

**SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
INR 6337 - FALL 2024**

Professor David Siroky [davidsiroky at ufl edu] – Office: Anderson Hall 208
Meeting Time: Thursday, 6:15 - 9:10 PM (Periods: 11-E2)
Meeting Room: Matherly Hall 102 (or Anderson 216 Conference Room)

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

This seminar offers an introduction to the field of international security, which is typically treated as one of the main sub-fields in international relations and is primarily concerned with questions of war and peace. We read many highly cited works and cover a wide variety of the traditional topics. The goal is for you to become familiar with the primary theories and approaches to the study of international security. It is also my hope that you will become proficient in applying them to understanding and explain behaviors, events, and dynamics in international security. You will be introduced to several key debates in the field, and you will be asked to sort through the arguments and evidence to come to your own conclusions.

The participants will not only engage critically with recent scholarship abut will also produce their own research article draft.

REQUIREMENTS:

It is crucial to read carefully assigned papers for each week. Preparation is essential. Students will be responsible for leading the discussion of the papers for a particular week, and also for preparing a research paper that you will also present in preliminary form at the end of the term.

PROCEDURES FOR EVALUATION:

Participants will be evaluated based on the following items:

- 1) the student's presentation and discussion of a particular week's readings (25%), which should cover the following: research question(s), motivation/background, theory/hypotheses, methodology, data, results, implications, and future directions.
 - 2) the student's general contribution to class throughout the term (25%),
 - 3) the student's final written research paper (50%), which should be 6,000-8,000 words (please include a word count), and is due **December 5, 2024 by midnight EST (before December 7th)**.
- More details on these assignments and their due dates will be given during class.

SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION.

SCHEDULE

Week 1 (August 22): Introduction

Week 2 (August 29): Bargaining Models

Week 3 (September 5): Security Dilemma

Week 4 (September 12): Nuclear Deterrence

Week 5 (September 19): Alliances

Week 6 (September 26): Democracy

Week 7 (October 3): Gender (In)equality

Week 8 (October 10): Civil Wars

Week 9 (October 17): Natural Resources

Week 10 (October 24): Civilian Victimization

Week 11 (October 31): Ethnicity

Week 12 (November 7): Interventions

Week 13 (November 14): Partition

Week 14 (Nov 21): Future of War

Week 15 (November 28 – Thanksgiving Break/No Class)

Week 16 (December 5 – Reading Day/No Class)

Final Paper: Due December 5th by midnight. Grades due on December 9th.

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Extra Topics:

War and Peace Before the Congress of Vienna

The Concept and Importance of Power

Game Theory and the Emergence of Cooperation

Balancing and Bandwagoning

Waltz's Legacy

Diversionsary War

Arms Races

Peacekeeping

International Mediation

Religion

Economic Interdependence

Refugees

Terrorism

Civilizational Dynamics

Autocracy

Climate

Economic shocks

Territory

Other Readings

Week 1 (August 22): Introduction

Week 2 (August 29): Bargaining Models

We read the canonical statement (Fearon's "Rationalist Explanations for War"), and work which fleshes out in detail the informational, commitment, and indivisible territory routes to war.

Questions

How do bargaining failures and commitment problems contribute to the outbreak and escalation of both interstate and civil wars?

How do exogenous factors such as shifts in the distribution of power influence bargaining?

What are the key factors that determine whether these issues lead to conflict or can be mitigated through negotiation?

What are the limitations of bargaining theory in explaining the occurrence, duration and dynamics of war?

Which alternative theories or perspectives offer additional insights into why states or groups might resort to conflict despite the potential costs of war?

What is the evidence for and against different implications of bargaining models of war?

A-list

Fearon, James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization*. 49: 379-414.

Gartzke, Erik. 1999. "War is in the Error Term." *International Organization* 53 (3): 567-87.

Wagner, Harrison. "Bargaining and War." *American Journal of Political Science*, 44, 3 (2000): 469-85

Kirshner, Jonathan. "Rationalist Explanations for War?" *Security Studies* 10/1 (Autumn 2000): 143-50.

Hassner, Ron. "To Halve and Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility." *Security Studies*, 12/4 (Summer 2003): 1-33.

Powell, Robert. "War as a Commitment Problem," *International Organization* 60/1 (Winter 2006): 169-203.

B-list

Schelling, Thomas C. 1956. "An essay on bargaining." *The American Economic Review* 46, 3: 281-306.

Walter, Barbara F. "Bargaining failures and civil war." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, no. 1 (2009): 243-261.

Ramsay, Kristopher W. "Information, Uncertainty, and War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017): 505-27.

Filson, Darrel and Suzanne Werner, 2002. A Bargaining Model of War and Peace: Anticipating the Onset, Duration, and Outcome of War, *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (4): 819-838.

- Reiter, Dan. "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1:1 (March 2003), pp. 27-43.
- Lake, David A. "Two Cheers for Bargaining Theory: Assessing Rationalist Explanations of the Iraq War." *International Security* 35/3 (Winter 2010/11): 7-52.
- Smith, Alastair, and Allan C. Stam. "Bargaining and the Nature of War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48/6 (December 2004): 783- 813.
- Meirowitz, Adam, and Anne E. Sartori, "Strategic Uncertainty as a Cause of War." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3, 4 (2008): 327–52.
- Slantchev, Branislav. 2003. The Power to Hurt: Costly Conflict with Completely Informed States, *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 123-135.
- Slantchev, Branislav L., and Ahmer Tarar, "Mutual Optimism as a Rationalist Explanation for War." *American Journal of Political Science* 55, 1 (January 2011): 135–148
- Wolford, Scott, Dan Reiter, and Clifford J. Carrubba. 2011. "Information, Commitment, and War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 55:4: 556-79.

Booklist

- Goddard, Stacie. *Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy: Jerusalem and Northern Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010
- Hassner, Ron E. *War on Sacred Grounds*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009
- Spaniel, William. *Formal Models of Crisis Bargaining: Applications in the Politics of Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, 2023.
- Pillar, Paul R. *Negotiating peace: War termination as a bargaining process*. Vol. 695. Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Goemans, H. E. (2000). *War and Punishment: The Causes of War Termination and the First World War*. Princeton University Press.

Week 3 (Sept 5): The Security Dilemma

We read Robert Jervis's classic work on the security dilemma, and some additional articles that examine it, extend it and refine it.

Questions

What are the challenges that arise when actors pursue their own security, and how can these efforts unintentionally lead to increased insecurity for others?

In what ways can mistrust and uncertainty between actors lead to spirals of conflict?

How might the dynamics of security competition differ between states and non-state actors, such as ethnic groups or insurgencies?

Are there situations where the concept of the security dilemma might be less applicable or require modification?

A-list

Jervis, Robert. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics*, vol. 30, no. 2, January 1978, p. 167-186.

Posen, Barry R. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival*, 35(1), 27-47.

Mitzen, Jennifer. "Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and The Security Dilemma." *European Journal of International Relations* vol. 12, no. 3, 2006, p. 341-370.

Glaser, Charles. 1997. "The Security Dilemma Revisited." *World Politics* 50, 1:171–201.

Tang, Shiping. 2009. "The Security Dilemma: A Conceptual Analysis," *Security Studies*, 18, 3, 2009, p. 587-623.

Walt, Stephen. 2022. "Does Anyone Still Understand the Security Dilemma?" *Foreign Policy* <https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/07/26/misperception-security-dilemma-ir-theory-russia-ukraine/>

Van Rythoven, Eric 2022. "What Walt and Mearsheimer Get Wrong about the Security Dilemma". *Duck of Minerva*. <https://www.duckofminerva.com/2022/08/walt-mearsheimer-security-dilemma.html>

Glaser, Charles. 2024. "Fear Factor: How to Know When You're in a Security Dilemma" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August: <https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/vatpqqomub66xdh3uzuf8/Glaser-SecurityDilemma-FA-2024.pdf?rlkey=kizhbk827gg4vn4hyz7i9jdyr&dl=0>

B-list

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. 'Selection on the Stag Hunt' from *A Discourse on Inequality*

Kydd, Andrew. 1997. "Game Theory and the Spiral model." *World Politics* 49, 1:371–400.

Acharya, Avidit, and Kristopher W. Ramsay. "The Calculus of The Security Dilemma." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8.2 (2013): 183-203.

Liff, Adam P., and John Ikenberry. "Racing Toward Tragedy?: China's Rise, Military Competition In The Asia Pacific, And The Security Dilemma." *International Security* vol. 39, no. 2, 2014, p. 52-91.

Jervis, Robert. "Was the cold war a security dilemma?." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 3, no. 1 (2001): 36-60.

Schweller, Randall L. "Neorealism's status-quo bias: What security dilemma?." *Security Studies* 5, no. 3 (1996): 90-121.

Montgomery, Evan Braden. "Breaking out of the security dilemma: Realism, reassurance, and the problem of uncertainty." *International Security* 31, no. 2 (2006): 151-185.

Roe, Paul. "The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a Tragedy?." *Journal of peace research* 36, no. 2 (1999): 183-202.

Collins, Alan. "State-induced security dilemma: maintaining the tragedy." *Cooperation and Conflict* 39, no. 1 (2004): 27-44.

Cerny, Philip G. "The New Security Dilemma: divisibility, defection and disorder in the global era." *Review of international Studies* 26, no. 4 (2000): 623-646.

Herz, John H. "Idealist internationalism and the security dilemma." *World politics* 2, no. 2 (1950): 157-180

Butterfield, Herbert (1951). *History and human relations*. Macmillan.

Booklist

- Roe, Paul. *Ethnic violence and the societal security dilemma*. Routledge, 2004.
- Booth, Ken, and Nicholas J. Wheeler. "The security dilemma." *Fear, Cooperation and Trust in World Politics, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan* (2008).
- Townsend, Brad. *Security and stability in the new space age: The orbital security dilemma*. Routledge, 2020.

Week 4 (Sept 12): Nuclear Deterrence

We read about a debate over the utility of nuclear weapons for deterrence and peace, and related to this a discussion about the (de)merits of proliferation, between the main advocate of nuclear proliferation, Kenneth Waltz, and some more skeptical scholars.

Questions

- How do differing theoretical perspectives on nuclear deterrence (e.g., e, such as those advocating for more proliferation versus those questioning its efficacy, contribute to our understanding of nuclear stability and international security?*
- What are the key factors that determine the effectiveness of nuclear deterrence?*
- How do historical case studies illustrate the conditions under which deterrence strategies succeed or fail?*

A-list

- Sagan, Scott, and Kenneth Waltz. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, New York: WW Norton and Company, 2003 (pdf online: https://ilead2011.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/waltz_sagan.pdf).
- Mueller, John. "The Essential Irrelevance of Nuclear Weapons: Stability in the Postwar World," *International Security* 13:2 (fall 1988), pp. 55-79.
- Sagan, Scott. "A call for global nuclear disarmament." *Nature* 487, 30–32 (2012).
- Gartzke, Erik and Matthew Kroenig. "Social scientific analysis of nuclear weapons: Past scholarly successes, contemporary challenges, and future research opportunities." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 9 (2017): 1853-1874.

B-list

- Tannenwald, Nina "Stigmatizing the bomb: Origins of the nuclear taboo." *International Security* 29, no. 4 (2005): 5-49.
- McCrisken, Trevor and Maxwell Downman. "'Peace through strength': Europe and NATO deterrence beyond the US Nuclear Posture Review." *International affairs* 95, no. 2 (2019): 277-295. Waltz, Kenneth N. "The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Better," Adelphi Papers, Number 171 (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1981)

- Mälksoo, Maria "A ritual approach to deterrence: I am, therefore I deter." *European Journal of International Relations* 27, 1 (2021): 53-78.
- Huth, Paul. 1988. "Extended Deterrence and the Outbreak of War." *American Political Science Review*. 82: 423-43.
- Signorino, Curt and Ahmer Tarar. 2006. "A Unified Theory and Test of Immediate Extended Deterrence" *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 586-605
- Kroenig, Matthew 2013. "Nuclear Superiority and the Balance of Resolve: Explaining Nuclear Crisis Outcomes," *International Organization*, vol. 67, no.1, Winter, p. 141-171.
- Wilson, Ward. 2008. "The myth of nuclear deterrence." *Nonproliferation Review* 15, 3: 421-439.
- Jervis, Robert. (1979) "Why nuclear superiority doesn't matter." *Political Science Quarterly* 94, 4: 617-633.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities." *The American Political Science Review*, 84, 3, 1990, pp. 731-45.
- Sagan, Scott D. 1996. "Why Do States Build Nuclear Weapons? Three Models in Search of a Bomb." *International Security* 21 (3): 54-86

Booklist

- Brodie, Bernard. *The Absolute Weapon: Atomic Power and World Order*. Harcourt, Brace, 1946.
- Miller, Steven E. *Strategy and nuclear deterrence*. Vol. 749. Princeton University Press, 2014.
- Payne, Keith B. *Deterrence in the second nuclear age*. University Press of Kentucky, 1996.
- Powell, Robert. *Nuclear deterrence theory: The search for credibility*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Jervis, Robert. *The Meaning of the Nuclear Revolution: Statecraft and the Prospect of Armageddon*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989
- Kroenig, Matthew. *The Logic of American Nuclear Strategy: Why Strategic Superiority Matters*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Sagan, Scott, and Kenneth Waltz. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: A Debate Renewed*, 3rd Edition. New York: WW Norton and Company, 2012. NOTE EDITION.
- Debs, Alexandre and Nuno P. Monteiro. 2017. *Nuclear Politics: The Strategic Logic of Proliferation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 5 (Sept 19): Alliances

We read about the key role of military alliances in international security, why states form them, how they operate in practice, and what effect they may have on preserving peace or provoking aggression.

Questions

What role do military alliances play in shaping the likelihood of conflict initiation between states?

What are the main differences across alliance types?

How do the structure and obligations of alliances influence their ability to deter or provoke aggression?

How do theoretical debates on deterrence and alliances inform practical policy decisions in international relations?

What are the challenges policymakers face when applying these theories to real-world security issues?

A-list

- Johnson, Jesse C., and Brett Ashley Leeds. 2011. "Defense Pacts: A Prescription for Peace?" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (1): 45–65
- Kenwick, Michael, John A. Vasquez, and Matthew A. Powers. 2015. "Do Alliances Really Deter?" *Journal of Politics*.
- Kenwick, Michael R., and John A. Vasquez. 2016. "Defense Pacts and Deterrence: Caveat Emptor." *Journal of Politics* 79 (1):
- Leeds, Brett Ashley, and Jesse C. Johnson. 2016. "Theory, Data, and Deterrence: A Response to Kenwick, Vasquez, and Powers." *Journal of Politics* 79 (1):
- Morrow, James D. (2017). "When Do Defensive Alliances Provoke Rather than Deter?," *The Journal of Politics* 2017 79:1, 341-345

B-list

- Leeds, Brett Ashley. (2003) "Do alliances deter aggression? The influence of military alliances on the initiation of militarized interstate disputes." *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 3: 427-439.
- Sandler, Todd, and Keith Hartley. "Economics of Alliances: The Lessons for Collective Action." *Journal of Economic Literature*, vol. 39, no. 3, 2001, pp. 869–96.
- Levy, Jack S.. (1981) "Alliance formation and war behavior: An analysis of the great powers, 1495-1975." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* : 581-613.
- Walt, Stephen M. (1985) "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power." *International Security*, 9,4: 3–43.
- Walt, Stephen M. (1997) "Why Alliances Endure or Collapse," *Survival*, 39, 1 (Spring), p. 157ff
- Huth, Paul K. (1999) "Deterrence and international conflict: Empirical findings and theoretical debates." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2,1: 25-48.
- Huth, Paul and Bruce Russett. (1984). "What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980." *World Politics* 36: 496-526
- Benson, Brett V. and Joshua D. Clinton. (2016) "Assessing the variation of formal military alliances." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60,5: 866-898.
- Robert P. Haffa Jr. (2018) "The future of conventional deterrence: Strategies for great power competition." *Strategic Studies Quarterly* 12, no. 4: 94-115.
- Gerald L. Sorokin. (1994) "Alliance formation and general deterrence: A game-theoretic model and the case of Israel." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38, 2: 298-325.
- Danilovic, Vesna. (2001). "Conceptual and Selection Bias Issues in Deterrence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 45: 97-125.
- Siroky, David (2012), 'Each Man For Himself? Rival Theories of Alliance Economics in The Early State System', *Defence and Peace Economics*, 23, 4: 321-330.
- Jervis, Robert. 1979. "Deterrence Theory Revisited." *World Politics*, 31: 289– 324.

Booklist

- Walt, Stephen M. *The origins of alliance*. Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Benson, B. V. (2012). *Constructing international security: Alliances, deterrence, and moral hazard*. Cambridge University Press.
- Snyder, Glenn Herald. *Deterrence and defense*. Vol. 2168. Princeton University Press, 2015.

Week 6 (Sept 26): Democracy

We read this week about an influential approach called the ‘democratic peace’, its empirical, theoretical and normative underpinnings as well as some critiques.

Questions

- How do the normative and institutional characteristics of democracies contribute to the observed phenomenon of democratic peace, and what are the limitations of these explanations in accounting for the absence of war between democracies?*
- What are the main critiques of the democratic peace theory, and how do alternative explanations, such as power politics or strategic interests, challenge the idea that democracies are inherently more peaceful in their relations with each other?*
- To what extent do domestic political institutions and accountability mechanisms in democracies shape leaders’ decisions to engage in or avoid conflict, and how might these factors interact with international dynamics to influence the likelihood of war?*

A-list

- Maoz, Zeev, and Bruce Russett. 1993 “Normative and Structural Causes of the Democratic Peace, 1946-1986.” *American Political Science Review*. 87 (3): 624-38.
- Gates, Scott, Torbjørn L. Knutsen, and Jonathon W. Moses. "Democracy and peace: A more skeptical view." *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 1 (1996): 1-10.
- Ray, James Lee "Does democracy cause peace?." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1, no. 1 (1998): 27-46.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 1999. “An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace.” *American Political Science Review*. 93: 791-807.
- Rosato, Sebastian. 2007. “The Flawed Logic of the Democratic Peace Theory.” *American Political Science Review*. 97: 585-602.

B-list

- Gleditsch, Nils Petter "Democracy and peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 29, no. 4 (1992): 369-376.
- Layne, Christopher. "Kant or cant: The myth of the democratic peace." In *The Realism Reader*, pp. 301-310. Routledge, 2014.

- Raknerud, A., & Hegre, H. (1997). The Hazard of War: Reassessing the Evidence for the Democratic Peace. *Journal of Peace Research*, 34(4), 385-404. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343397034004002>.
- Thompson, William R. "Democracy and Peace: Putting the Cart before the Horse?" *International Organization* 50, no. 1 (1996): 141–74. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300001697>.
- Gleditsch, Nils Petter (1995). Geography, democracy, and peace. *International Interactions*, 20(4), 297–323. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629508434853>
- Cederman, Lars-Erik and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. "Conquest and regime change: An evolutionary model of the spread of democracy and peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, no. 3 (2004): 603-629.
- Schweller, Randall L "Domestic structure and preventive war: are democracies more pacific?." *World Politics* 44, no. 2 (1992): 235-269.
- Tomz, Michael, and Jessica Weeks. "Public Opinion and the Democratic Peace." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (2013): 849–65.
- Fearon, James D. "Domestic political audiences and the escalation of international disputes." *American political science review* 88, no. 3 (1994): 577-592.

Booklist

- Kant, Immanuel. *Selections from Perpetual Peace*
- Russett, Bruce. *Grasping the democratic peace: Principles for a post-Cold War world*. Princeton university press, 1994.
- Davenport, Christian. *State repression and the domestic democratic peace*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Brown, Michael E., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds. *Debating the democratic peace*. MIT Press, 1996.
- Rasler, Karen, and William Thompson. *Puzzles of the democratic peace: Theory, geopolitics and the transformation of world politics*. Springer, 2016.

Week 7 (Oct 3): Gender (In)equality and Peace

We read about the relationship between gender equality and different types of conflict, exploring whether more gender egalitarian societies experience less violence. We will analyze theoretical perspectives and empirical evidence on how gender dynamics influence political violence and the onset of conflicts.

Questions

How does gender equality influence the likelihood of peace within societies, and what are the mechanisms through which greater gender parity contributes to reducing conflict and violence?

What challenges and opportunities arise when integrating a gender perspective into international peace and security efforts, and how can these be addressed to enhance the effectiveness of peace initiatives?

A-list

- Erik Melander. "Gender equality and intrastate armed conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 49, no. 4 (2005): 695-714.
- Reed Wood, and Mark D. Ramirez. "Exploring the microfoundations of the gender equality peace hypothesis." *International Studies Review* 20, no. 3 (2018): 345-367.
- Dara Kay Cohen, and Sabrina M. Karim. "Does more equality for women mean less war? Rethinking sex and gender inequality and political violence." *International organization* 76, no. 2 (2022): 414-444.
- Caprioli, Mary. "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 49.2 (2005): 161-178.

B-list

- Erika Forsberg, and Louise Olsson. "Gender Inequality and Internal Conflict." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 5 Aug. 2016.
- Sirianne Dahlum, Tore Wig. Peace Above the Glass Ceiling: The Historical Relationship between Female Political Empowerment and Civil Conflict, *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 64, Issue 4, December 2020, Pages 879–893, <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqaa066>.
- Erik Melander. "Political gender equality and state human rights abuse." *Journal of Peace Research* 42, no. 2 (2005): 149-166.
- Mary Caprioli. "Gender equality and state aggression: The impact of domestic gender equality on state first use of force." *International Interactions* 29, no. 3 (2003): 195-214.
- Bjarnegård, Elin, Erik Melander, Gabrielle Bardall, Karen Brounéus, Erika Forsberg, Karin Johansson, Angela Muvumba Sellström, and Louise Olsson. "Gender, peace and armed conflict." (2015): 101-109.
- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107 (August): 461-77
- Schwartz, Joshua A., and Christopher W. Blair. "Do Women Make More Credible Threats? Gender Stereotypes, Audience Costs, and Crisis Bargaining." *International Organization* (2020): 1-24.
- Joslyn N. Barnhart, Robert F. Trager, Elizabeth N. Saunders and Allan Dafoe. "The Suffragist Peace." *International Organization*, 2020.
- Reiter, Dan. "The Positivist Study of Gender and International Relations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 7 (2015): 1301-1326.
- See reply: Sjoberg, Laura, Kelly Kadera, and Cameron G. Thies. "Reevaluating Gender and IR Scholarship: Moving Beyond Reiter's Dichotomies Toward Effective Synergies." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62.4 (2018): 848-870.
- Cohn, Carol. "Sex and Death in The Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687-718
- Conover, Pamela Johnston, and Virginia Sapiro. "Gender, Feminist Consciousness, And War." *American Journal of Political Science* (1993): 1079-1099
- Eichenberg, Richard C. "Gender Differences in Public Attitudes Toward the Use of Force by The United States, 1990–2003." *International Security* 28, no. 1 (2003): 110-141.

- Caprioli, Mary, and Mark A. Boyer. "Gender, Violence, And International Crisis." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45.4 (2001): 503-518.
- Goldberg, Lindsey A. 2024. "International Virtue Signaling: How Female Combatants Shape State Support for Armed Rebellion." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. OnlineFirst: 1-24.
- Wood, Reed M. and Lindsey Allemang Goldberg. 2022. "Female Fighters and the Fates of Rebellions: How Mobilizing Women Influences Conflict Duration." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 39(5): 565–586.
- Woo, Byung-Deuk, Lindsey A. Goldberg, and Frederick Solt. 2022. "Public Gender Egalitarianism: A Dataset of Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion Toward Egalitarian Gender Roles in the Public Sphere." *British Journal of Political Science* 1–10.

Booklist

- Olsson, Louise, and Theodora-Ismene Gizelis, eds. *Gender, Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325*. Routledge, 2015.
- Hudson, Valerie M., Donna Lee Bowen, and Perpetua Lynne Nielsen. *The First Political Order: How Sex Shapes Governance and National Security Worldwide*. Columbia University Press, 2020.
- Goldstein, Joshua S. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System And Vice Versa*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Tickner, J. Ann. *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security*. Columbia University Press, 1992

Week 8 (Oct 10): Civil War and International Security

We read this week about civil wars, which sometimes blur the boundaries between comparative politics and international relations. One of the most common forms of political conflict and instability in the world today, we cover the key frameworks and results.

Questions

How do conflicts within a state impact its relationships with neighboring countries and the broader international system?

Why do some internal conflicts persist for longer periods than others?

What roles do feasibility and resource availability play in the outbreak and continuation of civil wars?

A-list

- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. "On economic causes of civil war." *Oxford economic papers* 50, no. 4 (1998): 563-573.
- Fearon, James D. "Why do some civil wars last so much longer than others?." *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (2004): 275-30.

- Hegre, H., & Sambanis, N. (2006). Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50(4), 508-535.
- Kristian Gleditsch, Idean Salehyan and Kenneth Schultz, 2008. Fighting at Home, Fighting Abroad: How Civil Wars Lead to International Disputes, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(4): 479-506.
- Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Dominic Rohner. "Beyond greed and grievance: feasibility and civil war." *Oxford Economic papers* 61, no. 1 (2009): 1-27.
- Blattman, Christopher, and Edward Miguel. "Civil war." *Journal of Economic literature* 48, no. 1 (2010): 3-57.

B-list

- Dixon, Jeffrey. "What causes civil wars? Integrating quantitative research findings." *International Studies Review* 11, no. 4 (2009): 707-735.
- Lacina, Bethany. "Explaining the severity of civil wars." *Journal of conflict resolution* 50, no. 2 (2006): 276-289.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. "Civil war." *Handbook of defense economics* 2 (2007): 711-739.
- Reynal-Querol, Marta. "Ethnicity, political systems, and civil wars." *Journal of conflict resolution* 46, no. 1 (2002): 29-54.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. "'New' and 'old' civil wars: a valid distinction?." *World politics* 54, no. 1 (2001): 99-118.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. "A review of recent advances and future directions in the quantitative literature on civil war." *Defence and Peace Economics* 13, no. 3 (2002): 215-243.
- Licklider, Roy. "The consequences of negotiated settlements in civil wars, 1945–1993." *American Political science review* 89, no. 3 (1995): 681-690.
- Toft, Monica Duffy. "Ending civil wars: a case for rebel victory?." *International Security* 34, no. 4 (2010): 7-36.
- Montalvo, José G., and Marta Reynal-Querol. "Ethnic polarization, potential conflict, and civil wars." *American economic review* 95, no. 3 (2005): 796-816.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. "The ontology of "political violence": action and identity in civil wars." *Perspectives on politics* 1, no. 3 (2003): 475-494.
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- Collier, Paul, and Nicholas Sambanis. "Understanding civil war: A new agenda." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 1 (2002): 3-12.
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- Sobek, David. "Masters of their domains: The role of state capacity in civil wars." *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 3 (2010): 267-271.
- Elbadawi, Ibrahim, and Nicholas Sambanis. "How much war will we see? Explaining the prevalence of civil war." *Journal of conflict resolution* 46, no. 3 (2002): 307-334.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. "On the incidence of civil war in Africa." *Journal of conflict resolution* 46, no. 1 (2002): 13-28.

Siroky, David, and Micahel Hechter, (2016). Ethnicity, class, and civil war: the role of hierarchy, segmentation, and cross-cutting cleavages. *Civil Wars*, 18(1), 91–107.

Week 9 (Oct 17): Natural Resources and Civil War

We read the classic works on how natural resources can fuel civil war using both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

Questions

How do different types of natural resources (e.g., oil, diamonds, timber) influence the onset, duration, and intensity of civil wars - through what specific mechanisms do these resources affect conflict dynamics?

What are the broader implications of natural resource dependency for the stability of states?

How can resource-rich countries mitigate the risks of civil conflict while promoting peace and development?

A-list

Ross, Michael L. "How do natural resources influence civil war? Evidence from thirteen cases." *International organization* 58, no. 1 (2004): 35-67.

Fearon, James D. "Primary commodity exports and civil war." *Journal of conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (2005): 483-507.

Smith, Benjamin. "Oil wealth and regime survival in the developing world, 1960–1999." *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 2 (2004): 232-246.

Christa N. Brunnschweiler, Erwin H. Bulte, Natural resources and violent conflict: resource abundance, dependence, and the onset of civil wars, *Oxford Economic Papers*, Volume 61, Issue 4, October 2009, Pages 651–674, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oep/gpp024>.

B-list

Matthias Basedau, and Jann Lay. "Resource curse or rentier peace? The ambiguous effects of oil wealth and oil dependence on violent conflict." *Journal of peace research* 46, no. 6 (2009): 757-776.

Michael L Ross. "The politics of the resource curse." *The Oxford handbook of the politics of development* (2018): 200.

Jonathan Di John. "Is there really a resource curse? A critical survey of theory and evidence." *Global governance* 17 (2011): 167.

Jack Paine. "Rethinking the conflict “Resource Curse”: How oil wealth prevents center-seeking civil wars." *International Organization* 70, no. 4 (2016): 727-761.

Benjamin Smith, and David Waldner. *Rethinking the resource curse*. Cambridge University Press, 2021 (Chapter 5, 64-77).

Humphreys, Macartan. "Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: Uncovering the mechanisms." *Journal of conflict resolution* 49, no. 4 (2005): 508-537.

Lujala, Päivi, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Elisabeth Gilmore. "A diamond curse? Civil war and a lootable resource." *Journal of conflict resolution* 49, no. 4 (2005): 538-562.

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin, and Cameron G. Thies. 2012. "Resource Curse in Reverse: How Civil Wars Influence Natural Resource Production." *International Interactions* 38 (2): 218–42. doi:10.1080/03050629.2012.658326.

Booklist

Le Billon, Philippe. *Fuelling war: Natural resources and armed conflicts*. Routledge, 2013.
Bannon, I., & Collier, P. (Eds.). (2003). *Natural resources and violent conflict: Options and actions*. World Bank Publications.

Week 10 (Oct 24): Civilian victimization in war

We read how, why and when civilians are caught in the midst of warfare, what agency they may have and how different circumstances, group structures and ideologies as well as external support may influence the dynamics of civilian victimization.

Questions

What factors drive the deliberate targeting of civilians in armed conflicts, and how do these strategies serve military or political objectives?

How does the relationship between armed groups and their external supporters influence the treatment of civilians during conflicts?

How do macro-level political objectives and micro-level factors intersect in shaping patterns of violence against civilians in war?

A-list

Downes, Alexander B. "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War." *International Security* 30, no. 4 (2006): 152-195.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War." *American Political Science Review* (2006): 429-447.

Ghobarah, Hazem Adam, Paul Huth, and Bruce Russett. "Civil wars kill and maim people—long after the shooting stops." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 2 (2003): 189-202.

Salehyan, Idean, David Siroky, and Reed M. Wood. "External Rebel Sponsorship and Civilian Abuse: A Principal-Agent Analysis of Wartime Atrocities." *International Organization* 68, no. 3 (2014): 633–61.

Valentino, Benjamin A. "Why we kill: The political science of political violence against civilians." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (2014): 89-103

Balcells, Laia, and Jessica A. Stanton. "Violence Against Civilians During Armed Conflict: Moving Beyond the Macro-and Micro-Level Divide." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24 (2020).

B-list

Valentino, Benjamin. "Final Solutions: The Causes of Mass Killing and Genocide." *Security Studies* 9, no. 3 (2000): 1-59.

- Valentino, Benjamin, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. "Draining the Sea': Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* (2004): 375-407.
- Straus, Scott. "Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint." *Perspectives on Politics* (2012): 343-362.
- Wood, Reed. M., Kathman, J. D., & Gent, S. E. (2012). "Armed Intervention and Civilian Victimization in Intrastate Conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(5), 647-660
- Zhukov, Yuri and Arturas Rozenas, Mass Repression and Political Loyalty: Evidence from Stalin's 'Terror by Hunger'" *American Political Science Review* 113, no. 2 (2019): 569-583.

Booklist

- Valentino, Benjamin A. *Final solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century*. Cornell University Press, 2004.
- Stanton, Jessica A. *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in The Shadow of International Law*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Downes, Alexander B. *Targeting Civilians in War*. Cornell University Press, 2011.

Week 11 (Oct 31): Ethnicity

We read about how ethnic divisions, state weakness, and political institutions shape the onset and dynamics of civil wars and territorial conflicts. We will analyze key drivers of ethnicity and conflict linkage, focusing on structural and institutional factors that influence these forms of conflict.

Questions

- How do structural factors such as state capacity, poverty, and geographical conditions interact with ethnic divisions to influence the likelihood of civil war, and what does this imply about the relationship between ethnicity and conflict?*
- In what ways do economic motivations (greed) and political or social injustices (grievance) intersect with ethnic identities to drive civil conflicts, and how can these dynamics inform strategies for conflict prevention and resolution?*
- How do horizontal inequalities between ethnic groups contribute to the emergence of ethnonationalist civil wars, and what policy measures can be implemented to reduce these inequalities and prevent conflict?*
- How potent are factors such as state capacity, economic motivations (greed), grievances, and horizontal inequalities in predicting the onset of civil conflicts, particularly in ethnically diverse societies, and how do these variables compare in their explanatory power?*

A-list

- Sambanis, N. (2001). Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(3), 259-282
- James D. Fearon, and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war." *American political science review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. "Horizontal inequalities and ethnonationalist civil war: A global comparison." *American political science review* 105, no. 3 (2011): 478-495.
- Elaine K. Denny, and Barbara F. Walter. "Ethnicity and civil war." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, no. 2 (2014): 199-212.
- Siroky, David S. and Chris W. Hale, (2017) "Inside Irredentism: A Global Empirical Analysis", *American Journal of Political Science*, 61: 117-128.

B-list

- Halvard Buhaug, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. "Square pegs in round holes: Inequalities, grievances, and civil war." *International Studies Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (2014): 418-431.
- Nils-Christian Bormann, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Manuel Vogt. "Language, religion, and ethnic civil war." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61, no. 4 (2017): 744-771.
- Siroky, David, Carolyn M. Warner, Gabrielle Filip-Crawford, Anna Berlin, and Steven L. Neuberg. "Grievances and rebellion: Comparing relative deprivation and horizontal inequality." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 37, no. 6 (2020): 694-715.
- Wucherpennig, Julian, Nils W. Metternich, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. "Ethnicity, the state, and the duration of civil war." *World Politics* 64, no. 1 (2012): 79-115.
- Fearon, James D., Kimuli Kasara, and David D. Laitin. "Ethnic minority rule and civil war onset." *American Political science review* 101, no. 1 (2007): 187-193.
- Weidmann, Nils B. "Violence "from above" or "from below"? The Role of Ethnicity in Bosnia's Civil War." *The Journal of Politics* 73, no. 4 (2011): 1178-1190.
- Montalvo, José G., and Marta Reynal-Querol. "Ethnic polarization, potential conflict, and civil wars." *American economic review* 95, no. 3 (2005): 796-816.
- Hale, Chris W. & Siroky, David (2023). "Irredentism and Institutions," *British Journal of Political Science*, 53(2), 498-515.

Booklist

- Collier, Paul and Nicholas Sambanis (eds). (2003) *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*. 2 vols. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. By New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. By Jeremy M. Weinstein. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean (2003) *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug. *Inequality, grievances, and civil war*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic groups in conflict, updated edition with a new preface*. Univ of California Press, 2000.
- Lake, David A., and Donald Rothchild, eds. *The international spread of ethnic conflict: Fear, diffusion, and escalation*. Princeton University Press, 1998.

Week 12 (Nov 7) Interventions

We read about the role of external actors in shaping the duration and outcomes of intrastate conflicts. We will examine how third-party interventions influence conflict dynamics, the conditions under which they succeed or fail, and the ways external involvement interacts with local identities and interests.

Questions

- How does the potential for international intervention influence the decisions of conflict parties in the onset and escalation of civil wars, and what are the key factors that determine whether this deterrent effect is successful?*
- What are the most effective types of international interventions for securing long-term peace in post-conflict societies, and how do these interventions interact with local dynamics and other peacebuilding efforts?*
- How do the strategic interests and biases of intervening states influence the decision to intervene in conflicts, and what are the implications of these motivations for the legitimacy and outcomes of international interventions?*
- What are the key factors that determine the success or failure of humanitarian interventions in achieving sustainable peace, and how do these factors vary across different conflict contexts?*
- How do the principles of sovereignty and non-intervention interact with the moral and legal justifications for humanitarian intervention?*
- What are the implications of this tension for international peace and security?*

A-list

- Carment, David, and Dane Rowlands. "Three's Company: Evaluating Third-Party Intervention in Intrastate Conflict." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 42, no. 5, 1998, pp. 572–99.
- Werner, Suzanne. "Deterring intervention: The stakes of war and third-party involvement." *American Journal of Political Science* (2000): 720-732.
- Regan, Patrick M. "Third-party interventions and the duration of intrastate conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 1 (2002): 55-73.
- Kathman, Jacob D. "Civil war diffusion and regional motivations for intervention." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55, no. 6 (2011): 847-876.
- Sambanis, Nicholas, Stergios Skaperdas, and William Wohlforth. "External intervention, identity, and civil war." *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 14 (2020): 2155-2182.

B-List:

- Ayoob, Mohammed. "Humanitarian intervention and state sovereignty." *The international journal of human rights* 6, no. 1 (2002): 81-102.
- Goodman, Ryan. "Humanitarian intervention and pretexts for war." *American Journal of International Law* 100, no. 1 (2006): 107-141.
- Parekh, Bhikhu. "Rethinking humanitarian intervention." *International Political Science Review* 18, no. 1 (1997): 49-69.
- Weiss, T. G. (2004). The Sunset of Humanitarian Intervention? The Responsibility to Protect in a Unipolar Era. *Security Dialogue*, 35(2), 135-153. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010604044973>.
- Bellamy, Alex J. "The responsibility to protect—five years on." *Ethics & International Affairs* 24, no. 2 (2010): 143-169.
- Thakur, Ramesh. "The responsibility to protect at 15." *International Affairs* 92, no. 2 (2016): 415-434.
- Hehir, A. (2024). The Responsibility to Protect Debate: An Enduring Black Hole. *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding*, 18(2), 205–210.
- Kathman, Jacob D. "Civil war contagion and neighboring interventions." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2010): 989-1012.
- Kenyan Lischer, Sarah "Military Intervention and the Humanitarian "Force Multiplier"," *Global Governance* 13, no. 1 (January-March 2007): 99-118.
- Anke Hoeffler. "Can international interventions secure the peace?." *International Area Studies Review* 17, no. 1 (2014): 75-94.
- Smith, Alastair. "To intervene or not to intervene: A biased decision." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40, no. 1 (1996): 16-40.
- Elbadawi, Ibrahim, External Interventions and the Duration of Civil Wars (September 2000). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=632504>.
- Pol Bargaúes. "Peacebuilding without peace? On how pragmatism complicates the practice of international intervention." *Review of International Studies* 46, no. 2 (2020): 237-255.
- Olsen, Gorm Rye. "'Great power' intervention in African armed conflicts." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 28, no. 2 (2015): 229-245.

Booklist

- Walzer, Michael. *Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations*. Fifth edition. New York: Basic Books, 2015
- Wheeler, Nicholas J. *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*. Oxford University Press, 2000 (Part 1, 1-21).
- Weiss, Thomas G. *Humanitarian intervention*. John Wiley & Sons, 2016.
- Barnett, Michael and Weiss, Thomas G.. *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012. <https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801461538>.
- Holzgrefe, Jeff L., and Robert O. Keohane, eds. *Humanitarian intervention: ethical, legal and political dilemmas*. Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Hehir, Aidan. *Humanitarian intervention: an introduction*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013.

- Orford, Anne. *International authority and the responsibility to protect*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Berman, Eli, and David A. Lake, eds. *Proxy wars: Suppressing violence through local agents*. Cornell University Press, 2019.
- Moghadam, Assaf, Vladimir Rauta, and Michel Wyss, eds. *Routledge handbook of proxy wars*. Taylor & Francis, 2023.

Week 13 (November 14): Partition

We read about partition as a potential resolution to ethnic and nationalist conflicts. We will critically examine arguments for and against partition, considering its effectiveness, consequences, and the institutional factors that shape its success or failure in ending civil wars.

Questions

- Can partition help resolve intractable conflicts?*
- Does the cost and suffering that they often (invariably?) produce counterbalance the benefits?*
- What is the counterfactual and how can it be used to answer these questions?*
- How do different approaches to partition as a solution for ethnic civil wars define and measure its effectiveness, and why is understanding these metrics crucial for evaluating the long-term stability and peace in post-conflict societies?*
- In the context of partitioning, how do competing definitions of ethnic identity and territorial boundaries impact the success or failure of achieving sustainable peace, and what role does power dynamics play in shaping these outcomes?*
- Why is it important to distinguish between the short-term cessation of violence and the long-term establishment of peace when assessing partition as a solution to civil wars, and how do the underlying assumptions about power and security influence these assessments?*

A-list

- Kaufmann, Chaim (1996). Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. *International Security*, 20(4), 136–175.
- Kaufmann, Chaim "When all else fails: Ethnic population transfers and partitions in the twentieth century." *International security* 23, no. 2 (1998): 120-156.
- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (July 2000), pp. 437–483.
- Thomas Chapman and Philip G. Roeder, "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101, No. 4 (November 2007), pp. 677–691.
- Nicholas Sambanis, and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl (2009). "What's in a line? Is partition a solution to civil war?." *International Security* 34,2: 82-118.

B-list

- Radha Kumar. "The troubled history of partition." *Foreign affairs* (1997): 22-34.

- Waterman, Stanley. "Partition, secession and peace in our time." *GeoJournal* 39 (1996): 345-352.
- Downes, Alexander B. "The Holy Land Divided: Defending Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Wars," *Security Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Summer 2001), pp. 58–116.
- Johnson, Carter. "Partitioning to peace: Sovereignty, demography, and ethnic civil wars." *International Security* 32, no. 4 (2008): 140-170.
- Horowitz, Michael C. Alex Weisiger, and Carter Johnson. "The limits to partition." *International Security* 33, no. 4 (2009): 203-210.
- Fujikawa, Kentaro. "Building Peace after Self-Determination and Partition: Faulty Assumptions?." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 9, no. 1 (2024): ogae007.

Booklist

- Hachey, Thomas E. (1972), *The problem of partition: Peril to world peace*. Rand McNally.
- Tir, Jaroslav, (2006), *Redrawing the Map to Promote Peace: Territorial Dispute Management Via Territorial Changes*. Lexington.
- Johnson, Carter R. (2021), *Partition and Peace in Civil Wars: Dividing Lands and Peoples to End Ethnic Conflict*. Routledge.

Week 14 (November 21): Persistence of War

We read a very popular book this week by Steven Pinker, and a critical engagement with it by Bear Braumoeller.

Questions

The key question for this last week is: has violence declined over time?

A-list

Pinker, Steven. 2011. *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*. New York: Penguin.

Braumoeller, B. F. (2019). *Only the Dead: The persistence of war in the modern age*. Oxford University Press.

Week 15 (November 28 – Thanksgiving Break/No Class)

Week 16 (December 5 – Reading Day/No Class)

Final Paper: Due December 5th (by midnight before December 6th)

Grades due on December 9th.

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War and Peace Before the Congress of Vienna

Questions:

A-list:

Thucydides, *Peloponnesian Wars*.
Kagan, Donald. *Thucydides: The Reinvention of History*.
Sun-Tzu, *Art of War*.
Machiavelli, *Prince, Art of War and Discourses*.
Hobbes, *Leviathan*.
Clausewitz, *On War*.

The Concept of Power

Questions:

*How do various theoretical frameworks in international relations define and measure power?
Why is an accurate assessment of power crucial for understanding the dynamics of security?
In the context of security studies, why is it essential to differentiate between different forms of
power (such as hard power, soft power, and structural power)?
How do these distinctions impact the effectiveness of security strategies and the stability of the
international order?*

A-list:

Morgenthau, Hans, *Politics Among Nations*. "The struggle for power and peace." Nova York, Alfred Kopf (1948). (Chapter 11: Balance of Power)
Barnett, Michael, and Raymond Duvall. "Power in international politics." *International organization* 59, no. 1 (2005): 39-75.
Holsti, Kalevi J. "The concept of power in the study of international relations." *Background* 7, no. 4 (1964): 179-194.
Jack S. Levy. "The causes of war and the conditions of peace." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1, no. 1 (1998): 139-165.
Jeffrey W. Taliaferro. "Power politics and the balance of risk: Hypotheses on great power intervention in the periphery." *Political Psychology* 25, no. 2 (2004): 177-211.
Robert A Pape. "The limits of precision-guided air power." *Security Studies* 7, no. 2 (1997): 93-114.
Andrew Mack. "Why big nations lose small wars: The politics of asymmetric conflict." *World politics* 27, no. 2 (1975): 175-200.

- Richard Ned Lebow, and Benjamin Valentino. "Lost in transition: A critical analysis of power transition theory." *International Relations* 23, no. 3 (2009): 389-410.
- Berenice A. Carroll "Peace research: The cult of power." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 16, no. 4 (1972): 585-616.
- Robert Powell,. "Stability and the Distribution of Power." *World Politics* 48, no. 2 (1996): 239-267.
- Hwang, Wonjae. 2010. "Power, Preferences, and Multiple Levels of Interstate Conflict." *International Interactions* 36 (3): 215–39.
- Jonathan N. Markowitz, and Christopher J. Fariss. 2018. Power, Proximity, and Democracy: Geopolitical Competition in the International System. *Journal of Peace Research* 55 (1): 78–93.

Booklist:

- Kenneth Waltz. *Theory of International Politics* (1979).
- Little, Richard. *The balance of power in international relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Krasner, Stephen D. *Power, the state, and sovereignty: Essays on international relations*. Routledge, 2009.
- Ikenberry, G. John. *Power, order, and change in world politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Game Theory and the Emergence of Cooperation

Questions

A-list:

- Axelrod, Robert, and William D. Hamilton. "The evolution of cooperation." *Science* 211, no. 4489 (1981): 1390-1396.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1985. "Toward a Scientific Understanding of International Conflict: A Personal View" *International Studies Quarterly* 29 (2): 121-136.
- Walt, Stephen 1999. Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies, *International Security* 23(4): 5-48.
- Martin, Lisa 1999. "The Contributions of Rational Choice: A Defense of Pluralism." *International Security* 24 (2): 74-83.
- Powell, Robert P1999. "The Modeling Enterprise and Security Studies" *International Security* 24 (2): 97-106.
- Walt, Stephen M. "Rigor or rigor mortis?: Rational choice and security studies." *International security* 23, no. 4 (1999): 5-48.
- De Mesquita, Bruce Bueno, and James D. Morrow. "Sorting through the Wealth of Notions." *International Security* 24, no. 2 (1999): 56-73.
- Niou, Emerson MS, and Peter C. Ordeshook. "'Less Filling, Tastes Great': The Realist-Neoliberal Debate." *World Politics* 46, no. 2 (1994): 209-234.

Booklist

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. *The Logic of Political Survival*. MIT Press, 2005.
- Brown, Michael E., Owen R. Cote Jr, Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, eds. *Rational choice and security studies: Stephen Walt and his critics*. MIT Press, 2000.
- Snidal, Duncan. "Rational choice and international relations." *Handbook of international relations* 2 (2013): 85-111.

Balancing and Bandwagoning

Questions

1. How do states determine when to prioritize profit-seeking behaviors over security concerns in their alliance strategies, and what risks do these choices pose to both their own long-term security and global stability?
2. In what ways do states' perceptions of threats versus opportunities shape their alliance choices, and how might misperceptions or shifts in these perceptions lead to unintended escalations or realignments in the international system?
3. To what extent can the distinction between revisionist and status quo powers explain variations in alliance behaviors, and how might changes in a state's internal or external environment prompt a shift from one category to the other?

A-list

- Waltz, Kenneth N. "Anarchic orders and balances of power." In *The Realism Reader*, pp. 113-123. Routledge, 2014.
- Walt, Stephen M. "Alliance formation and the balance of world power." *International security* 9, no. 4 (1985): 3-43.
- Randall L. Schweller, "Bandwagoning for profit: Bringing the revisionist state back in." *International security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 72-107.
- Crawford, Timothy W. "Preventing enemy coalitions: How wedge strategies shape power politics." *International Security* 35, no. 4 (2011): 155-189.
- Roy, Denny. "Southeast Asia and China: balancing or bandwagoning?." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2005): 305-322.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. "Structural realism after the Cold War." *International security* 25, no. 1 (2000): 5-41.
- Schweller, Randall L. "Unanswered threats: A neoclassical realist theory of under-balancing." In *The Realism Reader*, pp. 265-271. Routledge, 2014.
- Brooks, Stephen G., G. John Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth. "Don't come home, America: the case against retrenchment." *International Security* 37, no. 3 (2012): 7-51.

Booklist

- Goddard, Stacie E. *When right makes might: Rising powers and world order*. Cornell University Press, 2018.
- Pressman, Jeremy. *Warring friends: Alliance restraint in international politics*. Cornell University Press, 2012.
- Art, Robert J., and Kenneth Neal Waltz, eds. *The use of force: military power and international politics*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.
- Schweller, Randall L. *Unanswered threats: Political constraints on the balance of power*. Princeton University Press, 2010.

Waltz and the Study of International Security

Questions

A-list:

- Stephen Van Evera. "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War." *International Security* 22, no. 4 (1998): 5–43.
- Suganami, Hidemi. "Understanding man, the state, and war." *International Relations* 23, no. 3 (2009): 372-388.
- Sjoberg, Laura. "Gender, structure, and war: what Waltz couldn't see." *International Theory* 4, no. 1 (2012): 1-38.
- Braumoeller, Bear F. 2008. "Systemic Politics and the Origins of Great Power Conflict." *American Political Science Review*. 102 (1): 77-93

Booklist:

- Waltz, Kenneth. *Man, the State, and War*

Diversionsary War Theory

Questions

A-list:

- Tir, Jaroslav. 2010. "Territorial Diversion: Diversionsary Theory of War and Territorial Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 72(2): 413-425.
2010. "New Directions in the Study of Diversionsary Conflict? Special Issue of *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27 (5).

Arms Races

- Rider, Toby J. 2009. "Understanding Arms Race Onset: Rivalry, Threat, and Territorial Competition." *Journal of Politics*. 71: 693-703.
- Glaser, Charles L. "The causes and consequences of arms races." *Annual Review of Political Science* 3, no. 1 (2000): 251-276.

Peacekeeping

Questions

- What are the primary factors that influence the effectiveness of peacekeeping missions in maintaining and building peace in post-conflict settings, and how do these factors vary across different operational environments?*
- How do peacekeeping missions interact with local political, social, and economic dynamics, and what strategies can be employed to ensure that these interventions support sustainable peace rather than inadvertently undermining it?*
- In what ways do peacekeeping missions contribute to the long-term processes of peacebuilding, and how can they be integrated with other international and local efforts to foster durable peace and prevent the recurrence of conflict?*

A-list

- Håvard Hegre, Lisa Hultman, and Håvard Møkleiv Nygård. "Evaluating the conflict-reducing effect of UN peacekeeping operations." *The Journal of Politics* 81, no. 1 (2019): 215-232.
- Barbara F. Walter, Lise Morje Howard, and V. Page Fortna. "The extraordinary relationship between peacekeeping and peace." *British Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 4 (2021): 1705-1722.
- Di Salvatore, J, and A Ruggeri. 2017. "The Effectiveness of Peace Keeping Operations." In, edited by WR Thompson. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Virginia Page Fortna, Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War, *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 48, Issue 2, June 2004, Pages 269-292, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0020-8833.2004.00301.x>.
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Bellamy, Alex J., Paul D. Williams, and Stuart Griffin. *Understanding peacekeeping*. Polity, 2010.

Diehl, Paul Francis. *International peacekeeping*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

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International Mediation

Questions

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Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2014. "Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting." *American Political Science Review*. 108 (4): 737-753.

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Religion

Questions

What mechanisms link religion to collective action and armed conflict in developing countries, and how do these mechanisms differ from those associated with non-religious causes of conflict?

How do religious factors influence the onset and dynamics of conflicts compared to broader other factors, and what evidence supports the primacy of religious motivations in these conflicts?

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- Toft, Monica Duffy. "Getting religion? The puzzling case of Islam and civil war." *International Security* 31, no. 4 (2007): 97-131.
- Matthias Basedau, Birte Pfeiffer, and Johannes Vüllers. "Bad religion? Religion, collective action, and the onset of armed conflict in developing countries." *Journal of conflict Resolution* 60, no. 2 (2016): 226-255.
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- Luc Reychler. "Religion and conflict." *International Journal of Peace Studies* 2, no. 1 (1997): 19-38.
- Süveyda Karakaya. 2015. "Religion and Conflict: Explaining the Puzzling Case of 'Islamic Violence.'" *International Interactions* 41 (3): 509-38.
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- Phillips, Andrew. *War, religion and empire: The transformation of international orders*. Vol. 117. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Svensson, Isak. *Ending holy wars: Religion and conflict resolution in civil wars*. University of Queensland Press (Australia), 2012.

Economic Interdependence

We read about another relational approach that emphasizes the role of economic interdependence (and institutional interdependence) in creating ties that promote peace, how it works in view of the democratic peace, and what some think is missing or incorrect.

Questions

- How do democracy, interdependence, and capitalist structures individually and collectively contribute to the maintenance of peace between states?*
- How do the dynamics of economic interdependence and capitalist structures shape the incentives and disincentives for states to engage in conflict?*
- What are the potential implications for contemporary global security?*

A-list

- Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye Jr. "Power and interdependence." *Survival* 15, no. 4 (1973): 158-165.

- Oneal, John R., and Bruce Russett. "The Kantian peace: The pacific benefits of democracy, interdependence, and international organizations, 1885–1992." *World politics* 52, no. 1 (1999): 1-37.
- Schneider, Gerald, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2010. "The Capitalist Peace: The Origins and Prospects of a Liberal Idea." *International Interactions* 36 (2): 107–14. doi:10.1080/03050621003784689.

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- Erik Gartzke, Quan Li, and Charles Boehmer. "Investing in the peace: Economic interdependence and international conflict." *International organization* 55, no. 2 (2001): 391-438.
- Jack S Levy. "Economic interdependence, opportunity costs, and peace." *Economic interdependence and international conflict: new perspectives on an enduring debate* (2003): 127-47.
- Katherine Barbieri. "Economic interdependence: A path to peace or a source of interstate conflict?." *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 1 (1996): 29-49.
- Johann Park,. "Economic Interdependence, Polity Type, Conflict and Peace: When Does Interdependence Cause Peace and Cause War?." *Journal of International and Area Studies* 25, no. 1 (2018): 21-36.
- Stephen G Brooks,. "The Trade Truce?: When Economic Interdependence Does-and Doesn't-Promote Peace." *Foreign Aff.* 103 (2024): 141.
- Zeev Maoz. "The effects of strategic and economic interdependence on international conflict across levels of analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 1 (2009): 223-240.
- Chen, Frederick R. "Extended dependence: Trade, alliances, and peace." *The Journal of Politics* 83, no. 1 (2021): 246-259.
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- Schneider, Gerald, and Nils Petter Gleditsch, eds. *Assessing the capitalist peace*. Routledge, 2013.
- McDonald, Patrick J. *The invisible hand of peace: Capitalism, the war machine, and international relations theory*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
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- Mansfield, Edward Deering, and Brian M. Pollins, eds. *Economic interdependence and international conflict: New perspectives on an enduring debate*. University of Michigan Press, 2009.
- Ghosn, F., Braithwaite, A., & Chu, T. S. (2019). Violence, displacement, contact, and attitudes toward hosting refugees. *Journal of Peace Research*, 56(1), 118-133.
- Ghosn F, Chu TS, Simon M, Braithwaite A, Frith M, Jandali J. The Journey Home: Violence, Anchoring, and Refugee Decisions to Return. *American Political Science Review*. 2021;115(3):982-998.

Refugees and Conflict

Questions

A-list

- Gleditsch, Kristian and Idean Salehyan. 2006. "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War." *International Organization*. 60 (2): 335-366.

Terrorism

Questions

In what ways do the organizational structures and ideological motivations of terrorist groups influence their strategies and targets, and how can this understanding inform more effective counterterrorism and peacebuilding efforts?

How do the global and local dimensions of terrorism interact, and what are the implications of this interplay for international efforts to promote peace and prevent the spread of terrorism?

How does the evolution and globalization of suicide terrorism reflect broader changes in the nature of contemporary conflicts, and what implications does this have for strategies aimed at countering terrorism and promoting peace?

A-list

- Robert A Pape. "The strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American political science review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 343-361.
- De Mesquita, Ethan Bueno. "The quality of terror." *American journal of political science* 49, no. 3 (2005): 515-530.
- Assaf Moghadam. "Suicide terrorism, occupation, and the globalization of martyrdom: A critique of Dying to Win." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29, no. 8 (2006): 707-729.
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- Kydd, Andrew H. and Barbara Walter. 2006. Strategies of Terrorism. *International Security* 31 (1): 49-80.
- De Mesquita, Ethan Bueno. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence." *International Organization* 59, no. 1 (2005): 145-76.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818305050022>.
- Abrahms, Max. "Why terrorism does not work." *International Security* 31, no. 2 (2006): 42-78.
- Abrahms, Max. "The political effectiveness of terrorism revisited." *Comparative Political Studies* 45, no. 3 (2012): 366-393.

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- Gambetta, Diego, and Steffen Hertog. *Engineers of jihad: The curious connection between violent extremism and education*. Princeton University Press, 2018.
- Hoffman, Bruce. *Inside terrorism*. Columbia university press, 2017.
- Crenshaw, Martha, ed. *Terrorism in context*. Penn State Press, 2010.

Civilizational Dynamics

Questions

- How do cultural and civilizational identities contribute to the dynamics of international conflict, and what evidence supports or challenges the notion that these identities are the primary drivers of conflict between states or groups?*
- What are the limitations of the "clash of civilizations" framework in explaining contemporary conflicts, and how do alternative theories, such as those focusing on economic, political, or ideological factors, provide a more nuanced understanding of conflict dynamics?*

A-list

- Huntington, Samuel P. "The clash of civilizations?." *Foreign Aff.* 22 (1994).
- Fox, Jonathan. "Two civilizations and ethnic conflict: Islam and the West." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no. 4 (2001): 459-472.
- Giacomo Chiozza. "Is there a clash of civilizations? Evidence from patterns of international conflict involvement, 1946-97." *Journal of peace research* 39, no. 6 (2002): 711-734.
- Tarak Barkawi, and Mark Laffey. "The postcolonial moment in security studies." *Review of international studies* 32, no. 2 (2006): 329-352.
- Brett Bowden. "What price peace? On the dialectical relationship between civilization and war." *International Journal of Peace Studies* (2011): 1-22.

Errol A. Henderson, Richard Tucker, Clear and Present Strangers: The Clash of Civilizations and International Conflict, *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 45, 2, June 2001, 317-338, <https://doi.org/10.1111/0020-8833.00193>.

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Zarakol, Ayşe. *After defeat: How the East learned to live with the West*. Vol. 118. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Fox, Jonathan. *Religion, civilization, and civil war: 1945 through the new millennium*. Lexington Books, 2004.

Autocracy

Weeks, Jessica L. 2012. "Strongmen and Straw Men: Authoritarian Regimes and the Initiation of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review*. 106: 326-47.

Pickering, Jeffrey, and Emizet Kisangani. 2010. "Diversionary Despots? Comparing Autocracies' Propensities to Use and to Benefit from Military Force." *American Journal of Political Science*. 54: 477-493.

Peceny, Mark, Caroline C. Beer, and Shannon Sanchez-Terry. 2002. "Dictatorial Peace?" *American Political Science Review*. 96: 15-26

Climate

Questions

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Wood, Reed M. and Thorin M. Wright. 2015. "Responding to Catastrophe: Repression Dynamics Following Rapid-onset Natural Disasters." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*,

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Slettebak, Rune T. "Don't blame the weather! Climate-related natural disasters and civil conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 49, no. 1 (2012): 163-176.

Economic shocks

Bazzi, Samuel, and Christopher Blattman. "Economic shocks and conflict: Evidence from commodity prices." *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 6, no. 4 (2014): 1-38

Territory

- Goddard, Stacie E. 2006. "Uncommon Ground: Territorial Conflict and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization*. 60: 35-68.
- Carter, David B. and Hein Goemans. 2011. "The Making of the New Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict." *International Organization* 65 (2): 275-309.

Other Interesting Readings that Did Not Fit Neatly Elsewhere

- Zinnes, Dina. 1980. "Three Puzzles in Search of a Researcher." *International Studies Quarterly*. 24 (3): 315-342.
- Hill, Kim Quaile. 2012. "In Search of General Theory." *Journal of Politics*. 74 (4): 917-31.

Accommodations:

Students requesting academic accommodations should first connect with the Disability Resource Center (352-392-8565, <https://disability.ufl.edu>) and provide them with appropriate documentation. Once registered, you will receive an accommodation letter to share with the instructor. If you need accommodation, please follow this procedure as early as possible in the semester.

Academic Integrity:

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, “We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: “On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment.”

[The Honor Code](#) specifies several behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel.

Online Course Evaluations:

Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course. These evaluations are conducted online at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results>.

UF’s Policy on In-Class Recording:

Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor.

A “class lecture” is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To “publish” means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is

posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code.

Campus Resources:

U Matter, We Care: If you or someone you know is in distress, please contact umatter@ufl.edu, 352- 392-1575, or visit [U Matter, We Care](#) website to refer or report a concern and a team member will reach out to the student in distress.

Counseling and Wellness Center: Visit the Counseling and Wellness Center website or call 352-392-1575 for information on crisis services as well as non-crisis services.

Student Health Care Center: Call 352-392-1161 for 24/7 information to help you find the care you need or visit the Student Health Care Center website.

University Police Department: Visit UF Police Department website or call 352-392-1111 (or 9-1-1 for emergencies).

UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center: For immediate medical care call 352-733-0111 or go to the emergency room at 1515 SW Archer Road, Gainesville, FL 32608; Visit the UF Health Emergency Room and Trauma Center website.

GatorWell Health Promotion Services: For prevention services focused on optimal wellbeing, including Wellness Coaching for Academic Success, visit the [GatorWell website](#) or call 352-273-4450.

Academic Resources:

E-learning technical support: Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.

Writing Studio: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers.

Student Complaints On-Campus: Visit the Student Honor Code and Student Conduct Code [webpage](#) for more information.

On-Line Students Complaints: View the [Distance Learning Student Complaint Process](#).