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set." *American Sociological Review*. 74:2, 316-337.

### **October 3: Geography and Civil War**

- Buhaug, Halvard and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2008. "Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space." *International Studies Quarterly*. 52, 215-233.
- Buhaug, Halvard, Scott Gates, and Päivi Lujala. 2009. "Geography, Rebel Capability, and the Duration of Civil Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53:4, 544-569.
- Beardsley, Kyle, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Nigel Lo. 2015. "Roving Bandits? The Geographical Evolution of African Armed Conflicts." *International Studies Quarterly*. 59, 503-516.

### **October 5: Cases of Genocide and Mass Killing**

- Snyder, Timothy. 2010. "The Soviet Famines." Chapter 1 in *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin*. Basic Books. 21-58.
- Kiernan, Ben. 2007. "Settler Genocides in Africa" and "The Armenian Genocide: National Chauvinism in the Waning Ottoman Empire." Chapters 9 and 10 in *Blood and Soil: A World History of Genocide and Extermination from Sparta to Darfur*. Yale University Press. 364-415.

### **October 10: Causes of Genocide**

- Valentino, Benjamin A. 2004. "The Strategic Logic of Mass Killing." Chapter 3 in *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century*. Cornell University Press. 66-90.
- Rost, Nicolas. 2013. "Will it Happen Again? On the Possibility of Forecasting the Risk of Genocide." *Journal of Genocide Research*. 15:1, 41-67.

### **October 12: Midterm Exam**

### **October 17: Outcomes from Genocide**

- Staub, Ervin. 2006. "Reconciliation after Genocide, Mass Killing, or Intractable Conflict: Understanding the Roots of Violence, Psychological Recovery, and Steps toward a General Theory." *Political Psychology*. 6, 867-894.
- Akresh, Richard and Damien de Walque. 2008. "Armed Conflict and Schooling: Evidence from the 1994 Rwandan Genocide." World Bank Policy Research Working Paper. 1-38.
- Serneels, Pieter and Marjike Verpoorten. 2015. "The Impact of Armed Conflict on Economic Performance: Evidence from Rwanda." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 59:4, 555-592.



### October 19: Preventing Mass Killing

- Krain, Matthew. 2005. "International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides." *International Studies Quarterly*. 49, 363-387.
- Krain, Matthew. 2012. "J'accuse! Does Naming and Shaming Perpetrators Reduce the Severity of Genocides or Politicides?" *International Studies Quarterly* 56, 574-589.

### October 24: Cases of Terrorism

- Whittaker, David J. 2001. "Sri Lanka." Chapter 6 in *The Terrorism Reader*. Routledge. 71-88.
- Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 2015. ISIS is Not a Terrorist Group: Why Counterterrorism Won't Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat." *Foreign Affairs* 87, 1-21.
- **Recommended:** Seierstad, Åsne. 2015. pages 151-171 and 190-208 in *One of Us: The Story of Anders Breivik and the Massacre in Norway*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

### October 26: Terrorist Organizations

- Kydd, Andrew H. and Barbara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security*. 31:1, 49-80.
- Asal, Victor and R. Karl Rethemeyer. 2008. "The Nature of the Beast: Organizational Structures and the Lethality of Terrorist Attacks." *The Journal of Politics*. 70:2, 437-449.

### October 31: Psychological Theories of Terrorism

- Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49:1, 3-42.
- Cottee, Simon and Keith Hayward. 2011. "Terrorist (E)motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 34:12, 963-986.
- **Recommended:** Abrahms, Max. 2008. "What Terrorists Really Want: Terrorist Motives and Counterterrorism Strategy." *International Security*. 32:4. 78-105.

### November 2: Economic Theories of Terrorism

#### Case Study 2 Due

- Krueger, Alan B. and Jitka Malečková. 2003. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 17:4, 119-144.
- Piazza, James A. 2011. "Poverty, Minority Economic Discrimination, and Domestic Terrorism." *Journal of Peace Research*. 48:3, 339-353.

### November 7: Is Terrorism Effective?

- Gould, Eric D. and Esteban F. Klor. 2010. “Does Terrorism Work?” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 1459-1510.
- Abrahms, Max. 2012. “The Political Effectiveness of Terrorism Revisited.” *Comparative Political Studies*. 45(3), 366-393.

**November 9: No Class** The Social Practice of Human Rights Conference

**November 14: Domestic Consequences of Terrorism**

- Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Theresa Capelos and Colin Provost. 2002. “The Consequences of Terrorism: Disentangling the Effects of Personal and National Threat.” *Political Psychology*. 23:3, 485-509.
- Berrebi, Claude and Esteban F. Klor. “On Terrorism and Electoral Outcomes.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 50:6, 899-925.

**November 16: Targets of Terrorism**

- Chenoweth, Erica. 2010. “Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity.” *The Journal of Politics*. 72:1, 16-30.
- Murdie, Amanda and Craig Stapley. 2014. “Why Target the ‘Good Guys’? The Determinants of Terrorism Against NGOs.” *International Interactions*. 40:1, 79-102.

**November 21: No Class, Thanksgiving Break**

**November 23: No Class, Thanksgiving Break**

**November 28: Not Just A Boy’s Club: Female Terrorism**

- Jacques, Karen and Paul J. Taylor. 2009. “Female Terrorism: A Review.” *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 21:3, 499-515.
- Jacques, Karen and Paul J. Taylor. 2013. “Myths and Realities of Female-Perpetrated Terrorism.” *Law and Human Behavior*. 37:1, 35-44.

**November 30: Suicide Terrorism**

- Horowitz, Michael C. 2010. “Nonstate Actors and the Diffusion of Innovations: The Case of Suicide Terrorism.” *International Organization*. 64:1, 33-64.
- Horowitz, Michael C. 2015. “The Rise and Spread of Suicide Bombing.” *Annual Review of Political Science*. 18, 69-84.
- **Recommended:** Pape, Robert A. 2003. “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.” *The American Political Science Review*. 97:3, 1-19.

### December 5: Religious Terrorism

- Sedgwick, Mark. 2004. "Al-Qaeda and the Nature of Religious Terrorism." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16:4, 795-814.
- Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1997. "Terror Mandated by God." *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 9:2, 16-23.
- **Recommended:** Philpott, Daniel. 2007. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion." *The American Political Science Review*. 101:3, 505-525.

### December 7: Counterterrorism

- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence." *International Organization*. 59:1, 145-176.
- Powell, Robert. 2007. "Defending against Terrorist Attacks with Limited Resources." *The American Political Science Review*. 101:3, 527-541

### **Case Study 3 Due**

December 14: Final Exam, 7:30pm-9:30pm