

**PSCI 7123  
Politics of Violence  
University of Colorado-Boulder**

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**Spring 2020  
KTCH 1B31  
M 2:00-4:30 pm  
Email: Aysegul.Aydin@colorado.edu  
Office Hours: Tuesday 10-11 am and by  
appointment.**

**Professor Aysegul Aydin  
Office: Ketchum 228  
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**Course Description:**

This course is designed to introduce students to various forms and aspects of political violence conducted by states and non-state actors. We will examine leading research on insurgency, and counterinsurgency. We will also examine several important aspects of violent behavior in world politics that attracted little systematic inquiry in mainstream international relations. We will ask a number of important questions regarding civilians and states in civil wars: do civilians have agency? does repression work to command civilians' loyalties? what are the forms of state repression? what is control and how do we measure it? what is rebel governance and how does it work? Students will be exposed to literature that analyzes civil wars mainly on the micro level. The course will run as a research seminar where student participation and contribution will constitute the most important element of this semester's work.

**Course Requirements:**

Grades for the course will consist of two critical reviews of the reading material (each 10%), participation (25%), discussion leadership (10% each), and a final paper (35%).

**1) Critical Reviews:** Critical reviews of the class material are an important part of your grade. Each review should be between 1,250 to 1,500 words (double-spaced, Times New Roman font and 12 size, one inch space on each side of the paper) and should focus on one of the weekly readings. You are expected to write a paper for the two weeks that you will be leading the discussion. These reviews are intended to mimic a referee report that you will receive from a journal regarding your manuscript submission and in that respect, should be very clear about your overall impression of the article; Reject? Accept with minor revisions? Accept with major revisions? In this assignment, you will introduce the material, reveal its weaknesses but perhaps most importantly, you are expected to suggest how the analysis/theory etc. can be improved in this particular manuscript (please provide concrete solutions/recommendations). Reviews should be highly argumentative and challenge the author whereas they should strictly avoid description or lengthy summaries of the material. Critical reviews should be uploaded to

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Canvas. The rest of the class will read the reviews and will react to the arguments in class discussion.

The deadline for sending the papers to the class list is Sunday, noon, before each class. Please make sure that the review is in pdf format for an easy read. Late papers will be penalized and starting at 12:10 pm, papers will be downgraded one letter grade for each hour that they are late.

**2) Discussion leadership:** Participation will also involve leading the class discussion twice this semester. You can choose a topic in the syllabus that is of interest to you and assume responsibility in stimulating class discussion that week while writing a critical review as well. Discussion leaders have two tasks to be completed before they come to class: 1) synthesize all questions (their own included) submitted for that week; find commonalities and highlight most important questions (even if they are not their own questions) and also the sloppiest ones, 2) prepare recommended readings for the week's topic and update the syllabus with those references.

**3) Participation:** Students are required to be in attendance *before* the class begins. You are also expected to play an important role in class discussion. All students are expected to closely read the material before each class. You are also required to read the critical reviews and join the conversation in the class in each meeting. Finally, for each week, students are required to post three questions on Canvas (one question in total for a special issue). These are the questions that will form the core of our discussion. Please think about your questions carefully before you submit them; more important, think about what others will find as the most important/contentious aspects of the week's material.

**4) Final paper:** There will be a final paper to be submitted in three stages. The first stage is the front part of the paper; including introduction, literature review and theory (due on Feb. 17); the second stage is research design; including the evidence you will use and the methods you will adopt to analyze the evidence (due on March 30); and the third stage is the complete paper, including the analysis and conclusion, to be submitted on the day of the final exam and by the end of the time slot assigned by the registrar's office. The paper should be prepared in a format that is ready for journal submission (following the format instructions for critical reviews). Papers will be uploaded to Canvas.

**Technology in Classroom:** Students are strictly prohibited from using smartphones in the classroom. Tablets and computers can only be used for taking notes and assigned articles, not for checking email, using social media, reading news, and logging into chat platforms. Please do not leave a chat platform running on your computer (actively receiving messages/texts) while in session.

### **Accommodation for Disabilities**

If you qualify for accommodations because of a disability, please submit your accommodation letter from Disability Services to your faculty member in a timely manner so that your needs can be addressed. Disability Services determines accommodations based on documented disabilities in the academic environment. Information on requesting accommodations is located on the [Disability Services website](#). Contact Disability Services at

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303-492-8671 or [dsinfo@colorado.edu](mailto:dsinfo@colorado.edu) for further assistance. If you have a temporary medical condition or injury, see [Temporary Medical Conditions](#) under the Students tab on the Disability Services website.

### **Classroom Behavior**

Students and faculty each have responsibility for maintaining an appropriate learning environment. Those who fail to adhere to such behavioral standards may be subject to discipline. Professional courtesy and sensitivity are especially important with respect to individuals and topics dealing with race, color, national origin, sex, pregnancy, age, disability, creed, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, veteran status, political affiliation or political philosophy. For more information, see the policies on [classroom behavior](#) and the [Student Code of Conduct](#).

### **Preferred Student Names and Pronouns**

CU Boulder recognizes that students' legal information doesn't always align with how they identify. Students may update their preferred names and pronouns via the student portal; those preferred names and pronouns are listed on instructors' class rosters. In the absence of such updates, the name that appears on the class roster is the student's legal name.

### **Honor Code**

All students enrolled in a University of Colorado Boulder course are responsible for knowing and adhering to the Honor Code. Violations of the policy may include: plagiarism, cheating, fabrication, lying, bribery, threat, unauthorized access to academic materials, clicker fraud, submitting the same or similar work in more than one course without permission from all course instructors involved, and aiding academic dishonesty. All incidents of academic misconduct will be reported to the Honor Code ([honor@colorado.edu](mailto:honor@colorado.edu)); 303-492-5550). Students found responsible for violating the academic integrity policy will be subject to nonacademic sanctions from the Honor Code as well as academic sanctions from the faculty member. Additional information regarding the Honor Code academic integrity policy can be found at the [Honor Code Office website](#).

### **Sexual Misconduct, Discrimination, Harassment and/or Related Retaliation**

The University of Colorado Boulder (CU Boulder) is committed to fostering a positive and welcoming learning, working, and living environment. CU Boulder will not tolerate acts of sexual misconduct, intimate partner abuse (including dating or domestic violence), stalking, or protected-class discrimination or harassment by members of our community. Individuals who believe they have been subject to misconduct or retaliatory actions for reporting a concern should contact the Office of Institutional Equity and Compliance (OIEC) at 303-492-2127 or [cureport@colorado.edu](mailto:cureport@colorado.edu). Information about the OIEC, university policies, [anonymous reporting](#), and the campus resources can be found on the [OIEC website](#). Please know that faculty and instructors have a responsibility to inform OIEC when made aware of incidents of sexual misconduct, discrimination, harassment and/or related retaliation, to ensure that individuals impacted receive information about options for reporting and support resources.

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**Religious Holidays**

Campus policy regarding religious observances requires that faculty make every effort to deal reasonably and fairly with all students who, because of religious obligations, have conflicts with scheduled exams, assignments or required attendance. In this class, please take a look at the deadlines that apply to you and report any schedule conflict at your earliest convenience. Students with such conflicts will have the option to reschedule the assignments to a date that does not overlap with their religious observances.

See the [campus policy regarding religious observances](#) for full details.

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**CLASS SCHEDULE:**

**WEEK 1 (JAN.13): INTRODUCTORY MEETING AND ORGANIZATION**

**WEEK 2 (JAN.20): NO CLASS (MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. DAY)**

**WEEK 2 (JAN.27): REFLECTIONS ON THE MICRO-POLITICAL TURN IN THE STUDY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE**

Joshua D. Kertzer, "Microfoundations in International Relations," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 34:1 (January 2017): 81-97.

Stathis Kalyvas. "Microlevel Studies of Violence in Civil War: Refining and Extending the Control-Collaboration Model," *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2012) 24:4: 658-668.

Tom Pepinsky. "The Return of the Single-Country Study." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22 (2019), 187–203.

*Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Special Issue: Bridging Micro and Macro Approaches on Civil Wars and Political Violence: Issues, Challenges, and the Way Forward. 2014. Vol 58(8). (read the lead article and abstracts of the contributions).

**WEEK 3 (FEB.3): DISCRIMINATE VERSUS INDISCRIMINATE VIOLENCE**

Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6-7.

Yuri Zhukov. 2017. "External Resources and Indiscriminate Violence: Evidence from German-Occupied Belarus," *World Politics* 69(1): 54-97.

Luke Condra, and Austin Wright. 2019. "Civilians, Control and Collaboration during Civil Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly*.

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**WEEK 4 (FEB.10): REBEL GOVERNANCE**

Paul Staniland. 2012. "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders," *Perspectives on Politics* 10(2): 243-264.

Ana Arjona, 2016. "Institutions, Civilian Resistance, and Wartime Social Order: A process-Driven Natural Experiment in the Colombian Civil War." *Latin American Politics and Society*.

Stewart, Megan A. 2018. "Civil War as State-Making: Strategic Governance in Civil War." *International Organization*.72(1):205-226.

Lindsay Heger and Danielle Jung. 2015. "Negotiating with Rebels: The Effect of Rebel Service Provision on Conflict Negotiations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

**WEEK 5 (FEB.17): PARTICIPATION AND COLLECTIVE ACTION**

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2):436-455.

Jacob Shapiro, Eli Berman, Michael Callen and Joseph H. Felter. 2011. "Do Working Men Rebel? Insurgency and Unemployment in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Philippines," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(4): 496-528.

Gunes Murat Tezcur. 2016. "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Participation in an Ethnic Rebellion," *American Political Science Review* 110(2): 247-264.

Yuri Zhukov. 2016. "Trading hard hats for combat helmets: The economics of rebellion in eastern Ukraine". *Journal of Comparative Economics*.

**WEEK 6 (FEB. 24): CIVILIAN PREFERENCES AND REBELLION**

Timur Kuran. 1989. "Sparks and prairie fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution," *Public Choice* 61(1): 41-74.

Jason Lyall, Graeme Blair and Kosuke Imai. "Explaining Support for Combatants in Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* (2013) 107:4.

Daniel Silverman. 2018. What Shapes Civilians' Beliefs about Violent Events? Experimental Evidence from Pakistan," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Aila Matanock, and Miguel Garcia-Sanchez. 2018. "Does Counterinsurgent Success Match Social Support? Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Colombia." *Journal of Politics*.

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Austin Wright, Luke Condra, Jacob Shapiro and Andrew Shaver. "Civilian Abuse and Wartime Informing," Working Paper.

**WEEK 7 (MARCH 2): CIVIL WAR AND TECHNOLOGY**

Jacob Shapiro and Nils Weidmann. 2015. "Is the Phone Mightier than the Sword? Cellphones and Insurgent Violence in Iraq," *International Organization* 69(2): 247-274.

Jan Pierskalla and Florian Hollenbach, 2013. "Technology and Collective Action: The Effect of Cell Phone Coverage on Political Violence in Africa," *American Political Science Review* 107 (2): 207-224.

F. Hollenbach and J. Pierskalla. 2017. "A Re-Assessment of Reporting Bias in Event-Based Violence Data with Respect to Cell Phone Coverage." *Research & Politics*,4(3)

*Journal of Peace Research*, Special Issue on Communication, Technology and Political Conflict. 2015: Vol 52(3) (read the Into article and abstracts of the contributions to this issue).

**WEEK 8 (MARCH 9): WAR VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Christopher Blattman. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda," *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 231-47.

Thad Dunning. 2011. "Fighting and Voting: Violent Conflict and Electoral Politics," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3): 327-339 (Also review other articles in this special issue).

Aila Matanock. 2017. "Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict." *International Security* 41(4): 93-132.

**WEEK 9 (MARCH 16): COUNTERINSURGENCY I: INCENTIVES**

Fotini Christia, Andrew Beath and Ruben Enikolopov. 2013. "Empowering Women through Development Aid: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan," *American Political Science Review*. 107 (3): 540-557.

Jacob Shapiro, Eli Berman and Joseph H. Felter. 2011. "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq," *Journal of Political Economy* 119 (August): 766-819.

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Jason Lyall, Yang-Yang Zhou and Kosuke Imai. 2020. "Can Economic Assistance Shape Combatant Support in Wartime? Experimental Evidence from Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review*.

**WEEK 10 (MARCH 23-27): NO CLASS—SPRING BREAK**

**WEEK 11 (March 30): COUNTERINSURGENCY II: REPRESSION**

Robert Blair. 2013. Legitimacy After Violence: Evidence from Two Lab-in-the-Field Experiments in the Liberia." Working Paper.

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

Luke N. Condra, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. "Who Takes the Blame: The Strategic Effects of Collateral Damage," *American Journal of Political Science* 56(1): 167-187.

Rozenas, Arturas and Yrui Zhukov. Forthcoming. "Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's Terror by Hunger." *American Political Science Review*.

**WEEK 12 (APRIL 6): COUNTERINSURGENCY IV: PRACTICES**

Yuri Zhukov. 2015. "Population Resettlement in War: Theory and Evidence from Soviet Archives," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7): 1155-1185.

Jason Lyall. 2010. "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War," *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 1-20.

Efraim Benmelech, Claude Berrebi, and Esteban F. Klor. 2015. "Counter-Suicide-Terrorism: Evidence from House Demolitions," *Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 27-43.

**WEEK 13 (APRIL 13): FUNDING AND RESOURCES IN CIVIL WAR**

Revkin, Mara. 2020. "What Explains Taxation by Resource-Rich Rebels? Evidence from the Islamic State in Syria?" *Journal of Politics*.

Beth Elise Whitaker, James Igoe Walsh, and Justin M. Conrad. 2019. "Natural Resource Exploitation and Sexual Violence by Rebel Groups." *Journal of Politics* 81(2): 702-706.

Michael Ross. 2015. What Have We Learned About the Resource Curse?. *Annual Review of Political Science*.

**WEEK 14-15 (APRIL 20-27): DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH PAPERS (WILL ASSIGN PRESENTERS IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER—BY LAST NAME)**