

## PSCI 5832: Contexts and International Relations

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Office: 165 Wooten Hall (Hours: TBA, F 1-2 PM)

**Spring 2016**

Tues. 2:00-4:50 PM

130 Wooten Hall

### **Description**

Most political scientists study international relations "in a vacuum," without reference to the geographic and historical context in which events take place. The central goal of this course is to consider the impact of geography and history, and to study the many ways that such contextual forces can influence international processes. This goal will be pursued through a variety of theoretical and empirical readings on the impact of geography and history, in-class presentations on weekly topics, and a research paper dealing with contextual effects in international relations.

It must be emphasized that this is not a course in geography or history, but rather a course that examines the ways that geographic and historical factors influence international relations. Students seeking a course in geography or history are advised to look to UNT's Geography and History departments, because they will certainly be disappointed with this course. We will not examine the geography or history of specific countries or regions; we will focus on theoretical and analytical applications of geographic and historical influences on traditional international relations topics such as international conflict and trade; and the readings for this course were primarily written by and intended for political scientists. Furthermore, this course will not be post-modern or constructivist in its approach (although several of the readings may draw from such theoretical frameworks); like most of UNT's Political Science department, this course will focus on the development and testing of systematic theories on political phenomena.

This course is part of the Political Science Ph.D. program, but is open to graduate students from any department or program who have the necessary background. The course will involve intensive reading of advanced scholarly research; nearly every reading that is assigned involves quantitative data analysis, formal mathematical models, or both. While students are not necessarily expected to be able to produce their own quantitative and/or formal research, they must be able to understand and discuss this type of work. Students who are unable to do so or who are unwilling to accept the validity of quantitative analyses of human activities are advised to avoid this course, as they will be wasting both their own time and that of their classmates, and their grades for participation and for the discussion papers will reflect this.

### **Required Texts**

This is a heavily article-focused course, with only two books being required. The following books should be available at any of the campus bookstores, and will probably be cheaper from any online bookstore (such as amazon.com, barnesandnoble.com, half.com, or powells.com). Where possible, feel free to order the paperback rather than hardcover edition or to order a used rather than new copy if desired.

- Jared Diamond (1999). *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Margaret MacMillan (2008). *Dangerous Games: The Uses and Abuses of History*. New York: The Modern Library.

Most of the other readings are available through JSTOR (<https://libproxy.library.unt.edu/login?url=http://www.jstor.org/search>) or UNT's other e-journal subscriptions (<http://iii.library.unt.edu/search/y#ejournals>); the ones that are not will be made available on the Blackboard page for this course.

## **Course Requirements**

### *(1) Attendance and Participation (20% of course grade)*

Because this is a graduate seminar, the instructor will not run class meetings as a lecture; all students are expected to come to each class meeting prepared to discuss the readings. This will involve spending the time to read each book or article on the reading list, and thinking about what each reading contributes to the weekly topic. Class discussion every week will focus on such issues as the theoretical arguments being made (explicitly or implicitly), the empirical evidence that is marshaled to test these arguments, weaknesses or shortcomings of the work so far, and potential directions for future research. Note that coming to class late, or missing class without documentation of a very pressing concern, is completely unacceptable in a graduate seminar and will be penalized accordingly.

### *(2) In-Class Presentations (20% of course grade)*

Beyond regular class attendance and active participation in class discussion, each student is expected to make approximately 4-6 presentations to the rest of the class on the weekly topics (with the exact number depending on the number of students taking the course). The presentations should involve identifying one or more important questions related to the week's topic that have been left unanswered or answered incompletely by the readings (and offering tentative suggestions on how such gaps might be filled in future research), and/or proposing some extension of the week's readings to a new question or area; the discussion questions suggested in the syllabus offer a good place to begin in thinking about these presentations. These presentations are meant to help focus the class discussion on new directions from the week's readings, and to help identify interesting directions for future research (perhaps even for this course's research paper). They should be written from a research-oriented, academic perspective, rather than a literature review or a Siskel-and-Ebert-style review ("I liked/hated this article"), and should be constructive; criticisms of assigned readings should be accompanied by one or more suggestions about how to overcome the problems, with appropriate discussion of the implications of these suggestions for the body of research. Each presentation should be described in a 3-to-4-page paper to be handed in for evaluation.

The following general grading scale will be used for both participation and presentations:

- A to A-: The student made a very strong contribution to the course. Class discussion, comments, and/or presentations reflected a great deal of thought about the material, and were constructive (for example, not only identifying current weaknesses and showing how these weaknesses limit the current literature, but suggesting useful future directions that could help to overcome these weaknesses or to extend the literature in important ways).
- B+ to B-: The student contributed meaningfully to the course. Class participation and/or presentations went beyond repeating the assigned material, perhaps identifying weaknesses in the current literature, but did not make many constructive suggestions about how these weaknesses might be overcome or how the literature might usefully be extended in the future.
- C+ or lower: The student did not contribute meaningfully. Class participation and/or presentations were limited to repeating the assigned material rather than making connections or extensions, or were filled with mistakes and inaccuracies.
- F: The student was a net drain on the course, rarely if ever speaking in class or failing to make the required number of presentations.

### *(3) Research Paper*

Another requirement is an original research paper, involving the application of a (geographic or historical) contextual approach to some IR problem of the student's choosing. This paper may be quantitative or qualitative in nature, depending on the nature of the question and the student's methodological training, but in any case it must be analytical and theoretical in nature rather than descriptive; the paper should attempt to test hypotheses about contextual processes or contextual influences in world politics (focusing on geographic or historical contexts except with the permission of the instructor). The final paper must be at least 20-30 pages in length, and should be comparable to an academic journal article in style. Please note that this must be an

original paper for this course, and can not overlap in any substantial way with a paper written for another course; if there is any question please talk to me about it and bring me a copy of the other paper.

The paper will be written in a number of stages, each of which will be graded separately:

Week 4 (Tuesday, Feb. 9), Paper Proposal (5% of course grade): Submit a 2-3 page proposal for your paper topic. This proposal must be primarily theoretical (the research design and data issues can be addressed later) and will involve a brief description of the paper topic, including a statement of what the student plans to study, a summary of what relevant research has found, and a discussion of the basic theoretical logic and hypotheses that will be tested here. This proposal will be evaluated and graded based on the appropriateness of the topic for this course, as well as the completeness and coherence of the theoretical logic and hypotheses to be tested. An 'A' grade will require that the topic be appropriate for this course, the general theoretical approach be explained well, and the hypotheses be testable and clearly related to this theoretical approach.

Week 8 (Tuesday, Mar. 8), Research Design (5%): Submit a 5-7 page research design laying out the details of how you will approach your paper topic. This will involve more detailed discussion of the paper's hypotheses as well as a statement and justification of your spatial-temporal domain, data sources, and similar topics. At this point the basic ideas of the paper should be finalized and it should be clear how all of the hypotheses will be tested, leaving the rest of the semester to carry out these tests and write up the results and conclusions. This research design will be evaluated and graded based on the theoretical logic and hypotheses (as with the initial proposal but presumably developed further by this point), as well the completeness of the research design and the appropriateness of this design for testing the specific hypotheses that are laid out. An 'A' grade will require that the theoretical logic and hypotheses be complete and well thought out, the spatial-temporal domain and case selection for the analyses be appropriate, and reasonable measures and data sources be provided for each variable to be used in the study (including all dependent, independent, and control variables).

Week 12 (Tuesday, Apr. 5), First Draft (10%): Submit a complete first draft of your research paper. By this time, every part of the paper should be completed -- introduction, literature review, theory/hypotheses, research design, analysis, conclusions, and references. This will be graded like the final version of the paper (as described below), but with the recognition that it may not be as well-developed as the final version will, and the goal of giving each student feedback to make the final version of the paper better.

***Bring three (3) copies of your paper draft.*** The course instructor will grade one copy, while the other two will be assigned to two students in the course so that they can write an anonymous review of the paper.

Week 14 (Tuesday, Apr. 19), Reviews (10%): An important part of academic careers is the peer review process, for both getting feedback on your own research and providing feedback to other scholars as they seek to publish their research. Each student in this course will provide an anonymous review to two fellow students, giving feedback on the first draft of the paper as well as constructive suggestions on how to improve the project before the final paper is due. More detailed instructions and examples will be distributed in class no later than the time that the first drafts of the paper are due. Your reviews will be graded based on the quality of the feedback offered to the authors of the two papers. An 'A' grade will require that the review accurately summarize what the author has attempted to do, give useful feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the current version of the paper, and offer useful advice on how the paper can be improved.

***Bring two (2) copies of your review of each paper, one with your name on top and one without.*** The course instructor will grade the named copy, while the anonymous copy will be distributed to the paper author as feedback to help with the completion of the final paper.

Week 16 (Tuesday, May 3), Presentation: The final class meeting of the semester will give each student an opportunity to present his/her research paper to the entire class. More details are provided at the end of this syllabus; these presentations will be graded as part of the class participation grade.

Final Exam Period (Tuesday, May 10), Final Paper (30%): ***The final version of your research paper must be***

*turned in through the TurnItIn link on the course's Blackboard page no later than the scheduled final exam period for this course.* This final version of the paper must include a memo describing the changes that have been made in response to the written reviewers' comments.

The final paper will be graded on the clarity and contribution of the theory as an addition to the relevant scholarly literature, as well as on the appropriateness of the analyses as a test of this theory. An 'A' grade will require that the literature review, theory, and hypotheses be clear and complete, the analyses be conducted appropriately for testing these hypotheses (given the student's level of research training at this point in his/her studies), and the results and conclusions be related appropriately to this paper's theory/hypotheses as well as to the broader scholarly literature and (where appropriate) to implications for policy makers.

### **Academic Integrity**

Academic integrity is defined in the UNT Policy on Student Standards for Academic Integrity, which is located at: <[http://policy.unt.edu/sites/default/files/untpolicy/pdf/7-Student\\_Affairs-Academic\\_Integrity.pdf](http://policy.unt.edu/sites/default/files/untpolicy/pdf/7-Student_Affairs-Academic_Integrity.pdf)>.

This includes such issues as cheating (including use of unauthorized materials or other assistance on course assignments or examinations), plagiarism (whether intentional or negligent), forgery, fabrication, facilitating academic dishonesty, and sabotage. All students should review the policy carefully; failure to read or understand the policy does not protect you from sanctions for violating it.

Any suspected case of academic dishonesty will be handled in accordance with current University policy and procedures. Possible academic penalties range from a verbal or written admonition to a grade of "F" in the course; further sanctions may apply to incidents involving major violations. You will find the policy and procedures at <<http://facultysuccess.unt.edu/academic-integrity>>.

### **Americans with Disabilities Act**

The University of North Texas makes reasonable academic accommodation for students with disabilities. Students seeking reasonable accommodation must first register with the Office of Disability Accommodation (ODA) to verify their eligibility. If a disability is verified, the ODA will provide you with a reasonable accommodation letter to be delivered to faculty to begin a private discussion regarding your specific needs in a course. You may request reasonable accommodations at any time, however, ODA notices of reasonable accommodation should be provided as early as possible in the semester to avoid any delay in implementation. Note that students must obtain a new letter of reasonable accommodation for every semester and must meet with each faculty member prior to implementation in each class. Students are strongly encouraged to deliver letters of reasonable accommodation during faculty office hours or by appointment. Faculty members have the authority to ask students to discuss such letters during their designated office hours to protect the privacy of the student. For additional information see the Office of Disability Accommodation website at <<http://www.unt.edu/oda>>. You may also contact them by phone at (940) 565-4323.

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## **COURSE OUTLINE**

The "Additional Readings" section lists further research on each topic that was not assigned for this course. Students may find this section to be a useful source of material for their research papers. This syllabus can not hope to list every relevant article on each topic, of course, unless it was over 100 pages long. These readings represent a combination of the seminal work in each area and some of the more interesting or innovative recent articles; students are encouraged to look through the bibliographies of these articles for references to additional work.

### **1. Tuesday, Jan. 19: Introduction / Overview of Course**

*During this introductory meeting, we will go over the syllabus and discuss the basic outline of the course, the research papers, and my expectations for how each meeting of the class should work. There will be no assigned reading for the first meeting.*

## I. Geographic Contexts and International Relations

### 2. Tuesday, Jan. 26: Geography as a Facilitating Condition

The central theme of this course is the study of contexts in international relations, drawing from over four decades of theoretical and empirical work. Much of this work is general enough to cover almost any type of context, whether geographic, historical, political, or otherwise. The Sprouts produced some of the earliest work to think about contexts in international relations, and heavily influenced Starr's later work on opportunity and willingness (as well as, more implicitly, the remainder of the readings covered in this course). This 1957 article is one of their many interesting works in this area.

The organizing theme of the next several weeks involves a distinction that Diehl's article draws between "geography as a facilitating condition for conflict" and "geography as a source of conflict." The notion of geography as a facilitating condition for conflict (or for any other IR phenomenon) suggests that geographic factors can make it easier or more difficult for actors to engage in conflict (or trade, etc.) -- often echoing contextual notions of "possibilism," "probabilism," and "opportunity" -- and political scientists have examined this approach in a variety of different ways. Gleditsch and Weidmann discuss a variety of data sources, techniques, and issues in the spatial analysis of international relations; Starr and Thomas offer an early example of using geographic information systems (GIS) to improve the study of contiguity by measuring specific details of each border. Hegre examines the gravity model of international trade, a widely used application of geography. Finally, Braumoeller and Carson conclude these readings by examining the concept of "politically relevant dyads," which many scholars have used to exclude distant states from their studies.

Today's meeting will begin by considering the basic idea of studying contexts, drawing from the Sprouts and Diehl articles as well as other early work cited by the other articles. After that we will consider the remaining readings' approaches to studying the impact of geography, both theoretically and empirically. Is the author's theoretical argument about the role of geography convincing? Is the author's measure of geography (contiguity, distance, terrain, etc.) an appropriate way to capture the hypothesized impact of geography? Are the empirical analyses and results convincing? What has not been done, or done well, and what could be done to improve this line of research in the future?

- Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout (1957). "Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1, 4 (December): 309-328.
- Paul F. Diehl (1991). "Geography and War: A Review and Assessment of the Empirical Literature." *International Interactions* 17, 1: 11-27.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Nils B. Weidmann (2012). "Richardson in the Information Age: Geographic Information Systems and Spatial Data in International Studies." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 461-481.
- Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas (2005). "The Nature of Borders and International Conflict: Revisiting Hypotheses on Territory." *International Studies Quarterly* 49 (1): 123-140.
- Håvard Hegre (2009). "Trade Dependence or Size Dependence? The Gravity Model of Trade and the Liberal Peace." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26: 26-45.
- Bear F. Braumoeller and Austin Carson (2011). "Political Irrelevance, Democracy, and the Limits of Militarized Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55, 2: 292-320.

#### *Additional Readings (Contexts):*

- Gary Goertz (1992). "Contextual Theories and Indicators in World Politics." *International Interactions* 17, 4: 285-303.
- Gary Goertz (1994). *Contexts of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- R. Robert Huckfeldt and John Sprague (1993). "Citizens, Contexts, and Politics." In Ada W. Finifter (ed.), *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association, pp. 281-303. (you can also search JSTOR for a variety of other work related to contexts in American politics by Huckfeldt, Sprague, and their co-authors, as well as work in such fields as sociology, psychology, and criminology)

- Benjamin Most and Harvey Starr (1989). *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. (especially Chapter 2: "Opportunity and Willingness: A Pre-Theoretic Framework").
- Steve Pickering (2012). "Proximity, Maps, and Conflict: New Measures, New Maps, and New Findings." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29, 4: 425-443.
- Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout (1956). *Man-Milieu Relationship: Hypotheses in the Context of International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Center of International Studies, Research monograph.
- Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout (1960). "Geography and International Politics in an Era of Revolutionary Change." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 4, 1 (March): 145-161.
- Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout (1965). *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout (1968). *An Ecological Paradigm for the Study of International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Center of International Studies, Research monograph 30.
- Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout (1969). "Explanation and Prediction in International Politics." In James N. Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, rev ed. New York: Free Press, pp. 60-72.
- Harvey Starr (1978). "Opportunity and Willingness as Ordering Concepts in the Study of War." *International Interactions* 4, 4: 363-387.
- Harvey Starr (1992). "Joining Political and Geographic Perspectives: Geopolitics and International Relations." *International Interactions* 17, 1: 1-9.
- Harvey Starr (2013). "On Geopolitics: Spaces and Places." *International Studies Quarterly* 57, 3 (September): 433-439.

*Additional Readings (Proximity and Interstate Conflict):*

- Luc Anselin and John O'Loughlin (1992). "Geography of International Conflict and Cooperation: Spatial Dependence and Regional Context in Africa." In Michael Don Ward, ed., *The New Geopolitics*. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach, pp. 39-75.
- D. Scott Bennett (2006). "Exploring Operationalizations of Political Relevance." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 23, 3 (September): 245 - 261.
- Michelle A. Benson (2005). "The Relevance of Politically Relevant Dyads in the Study of Interdependence and Dyadic Disputes." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 22, 2 (July): 113-133.
- Kenneth Boulding (1962). *Conflict and Defense*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Marit Brochmann, Jan Ketil Rod, and Nils Petter Gleditsch (2012). "International Borders and Conflict Revisited." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29, 2: 170-194.
- Stuart A. Bremer (1992). "Dangerous Dyads: Conditions Affecting the Likelihood of Interstate War, 1816-1965." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, 2 (June): 309-341.
- Paul F. Diehl (1985). "Contiguity and Escalation in Major Power Rivalries, 1816-1980." *Journal of Politics* 47, 4 (November): 1203-1211.
- Kristian S. Gleditsch (2002). *All International Politics is Local: The Diffusion of Conflict, Integration, and Democratization*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kristian S. Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward (2001). "Measuring Space: A Minimum-Distance Database and Applications to International Studies." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, 6. (November): 739-758.
- Charles S. Gochman (1991) "Interstate Metrics: Conceptualizing, Operationalizing, and Measuring the Geographic Proximity of States since the Congress of Vienna." *International Interactions* 17 (1): 93-112.
- Håvard Hegre (2008). "Gravitating toward War: Preponderance May Pacify, but Power Kills." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52: 566-589.
- Håvard Hegre (2010). "Trade Does Promote Peace: New simultaneous estimates of the reciprocal effects of trade and conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 47: 763-774.
- Kyle Joyce and Alex Braithwaite (2013). "Geographic Proximity and Third-Party Joiners in Militarized Interstate Disputes." *Journal of Peace Research* 50, 5: 595-608.
- Omar Keshk, Rafael Reuveny, and Brian M. Pollins (2010). "Trade and Conflict: Proximity, Country Size, and Measures." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27, 1: 3-27.
- Douglas Lemke (1995). "The Tyranny of Distance: Redefining Relevant Dyads." *International Interactions*

21, 1: 23-38.

- Douglas Lemke and William Reed (2001). "The Relevance of Politically Relevant Dyads." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, 1 (February): 126-145.
- Jonathan N. Markowitz and Christopher J. Fariss (2013). "Going the Distance: The Price of Projecting Power." *International Interactions* 39, 2 (April-June): 119-143.
- Benjamin Most and Harvey Starr (1980). "Diffusion, Reinforcement, Geopolitics, and the Spread of War." *American Political Science Review* 74, 4 (December): 932-946.
- Benjamin Most, Harvey Starr, and Randolph Siverson (1988). "The Logic and Study of the Diffusion of International Conflict." In Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, pp. 111-139.
- William Reed and Daina Chiba (2010). "Decomposing the Relationship between Contiguity and Militarized Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 54, 1 (January): 61-73.
- John Robst, Solomon Polachek, and Yuan-Ching Chang (2007). "Geographic Proximity, Trade, and International Conflict/Cooperation." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24, 1 (March): 1-24.
- Randolph M. Siverson and Harvey Starr (1990). "Opportunity, Willingness, and the Diffusion of War." *American Political Science Review* 84, 1: 47-67.
- Randolph M. Siverson and Harvey Starr (1991). *The Diffusion of War: A Study of Opportunity and Willingness*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Starr, Harvey (2002). "Opportunity, Willingness, and Geographic Information Systems (GIS): Reconceptualizing Borders in International Relations." *Political Geography* 21, 2: 243-261.
- Harvey Starr and Benjamin A. Most (1976). "The Substance and Study of Borders in International Relations Research." *International Studies Quarterly* 20: 581-620.
- Harvey Starr and Benjamin Most (1978). "A Return Journey: Richardson, Frontiers, and War in the 1945-1965 Era." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 22, 3 (September): 441-462.
- Harvey Starr and Benjamin Most (1983). "Contagion and Border Effects on Contemporary African Conflicts." *Comparative Political Studies* 16, 1 (April): 206-229.
- Harvey Starr and Benjamin Most (1985). "The Forms and Processes of War Diffusion: Research Update on Contagion in African Conflict." *Comparative Political Studies* 18, 2 (July): 206-229.
- Harvey Starr and G. Dale Thomas (2002). "The 'Nature' of Contiguous Borders: Ease of Interaction, Salience, and the Analysis of Crisis." *International Interactions* 28: 213-235.
- Michael D. Ward and Kristian S. Gleditsch (2002). "Location, Location, Location: An MCMC Approach to Modeling the Spatial Context of War and Peace." *Political Analysis* 10: 244-60.
- Nils Weidmann and Michael D. Ward (2010). "Predicting Conflict in Space and Time." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54, 6 (December): 883-901.

*Additional Readings (Proximity and Intrastate Conflict):*

- Christian Davenport, Will Moore, and Steven Poe (2003). "Sometimes you Just Have to Leave: Domestic Threats and Forced Migration, 1964-1989." *International Interactions* 29, 1: 27-55.
- Erika Forsberg (2014). "Diffusion in the Study of Civil Wars: A Cautionary Tale." *International Studies Review* 16, 2: 188-198.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Idean Salehyan (2006). "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War." *International Organization*, 60(2): 335-366.
- Huibregtse, Ada. (2010). "External Intervention in Ethnic Conflict." *International Interactions*, 36(3), 265-293.
- Zaryab Iqbal and Harvey Starr (2008). "Bad Neighbors: Failed States and Their Consequences." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25, 4: 315-331.
- Jacob D. Kathman (2010). "Civil War Contagion and Neighboring Interventions." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, 4 (December): 989-1012.
- Will Moore and Stephen Shellman (2004). "Fear of Persecution: Forced Migration, 1952-1995." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, 5: 723-745.

- Will H. Moore and Stephen M. Shellman (2007). "Whither Will They Go? A Global Analysis of Refugee Flows, 1955-95." *International Studies Quarterly* 51(4): 811-834.
- James Murdoch and Todd Sandler (2002). "Economic Growth, Civil Wars, and Spatial Spillovers." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, 1: 91-110.
- Kurt Weyland (2009). "The Diffusion of Revolution: '1848' in Europe and Latin America." *International Organization* 63: 391-423.

*Additional Readings (Proximity and Other Phenomena):*

- Special Issue of *Political Analysis* on Spatial Methods in Political Science. Summer 2002.
- Alan V. Deardorff (1998). "Determinants of Bilateral Trade: Does Gravity Work in a Neoclassical World?" In Jeffrey A. Frankel, ed., *The Regionalization of the World Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 7-31.
- William Easterly and Ross Levine (1998). "Troubles with the Neighbors: Africa's Problem, Africa's Opportunity." *Journal of African Economies* 7, 1 (March): 120-142.
- Jeffrey A. Frankel and David Romer (1999). "Does Trade Cause Growth?" *American Economic Review* 89, 3 (June): 379-399.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward (2006). "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization* 60 (Fall): 911-933.
- Henry E. Hale (2013). "Regime Change Cascades: What We Have Learned from the 1848 Revolutions to the 2011 Arab Uprisings." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 331-353.
- Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David A. Reilly (2000). "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Post-communist World." *World Politics* 53 (1): 1-37.
- Eric Neumayer and Thomas Plümper (2010). "Spatial Effects in Dyadic Data." *International Organization* 64: 145-166.
- John O'Loughlin, Michael D. Ward, Corey L. Lofdahl, Jordin S. Cohen, David S. Brown, David Reilly, Kristian S., Gleditsch, and Michael Shin. (1998). "The Diffusion of Democracy, 1946-1994." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, 4: 545-574.
- Stephen M. Saideman (2012). "When Conflict Spreads: Arab Spring and the Limits of Diffusion." *International Interactions* 38, 5: 713-722.
- Etel Solingen (2012). "Of Dominoes and Firewalls: The Domestic, Regional, and Global Politics of International Diffusion." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, 4: 631-644.
- Michael D. Ward and Peter D. Hoff (2007). "Persistent Patterns of International Commerce." *Journal of Peace Research* 44, 2: 157-175.
- Yuri M. Zhukov and Brandon M. Stewart (2013). "Choosing Your Neighbors: Networks of Diffusion in International Relations." *International Studies Quarterly* 57, 2: 271-287,

### **3. Tuesday, Feb. 2: Geography as a Source of Conflict I: Territorial Issues**

*The next topic involves what Diehl referred to as "geography as a source of conflict," or the idea that geography plays a more active role in promoting conflict than simply making it easier or more difficult to fight a certain opponent. Here, the idea is that geography itself provides the reason that two (or more) states become involved in armed conflict. This week focuses on conflict over territory, which has often been described as the most salient of all contentious issues in international relations, and next week will examine the related yet distinct topic of conflict over resources. My review article discusses (among other things) work on the salience and conflict-proneness of territorial issues, and Hassner supplements this by examining the conditions under territorial issues become intractable. My 2001 article and Allee/Huth then examine the peaceful rather than militarized management of territorial issues, a topic that hasn't gotten as much scholarly attention but turns out to be quite important. Gibler/Tir and Owsiak conclude by examining the impact of settling borders on future conflict and democratization.*

*Today's meeting will begin by examining the basic idea of an issues approach to world politics, as laid out in my 2001 article. We will consider the arguments about the salience of territory relative to other issues. Are these scholars' arguments convincing? Are there other issues that might be even more salient than*



*territorial issues, at least under some circumstances? After these introductory questions, we will examine the various attempts to identify and study territorial issues, which range from studying the issues in armed conflicts to territorial changes or explicit territorial claims, and which include a range of both peaceful and militarized attempts to manage these issues. Is each of these approaches satisfying intellectually, and what (if anything) could be done to improve it? Finally, we will consider all of these studies' hypotheses and analyses on the (militarized or non-militarized) management of territorial claims. Are the hypotheses credible, are the tests appropriate, and are the results convincing? What could be done to improve these tests, and what else could be done in studying territorial issues in world politics?*

- Paul R. Hensel (2012). "Territory: Geography, Contentious Issues, and World Politics." In John A. Vasquez, ed., *What Do We Know about War?*, 2nd edition. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Ron E. Hassner (2006/2007). "The Path to Intractability Time and the Entrenchment of Territorial Disputes." *International Security* 31, 3 (Winter): 107-138.
- Paul R. Hensel (2001). "Contentious Issues and World Politics: The Management of Territorial Claims in the Americas, 1816-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, 1 (March).
- Todd L. Allee and Paul K. Huth (2006). "Legitimizing Dispute Settlement: International Legal Rulings as Domestic Political Cover." *American Political Science Review* 100: 219-234.
- David B. Carter and H. E. Goemans (2011). "The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict." *International Organization* 65, 2 (Spring): 275-309.
- Douglas M. Gibler and Jaroslav Tir (2010). "Settled Borders and Regime Type: Democratic Transitions as Consequences of Peaceful Territorial Transfers." *American Journal of Political Science* 54, 4 (October): 951-968.
- Andrew P. Owsiak (2012). "Signing Up for Peace: International Boundary Agreements, Democracy, and Militarized Interstate Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, 1 (March): 51-66.

*Additional Readings:*

- Todd L. Allee and Paul K. Huth (2006). "The Pursuit of Legal Settlements to Territorial Disputes." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 23, 4 (December): 285-307.
- Boaz Atzili (2006). "When Good Fences Make Bad Neighbors: Fixed Borders, State Weakness, and International Conflict." *International Security* 31: 139-173.
- Boaz Atzili and Anne Kantel (2015). "Accepting the Unacceptable: Lessons from West Germany's Changing Border Politics." *International Studies Review* 17, 4 (December): 588-616.
- David B. Carter (2010). "The Strategy of Territorial Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 54, 4 (October): 969-987.
- Paul F. Diehl (1992). "What are they Fighting for? The Importance of Issues in International Conflict Research." *Journal of Peace Research*, 29(3): 333-344.
- Paul F. Diehl (ed.). *A Road Map to War: Territorial Dimensions of International Conflict*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999.
- Daniel J. Dzurek (2005). "What Makes Territory Important: Tangible and Intangible Dimensions." *GeoJournal* 64: 263-274.
- Stephen E. Gent and Megan Shannon (2014). "Bargaining Power and the Arbitration and Adjudication of Territorial Claims." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 31, 3 (July): 303-322.
- Douglas M. Gibler (1997). "Control the Issues, Control the Conflict: Resolving Territorial Issues Through Alliances, 1815-1980." *International Interactions* 22, 4.
- Douglas M. Gibler (2007). "Bordering on Peace: Democracy, Territorial Issues, and Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 51: 509-532.
- Douglas M. Gibler and Marc L. Hutchison (2013). "Territorial Issues, Audience Costs, and the Democratic Peace: The Importance of Issue Salience." *Journal of Politics* 75, 4 (October): 879-893.
- Douglas M. Gibler and Steven V. Miller (2013). "Quick Victories? Territory, Democracies, and their Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, 2 (September): 258-284.
- Douglas M. Gibler and Steven V. Miller (2014). "External Territorial Threat, State Capacity, and Civil War."

*Journal of Peace Research* 51, 5 (September): 634-646.

- Stacie E. Goddard (2006). "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* 60, 1 (Winter): 35-68.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1992). *Territorial Changes and International Conflict*. New York: Routledge.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1990). "Territorial Changes and Recurring Conflict." In Charles S. Gochman and Alan Ned Sabrosky, eds., *Prisoners of War? Nation-States in the Modern Era*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 57-72.
- Ron E. Hassner (2003). "To Halve and to Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problems of Indivisibility." *Security Studies* 12: 35-68.
- Paul R. Hensel (1996). "Charting a Course to Conflict: Territorial Issues and Interstate Conflict, 1816-1992." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 15, 1 (Fall 1996): 43-73.
- Paul R. Hensel (2000). "Territory: Theory and Evidence on Geography and Conflict." In John A. Vasquez, ed., *What Do We Know about War?* New York: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 57-84
- Paul R. Hensel and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell (2005). "Issue Indivisibility and Territorial Claims." *GeoJournal* 64, 4 (December): 275-285.
- Kalevi J. Holsti (1990). *Peace and War: Armed Conflicts and International Order, 1648-1989*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paul K. Huth (1996). *Standing Your Ground: Territorial Disputes and International Conflict*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Paul K. Huth (2000). "Territory: Why are Territorial Disputes between States a Central Cause of International Conflict?" In John A. Vasquez, ed., *What Do We Know about War?* New York: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 85-110.
- Paul K. Huth and Todd Allee (2002). *The Democratic Peace and Territorial Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paul K. Huth and Todd Allee (2002). "Domestic Political Accountability and the Escalation and Settlement of International Disputes," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, 6 (December): 754-90.
- Arie M. Kacowicz (1994). *Peaceful Territorial Change*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Stephen Kocs (1995). "Territorial Disputes and Interstate War, 1945-1987." *Journal of Politics* 57, 1: 159-175.
- Molly M. Melin and Alexandru Grigorescu (2014). "Connecting the Dots: Dispute Resolution and Escalation in a World of Entangled Territorial Claims." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, 6 (September): 1086-1109.
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Paul R. Hensel (2007). "International Institutions and Compliance with Agreements over Contentious Issues." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, 4 (October): 721-737.
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Clayton L. Thyne (2010). "Contentious Issues as Opportunities for Diversionary Behavior." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27, 5 (November): 461-485.
- David Newman (1999). "Real Places, Symbolic Spaces: Interrelated Notions of Territory in the Arab-Israeli Conflict." In Paul F. Diehl, ed., *A Road Map to War*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, pp. 3-34.
- Andrew P. Owsiak (2013). "Democratization and International Border Agreements." *Journal of Politics* 75, 3 (July): 717-729.
- Johann Park and Michael Colaresi (2014). "Safe across the Border: The Continued Significance of the Democratic Peace when Controlling for Stable Borders." *International Studies Quarterly* 58, 1 (March): 118-125. See also response: Douglas M. Gibler (2015). "Contiguous States, Stable Borders, and the Peace between Democracies." *International Studies Quarterly* 58, 1 (March): 126-129.
- Karen K. Petersen (2010). "Conflict Escalation in Dyads with a History of Territorial Disputes." *International Journal of Conflict Management* 21: 415-433.
- Alyssa K. Prorok and Paul K. Huth (2015). "International Law and the Consolidation of Peace Following Territorial Changes." *Journal of Politics* 77, 1: 161-174.
- Kenneth A. Schultz (2014). "What's in a Claim?: De Jure versus De Facto Borders in Interstate Territorial Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, 6 (September): 1059-1084.
- Paul D. Senese (2005). "Territory, Contiguity, and International Conflict: Assessing a New Joint Explanation." *American Journal of Political Science* 49, 4 (October).

- Paul D. Senese and John A. Vasquez (2003). "A Unified Explanation of Territorial Conflict: Testing the Impact of Sampling Bias, 1919-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 47, 2 (June): 275-298
- Megan Shannon (2009). "Preventing War and Providing the Peace?: International Organizations and the Management of Territorial Disputes." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26: 144-163.
- Nadav G. Shelef (2016). "Unequal Ground: Homelands and Conflict." *International Organization*, forthcoming.
- Beth A. Simmons (2002). "Capacity, Commitment, and Compliance: International Institutions and Territorial Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, 6 (December): 829-856.
- Jaroslav Tir (2003). "Never-Ending Conflicts? Territorial Changes as Potential Solutions for Territorial Disputes." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 20: 59-84.
- Jaroslav Tir (2003). "Averting Armed International Conflicts Through State-to-State Territorial Transfers." *Journal of Politics* 65: 1235-1257.
- Jaroslav Tir (2005). "Keeping the Peace After Secessions: Territorial Conflict Between Rump and Secessionist States." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49: 713-741.
- Jaroslav Tir (2006). *Redrawing the Map to Promote Peace*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Jaroslav Tir (2006). "Domestic-Level Territorial Disputes: Conflict Management via Secession." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 23, 4 (December): 309-328.
- Jaroslav Tir (2010). "Territorial Diversion: Diversionary Theory of War and Territorial Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 72, 2: 413-425.
- Monica Duffy Toft (2003). *The Geography of Ethnic Violence: Identity, Interests, and the Indivisibility of Territory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Monica Duffy Toft (2014). "Territory and War." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, 2 (March): 185-198.
- John A. Vasquez (1993). *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- John A. Vasquez (1995). "Why Do Neighbors Fight? Proximity, Interaction, or Territoriality." *Journal of Peace Research* 32, 3: 277-293.
- John A. Vasquez and Marie T. Henehan (2001). "Territorial Disputes and the Probability of War, 1816-1992." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, 2: 123-138.
- John A. Vasquez and Marie T. Henehan (2011). *Territory, War, and Peace*. New York: Routledge.
- Krista E. Wiegand (2011). "Militarized Territorial Disputes: States' Attempts to Transfer Reputation for Resolve." *Journal of Peace Research* 48, 1 (January): 101-113.
- Thorin M. Wright (2014). "Territorial Revision and State Repression." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, 3 (May): 375-387.

#### **4. Tuesday, Feb. 9: Geography as a Source of Conflict II: Other Issues**

*This week's readings concern other geographic sources of conflict, focusing on conflict over natural resources. This topic overlaps somewhat with last week's topic of territorial issues, because some resource-related conflicts involve questions of sovereignty over territory containing the resources in question, but in many other cases (particularly with international rivers and migratory fish stocks) the question is over the usage of the resource rather than the ownership of specific land.*

*The Hensel et al. article attempts to categorize and compare different issue types, focusing on territorial, river, and maritime issues. The other readings represent attempts to begin analyzing these types of questions more systematically by looking at the management individual types of resources, although much work remains to be done in these areas. Dinar, Tir/Stinnett, and Brochmann examine rivers, while Nemeth et al. offer a rare examination of maritime issues, and Colgan examines oil.*

*Unfortunately, as these articles indicate, this topic has not (yet) received as much serious scholarly attention as the topics covered in this course so far, so today's discussion will have to be more speculative and consider what can/should be done in future work as much as (or more than) what has been done so far. We should discuss each specific resource type addressed by the readings (rivers/fresh water and maritime areas/fish), as well as any additional resources that might be appropriate for future research (perhaps oil?). Are the authors' theoretical arguments convincing? Are the examples convincing, or to the extent that more systematic evidence has been brought to bear, the relevant findings? Is this topic conceptually distinct from work on*

*territory and conflict, or is it best incorporated into that (larger) body of research? What could be done to improve this line of research in the future?*

- Paul R. Hensel, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Thomas E. Sowers II, and Clayton L. Thyne (2008). "Bones of Contention: Comparing Territorial, Maritime, and River Issues." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, 1 (February): 117-143.
- Shlomi Dinar (2009). "Scarcity and Cooperation along International Rivers." *Global Environmental Politics* 9, 1: 109-135.
- Jaroslav Tir and Douglas M. Stinnett (2011). "The Institutional Design of Riparian Treaties: The Role of River Issues." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55, 4 (August): 606-631.
- Marit Brochmann (2012). "Signing River Treaties: Does It Improve River Cooperation?" *International Interactions* 38, 2: 141-163.
- Stephen C. Nemeth, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, Elizabeth A. Nyman, and Paul R. Hensel (2014). "Ruling the Sea: Managing Maritime Conflicts through UNCLOS and Exclusive Economic Zones." *International Interactions* 40, 5 (November/December): 711-736.
- Cullen Hendrix (2016). "Oil Prices and Interstate Conflict." *Conflict Management and Interstate Conflict*, forthcoming.

#### *Additional Readings (General):*

- Nazli Choucri and Robert C. North (1975). *Nations in Conflict*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman.
- Nazli Choucri and Robert North (1989). "Lateral Pressure and International Relations: Concept and Theory." In Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 289-326.
- Paul F. Diehl and Nils Petter Gleditsch, ed. (2001). *Environmental Conflict*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Jaroslav Tir and Paul F. Diehl (1998). "Demographic Pressure and Interstate Conflict: Linking Population Growth and Density to Militarized Disputes and Wars, 1930-89." *Journal of Peace Research* 35, 3: 319-339.
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, ed. (1997). *Conflict and the Environment*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon (1991). "On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict." *International Security* 16, 2 (Fall 1991): 76-116.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon (1994). "Environmental Scarcity and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases." *International Security* 19: 5-40.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon and Jessica Blitt, eds. (1998). *Ecoviolence: Links among Environment, Population, and Security*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Jessica Tuchman Matthews (1989). "The Environment and International Security." *Foreign Affairs* 68, 2.
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Brandon C. Prins (1999). "Beyond Territorial Contiguity: Issues at Stake in Democratic Militarized Interstate Disputes." *International Studies Quarterly* 43:169-183.

#### *Additional Readings (River Issues):*

- *Political Geography* 25, 4 (May 2006): Special Issue on Conflict and Cooperation over International Rivers
- Thomas Bernauer (2002). "Explaining Success and Failure in International River Management." *Aquatic Sciences* 64, 1: 1-19.
- Thomas Bernauer, Tobias Böhmelt, Halvard Buhaug, Nils Petter Gleditsch, Theresa Tribaldos, Eivind Berg Weibust, and Gerdis Wischnath (2012). "Water-Related Intrastate Conflict and Cooperation (WARICC): A New Event Dataset." *International Interactions* 38, 4: 529-545.
- Thomas Bernauer and Tobias Siegfried (2012). "Climate Change and International Water Conflict in Central Asia." *Journal of Peace Research* 49, 1 (January): 227-239.
- Marit Brochmann and Paul R. Hensel (2009). "Peaceful Management of International River Claims." *International Negotiation* 14, 2: 391-416.
- Marit Brochmann and Paul R. Hensel (2011). "The Effectiveness of Negotiations over International River Claims." *International Studies Quarterly* 55, 3 (September): 859-882.
- Shlomi Dinar (2009). "Power Asymmetry and Negotiations in International River Basins." *International Negotiation* 14: 329-360.

- Shlomi Dinar, Ariel Dinar, and Pradeep Kurukulasuriya (2011). "Scarcity and Cooperation along International Rivers: An Empirical Assessment of Bilateral Treaties." *International Studies Quarterly* 55, 3 (September): 809-833.
- Arun Elhance (1999). *Hydropolitics in the Third World: Conflict and Cooperation in International River Basins*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press,
- Mark F. Giordano, Meredith A. Giordano, and Aaron T. Wolf (2005). "International Resource Conflict and Mitigation." *Journal of Peace Research* 42, 1: 47-65.
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, Kathryn Furlong, Håvard Hegre, Bethany Lacina, and Taylor Owen (2006). "Conflicts over shared rivers: Resource scarcity or fuzzy boundaries?" *Political Geography* 25, 4 (May): 361-382.
- Peter H. Gleick (1993). "Water and Conflict: Fresh Water Resources and International Security." *International Security* 18, 1 (Summer): 79-112.
- Jesse Hamner and Aaron Wolf (1998). "Patterns in International Water Resource Treaties: The Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database." *Colorado Journal of International Environmental Law and Policy*, 1997-98 Yearbook.
- Paul R. Hensel, Sara McLaughlin Mitchell, and Thomas E. Sowers II (2006). "Conflict Management of Riparian Disputes: A Regional Comparison of Dispute Resolution." *Political Geography* 25, 4 (May 2006): 383-411.
- Anna Kalbhenn (2011). "Liberal Peace and Shared Resources: A Fair-Weather Phenomenon?" *Journal of Peace Research* 48, 6 (November): 715-735.
- Robert Mandel (1992). "Sources of International River Basin Disputes." *Conflict Quarterly* 12, 4 (Fall): 25-56.
- Emily Meierding (2013). "Climate Change and Conflict: Avoiding Small Talk about the Weather." *International Studies Review* 15, 2: 185-203.
- Kathy L. Powers (2005). "International Economic Institutions: Formal Mechanisms for Dealing with Resource Conflict." *GeoJournal* 64: 319-328.
- Jaroslav Tir and John T. Ackerman (2009). "Politics of Formalized River Cooperation." *Journal of Peace Research* 46, 5 (September): 623-640.
- Jaroslav Tir and Douglas M. Stinnett (2012). "Weathering Climate Change: Can Institutions Mitigate International Water Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 49, 1 (January): 211-225.
- Hans Petter Wollebaek Tøset, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Havard Hegre (2000). "Shared Rivers and Interstate Conflict." *Political Geography* 19: 971-996.
- Peter Wallensteen and Ashok Swain (1997). "International Fresh Water Resources: Conflict or Cooperation?" Part of the Stockholm Environment Institute series *Comprehensive Assessment of the Freshwater Resources of the World*.
- Aaron T. Wolf (1998). "Conflict and Cooperation along International Waterways." *Water Policy* 1, 2: 251-265.
- Aaron T. Wolf (1999). "Criteria for Equitable Allocations: The Heart of International Water Conflict." *Natural Resources Forum* 17, 2: 3-30.
- Neda Zawahri and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell (2011). "Fragmented Governance of International Rivers: Negotiating Bilateral versus Multilateral Treaties." *International Studies Quarterly* 55, 3 (September): 835-858.
- Mark Zeitoun and Jeroen Warner (2006). "Hydro-Hegemony: A Framework for Analysis of Trans-Boundary Water Conflicts." *Water Policy* 8, 5: 435-460.

#### *Additional Readings (Maritime Issues):*

- Aslaug Asgeirsdottir (2007). "Oceans of Trouble: Domestic Influence on International Fisheries Cooperation in the North Atlantic and Barents Sea." *Global Environmental Politics* 7, 1: 120-144.
- Jennifer Bailey (1996). "Hot Fish and Bargaining Chips." *Journal of Peace Research* 33: 257-262.
- Barry Buzan (1978). *A Sea of Troubles? Sources of Dispute in the New Ocean Regime*. London: International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Bruce P. Chadwick (1995). "Fisheries, Sovereignties, and Red Herrings." *Journal of International Affairs* 48: 558-584.
- Jonathan I. Charney (1994). "Progress in International Maritime Boundary Delimitation Law." *American*

*Journal of International Law* 88, 2 (April): 227-256.

- Jonathan I. Charney (1994). "Central East Asian Maritime Boundaries and the Law of the Sea." *American Journal of International Law* 89, 4. (October): 724-749.
- Simon Fairlie, Mike Hagler, and Brian O'Riordan (1995). "The Politics of Overfishing." *The Ecologist* 25: 47-73.
- Cullen S Hendrix and Sarah M Glaser (2011). "Civil conflict and world fisheries, 1952–2004." *Journal of Peace Research* 48, 4 (July): 481-495.
- Elizabeth Nyman (2015). "Offshore oil development and maritime conflict in the 20th century: A statistical analysis of international trends." *Energy Research and Social Science* 6: 1-7.

*Additional Readings (Other Resources):*

- See also the readings under the "Geography and Civil Conflict" section of this syllabus
- Francesco Caselli, Massimo Morelli, and Dominic Rohner (2015). "The Geography of Interstate Resource Wars." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 2015: 267–315.
- Jeff D. Colgan (2010). "Oil and Revolutionary Governments: Fuel for International Conflict." *International Organization* 64: 661-694.
- Llewelyn Hughes and Phillip Y. Lipsy (2013). "The Politics of Energy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 449-469.
- Michael Klare (2002). *Resource Wars: The New Landscape of Global Conflict*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Vally Koubi, Gabriele Spilker, Tobias Böhmelt, and Thomas Bernauer (2014). "Do Natural Resources Matter for Interstate and Intrastate Armed Conflict?" *Journal of Peace Research* 51, 2 (March): 227-243.
- Päivi Lujala, Jan Ketil Rød, and Nadja Thieme (2007). "Fighting over Oil: Introducing a New Dataset." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24, 3 (September): 239 - 256.
- Shannon O'Lear (2005). "Resource Concerns for Territorial Conflict." *GeoJournal* 64: 297-306.
- Michael L. Ross and Erik Voeten (2016). "Oil and International Cooperation." *International Studies Quarterly*, forthcoming.
- Paul Stalley (2003). "Environmental Scarcity and International Conflict." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 20: 33-58.
- Gary Zuk (1985). "National Growth and International Conflict: A Reevaluation of Choucri and North's Thesis." *Journal of Politics* 47, 1. (February): 269-281.

## **5. Tuesday, Feb. 16: Geography as a Regional Setting for Conflict**

*The final week on geography and conflict focuses on the regional setting as a context for conflict, which draws in some ways from both geography as a facilitating condition for conflict and geography as a source of conflict. This type of approach has a long tradition among both scholars and policy makers, but it has not received a great deal of systematic empirical analysis until recently. Hensel and Diehl attempted to evaluate decades of less-than-systematic thought about "shatterbelt" regions. Kacowicz' article involves a more peaceful regional setting, that of "zones of peace," a topic that remains underdeveloped so far both theoretically and empirically (much like the literature on shatterbelts several decades ago). Enterline, Fazal, Gleditsch/Ward, and Buhaug/Gleditsch then examine the impact of a state's immediate geographic neighborhood.*

*Today's meeting should examine each of these lines of research -- shatterbelts, zones of peace, and neighborhoods -- separately as part of an effort to assess this larger approach to conflict. Are the theoretical arguments, and the examples that are used to support them, credible and convincing in a scholarly fashion? Where systematic empirical analyses have been undertaken, have these been appropriate for testing the initial theories, and have their results been convincing? Finally, where (if anywhere) should future research go -- is there a foreseeable path for productive work, or should the topic be dropped?*

- Paul R. Hensel and Paul F. Diehl (1994). "Testing Empirical Propositions about Shatterbelts." *Political Geography* 13, 1 (January): 33-52.
- Arie Kacowicz (1995). "Explaining Zones of Peace: Democracies as Satisfied Powers?" *Journal of Peace*

*Research* 32, 3 (August): 265-276.

- Andrew J. Enterline (1998). "Regime Changes, Neighborhoods, and Interstate Conflict, 1816-1992." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, 6. (December): 804-829.
- Tanisha M. Fazal (2004). "State Death in the International System." *International Organization* 58, 2 (Spring): 311-344.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward (2006). "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization* 60, 4 (October): 911-933.
- Halvard Buhaug and Kristian Gleditsch (2008). "Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space." *International Studies Quarterly* 52, 2: 215-448.

*Additional Readings (regions, shatterbelts, zones of peace):*

- For earlier work on shatterbelts and related concepts, see the sources cited by Hensel and Diehl.
- Clive Archer (1996). "The Nordic Area as a 'Zone of Peace'" *Journal of Peace Research* 33, 4. (November): 451-467.
- Kyle Beardsley and Nigel Lo (2013). "Democratic Communities and Third-Party Conflict Management." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30, 1 (February): 76-93.
- Saul B. Cohen (1992). "Middle East Geopolitical Transformation: The Disappearance of a Shatterbelt." *Journal of Geography* 91(1): 2-10.
- Douglas Gibler and Alex Braithwaite (2013). "Dangerous Neighbours, Regional Territorial Conflict and the Democratic Peace." *British Journal of Political Science* 43, 4 (October): 877-887.
- Arie Kacowicz (1998). *Zones of Peace in the Third World: South America and West Africa in Comparative Perspective*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Jessica Mayes and Alex Braithwaite (2013). "Autocratic Institutions and Civil Conflict Contagion." *Journal of Politics* 75, 2 (April): 478-490.
- David Reilly (2001). "Shatterbelts and Conflict Behavior: The Effect of Globalization on 'At Risk' States." *Geopolitics* 5 (3)
- Max Singer and Aaron Wildavsky (1996). *The Real World Order: Zones of Peace, Zones of Turmoil*, revised edition. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House.

*Additional Readings (civilizations):*

- Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations" argument is sometimes considered from a geographic perspective, since it focuses on the "fault lines" or "bloody borders" between civilizations, but it is not included in this week's readings. There have been numerous other articles and books responding to Huntington's basic argument, far too many to list here, although surprisingly few have used systematic empirical analyses to try to test the basic argument.
- Sean Bolks and Richard Stoll (2003). "Examining Conflict Escalation within the Civilizations Context." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 20, 2: 85-109.
- Giacomo Chiozza (2002). "Is There a Clash of Civilizations? Evidence from Patterns of International Conflict Involvement, 1946-97." *Journal of Peace Research* 39/6 (November): 711-734
- Jonathan Fox (2001). "Two Civilizations and Ethnic Conflict: Islam and the West." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, 4: 459-472.
- Ted Robert Gurr (1994). "Peoples against the States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System." *International Studies Quarterly* 38, 2: 347-377.
- Errol A. Henderson (1998). "The Democratic Peace through the Lens of Culture, 1820-1989." *International Studies Quarterly* 42, 4: 461-484.
- Errol A. Henderson (2004). "Mistaken Identity: Testing the Clash of Civilizations Thesis in Light of Democratic Peace Claims." *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 539-563.
- Errol Henderson and Richard Tucker (2001). "Clear and Present Strangers: The Clash of Civilizations and International Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 45: 317-338.
- Samuel Huntington (1993). "The Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 72, 3 (Summer): 22-49 .
- Samuel P. Huntington (1996). *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York:

Simon and Schuster.

- Philip G. Roeder (2003). "Clash of Civilizations and Escalation of Domestic Ethnopolitical Conflicts." *Comparative Political Studies* 36, 5, 509-540.
- Bruce M. Russett, John R. Oneal, and Michaelene Cox (2000). "Clash of Civilizations, or Realism and Liberalism Deja Vu? Some Evidence." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, 5 (September): 583-608.
- Andrej Tuscisny (2004). "Civilizational Conflicts: More Frequent, Longer, and Bloodier?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41, 4, 485-498.

## **6. Tuesday, Feb. 23: Geography and Internal Conflict**

*While the focus of this course is on international relations, geography has played a very important role in recent research on civil wars and internal conflict, so any consideration of geographic influences on world politics would be incomplete without examining this literature. Regan and Toft draw explicitly from the interstate literature on territorial salience and armed conflict in studying separatist conflicts, while Cunningham and Weidmann examine the geographic distribution of groups as a source of conflict. A number of articles have recently examined the question of greed (resources) vs. grievance as sources of civil war, represented here by le Billon and Lujala. There is also research on cross-border sources and consequences of civil conflict, reflected here in the Gleditsch et al. article on the spread of civil wars to interstate conflict and the Forsberg piece on ethnic ties and conflict contagion.*

*Today's meeting should examine each of these lines of research -- territory, resources, and proximity -- as part of an effort to assess this approach. Does this seem to be a useful application of interstate concepts/tools, or does it offer a new set of concepts/tools that could be applied fruitfully to the study of interstate phenomena? Are the theoretical arguments, and the examples that are used to support them, credible and convincing in a scholarly fashion? Where systematic empirical analyses have been undertaken, have these been appropriate for testing the initial theories, and have their results been convincing? Finally, where (if anywhere) should future research go -- is there a foreseeable path for productive work, or should the topic be dropped?*

- Patrick M. Regan (2009). "Civil War and Territory? Drawing Linkages between Interstate and Intrastate War." *International Interactions* 35, 3: 321-329.
- Monica Duffy Toft (2002). "Indivisible Territory, Geographic Concentration, and Ethnic War." *Security Studies* 12, 2: 82-119.
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham and Nils B. Weidmann (2010). "Shared Space: Ethnic Groups, State Accommodation, and Localized Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, 4 (December): 1035-1054
- Philippe le Billon (2001). "The Political Ecology of War: Natural Resources and Armed Conflicts." *Political Geography* 20: 561-584.
- Päivi Lujala (2010). "The spoils of nature: Armed civil conflict and rebel access to natural resources." *Journal of Peace Research* 47, 1 (January): 15-28.
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Idean Salehyan & Kenneth Schultz (2008). "Fighting at Home, Fighting Abroad: How Civil Wars Lead to International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52(4): 479-506.
- Erika Forsberg (2014). "Transnational Transmitters: Ethnic Kinship Ties and Conflict Contagion, 1946-2009." *International Interactions* 40, 2 (April-June): 143-165.

### *Additional Readings (Territory/Ethnicity):*

- R. William Ayres (2000). "A world flying apart? Violent nationalist conflict and the end of the Cold War." *Journal of Peace Research*, 37(1), 105-117.
- Johanna K. Birnir, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, James D. Fearon, David D. Laitin, Ted Robert Gurr, Dawn Brancati, Stephen M. Saideman, Amy Pate, and Agatha S. Hultquist (2015). "Socially Relevant Ethnic Groups, Ethnic Structure, and AMAR." *Journal of Peace Research* 52, 1: 110-115.
- Halvard Buhaug, Lars-Erik Cederman and Jan Ketil Rod (2008). "Disaggregating Ethno-Nationalist Civil Wars: A Dyadic Test of Exclusion Theory." *International Organization* 62, 3).
- Halvard Buhaug and Scott Gates (2002). "The Geography of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 39, 4: 417-433.



- Halvard Buhaug, Scott Gates, and Päivi Lujala (2009). "Geography, Rebel Capability, and the Duration of Civil Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, 4 (August): 544-569
- Halvard Buhaug and Päivi Lujala (2005). "Accounting for Scale: Measuring Geography in Quantitative Studies of Civil War." *Political Geography* 24: 399-418.
- Halvard Buhaug and Jan Ketil Rod (2006). "Local Determinants of African Civil Wars, 1970-2001." *Political Geography* 25, 3.
- Mary Caprioli, and Peter Trumbore (2003). "Ethnic discrimination and interstate violence: Testing the international impact of domestic behavior." *Journal of Peace Research*, 40(1), 5-23.
- David Carment (1993). "The international dimensions of ethnic conflict: Concepts, indicators, and theory." *Journal of Peace Research*, 30(2), 137-150.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Idean Salehyan, and Julian Wucherpfennig (2013). "Transborder ethnic kin and civil war." *International Organization*, 67(02), 389-410.
- David Davis and Will Moore (1997). "Ethnicity matters: Transnational ethnic alliances and foreign policy behavior." *International Studies Quarterly*, 171-184.
- Elaine Denny and Barbara F. Walter (2014). "Ethnicity and Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, 2 (March): 199-212.
- Tanisha Fazal and Ryan D. Griffiths (2014). "Membership has Its Privileges: The Changing Benefits of Statehood." *International Studies Review* 16, 1 (March): 79-106.
- Erika Forsberg (2013). "Do Ethnic Dominoes Fall? Evaluating Domino Effects of Granting Territorial Concessions to Separatist Groups." *International Studies Quarterly* 57, 2 (June): 329-340.
- Stacie Goddard (2006). "Uncommon Ground: Indivisible Territory and the Politics of Legitimacy." *International Organization* 60, 1: 35-68.
- Simon Hug (2013). "The Use and Misuse of the 'Minorities at Risk' Project." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 191-208.
- Erin Jenne (2004). "A bargaining theory of minority demands: explaining the dog that did not bite in 1990s Yugoslavia." *International Studies Quarterly*, 48(4), 729-754.
- Erin Jenne, Stephen Saideman, and Will Lowe (2007). "Separatism as a bargaining posture: The role of leverage in minority radicalization." *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(5), 539-558.
- Markus Kornprobst (2007). "Dejustification and Dispute Settlement: Irredentism in European Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 2007 13: 459-487.
- Bethany Lacina (2014). "How Governments Shape the Risk of Civil Violence: India's Federal Reorganization, 1950-56." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, 3 (July): 720-738.
- John Mueller (2000). "The Banality of Ethnic War." *International Security* 25, 1.
- James Piazza (2012). "Types of Minority Discrimination and Terrorism." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29, 5: 521-546.
- Barry R. Posen (1993). "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival* 35, 1: 27-47.
- Stephen Saideman (1998). "Inconsistent irredentism? Political competition, ethnic ties, and the foreign policies of Somalia and Serbia." *Security Studies*, 7(3), 51-93.
- Stephen Saideman and R. William Ayres (2000). "Determining the causes of irredentism: Logit analyses of minorities at risk data from the 1980s and 1990s." *Journal of Politics*, 62(04), 1126-1144.
- Stephen Saideman (2002). "The power of the small: The impact of ethnic minorities on foreign policy." *SAIS Review*, 22(2), 93-105.
- Stephen Saideman (2002). "Discrimination in International Relations: Analyzing External Support for Ethnic Groups." *Journal of Peace Research*, 39(1), 27-50.
- Stephen Saideman, Beth Dougherty, and Erin Jenne (2005). "Dilemmas of divorce: How secessionist identities cut both ways." *Security Studies*, 14(4), 607-636.
- Stephen Saideman (2007). "Ties versus Institutions: Revisiting Foreign Interventions and Secessionist Movements." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 40(03), 733-747.
- Idean Salehyan (2007). "Transnational Rebels: Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Groups." *World Politics* 59(2): 217-242.
- Idean Salehyan (2007). "Refugees and the Study of Civil War." *Civil Wars* 9(2): 127-141.

- Idean Salehyan (2008). "No Shelter Here: Rebel Sanctuaries and International Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 70(1): 54-66.
- Idean Salehyan (2008). "The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(4): 787-801.
- Idean Salehyan (2009). *Rebels Without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics*. Cornell University Press.
- Idean Salehyan (2010). "The delegation of war to rebel organizations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Idean Salehyan, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and David Cunningham (2011). "Explaining external support for insurgent groups." *International Organization*, 65(04), 709-744.
- Kenneth A. Schultz (2010). "The Enforcement Problem in Coercive Bargaining: Interstate Conflict over Rebel Support in Civil Wars." *International Organization* 64: 281-312.
- Jaroslav Tir and Michael Jasinski (2008). "Domestic-Level Diversionary Theory of War: Targeting Ethnic Minorities." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, 5 (October): 641-664.
- Monica Duffy Toft (2003). *The Geography of Ethnic Violence*.
- Peter Trumbore (2003). "Victims or Aggressors? Ethno-Political Rebellion and Use of Force in Militarized Interstate Disputes." *International Studies Quarterly*, 47(2), 183-201.
- Barbara F. Walter (2003). "Explaining the Intractability of Territorial Conflict." *International Studies Review* 5, 4 (December): 137-153.
- Barbara F. Walter (2006). "Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but Not Others." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 313-330.
- Nils Weidmann (2009). "Geography as motivation and opportunity: Group concentration and ethnic conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
- Andreas Wimmer and Brian Min (2006). "From Empires to Nation-States: Explaining Wars in the Modern World." *American Sociological Review* 71: 897-897.
- Andreas Wimmer, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Brian Min (2009). "Ethnic politics and armed conflict. A configurational analysis of a new global dataset." *American Sociological Review* 74(2): 316-337.
- Douglas Woodwell (2004). "Unwelcome neighbors: shared ethnicity and international conflict during the Cold War." *International Studies Quarterly*, 48(1), 197-223.
- Julian Wucherpfennig, Nils W. Metternich, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2012). "Ethnicity, the State, and the Duration of Civil War." *World Politics* 64, 1 (January): 79-115.

*Additional Readings (Resources):*

- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (2004). "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4): 563-595.
- Indra de Soysa (2002). "Paradise is a Bazaar? Greed, Creed, and Governance in Civil War, 1989-1999." *Journal of Peace Research* 39, 4: 395-416.
- Indra de Soysa (2002). "Ecoviolence: Shrinking Pie or Honey Pot?." *Global Environmental Politics* 2, 3: 1-34.
- James Fearon (2005). "Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49: 483-507.
- Thomas Homer-Dixon (1994). "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases." *International Security* 19, 1: 5-40.
- Päivi Lujala (2009). "Deadly Combat over Natural Resources: Gems, Petroleum, Drugs, and the Severity of Armed Civil Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, 1: 50-71.
- Päivi Lujala, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Elisabeth Gilmore (2005). "A Diamond Curse?: Civil War and a Lutable Resource." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, 4: 538-562.
- Clionadh Raleigh and Hendrik Urdal (2007). "Climate Change, Environmental Degradation and Armed Conflict." *Political Geography* 26: 674-694.
- Michael Ross (2004). "What do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41, 3: 337-356.
- Siri Aas Rustad and Helga Malmin Binningsbe (2012). "A Prize Worth Fighting For?: Natural Resources and Conflict Recurrence." *Journal of Peace Research* 49, 4 (July): 531-546.

- Ole Magnus Theisen (2008). "Blood and Soil? Resource Scarcity and Internal Armed Conflict Revisited." *Journal of Peace Research* 45, 6 (November): 801-818.

## 7. Tuesday, Mar. 1: Geography and Economics I: Development

*This week's topic offers the first of two weeks on the economic impact of geographic contexts. In the endless debates among policy makers and academics on how best to develop economically, one important topic has been the relative importance of geographic contexts instead of "culture," leadership, specific policy choices, and many other factors. Perhaps surprisingly, though, this topic has not received a great deal of systematic scholarly attention. The Diamond book has generated a great deal of debate and controversy, while Gallup et al.'s article is one of the first attempts to study this type of question quantitatively, and Hausmann attempts to draw from their article as well as others on the same topic. There has subsequently been a variety of work examining the possibility of a "resource curse" as suggested by Gallup et al.; some of these studies are listed in the Additional Readings section.*

*Today's meeting should consider the extent to which geography actually seems to affect patterns of development. Is Diamond's sweeping view of history a convincing explanation for the observed patterns of political and economic development, and why or why not? Could this argument, or portions of it, be tested systematically? How about Gallup et al. or Hausmann -- are their theoretical arguments and (where relevant) empirical evidence convincing? How could this work be improved or extended? It is also worth considering how this topic relates to the work from earlier weeks on the gravity model and the "facilitating" side of geography. (Note that this week's discussion papers are not allowed to focus on Hausmann, because that is primarily a literature review rather than an original scholarly contribution.)*

- *Diamond*: all
- John Luke Gallup, Jeffrey D. Sachs, and Andrew D. Mellinger (1999). "Geography and Economic Development." *International Regional Science Review* 22,2 (August): 179-232.
- Ricardo Hausmann (2001). "Prisoners of Geography." *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2001): 45-53.

### *Additional Readings:*

- David E. Bloom and Jeffrey D. Sachs (1999). "Geography, Demography, and Economic Growth in Africa." *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, volume 1.
- Brian Fagan (1999). *Floods, Famines, and Emperors: El Niño and the Fate of Civilizations*. New York: Perseus Books.
- David S. Landes (1999). *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations: Why Some Are So Rich And Some So Poor*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- E. L. Jones (1987). *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies, and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia*, 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paul Krugman (1991). *Geography and Trade*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Paul Krugman (1999). *Development, Geography, and Economic Theory*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Paul Krugman (1999). "The Role of Geography in Development." *International Regional Science Review* 22, 2: 142-161.
- Halvor Mehlum, Karl Moene, and Ragnar Torvik (2006). "Institutions and the Resource Curse." *Economic Journal* 116, 508 (January): 1-20.
- Andrew D. Mellinger, Jeffrey D. Sachs, and John L. Gallup (2000). "Climate, Coastal Proximity, and Development." In Gordon L. Clark, Maryann P. Feldman, and Meric S. Gertler, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Economic Geography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 169-194.
- Manus I. Midlarsky (1995). "Environmental Influences on Democracy: Aridity, Warfare, and a Reversal of the Causal Arrow." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39, 2 (June): 224-262.
- Jeffrey Sachs, Andrew Mellinger, and John Gallup (2001). "The Geography of Poverty and Wealth." *Scientific American* (March): 71-75.
- Jeffrey Sachs and Andrew Warner (2001). "The curse of natural resources." *European Economic Review* 45, 4 (May 2001): 827-838.

## 8. Tuesday, March 8: Geography and Economics II: Regionalism

*The second economic topic involves regional effects, rather than state-level questions of development of dyadic-level questions of trade patterns (although that work, such as the gravity model and other work from the "facilitating" side of geography, is clearly relevant here). Mattli seeks to explain the relative success of integration efforts around the world, while most of the other readings examine the impact of such efforts. Eichengreen/Frankel and Kono look at primarily economic dimensions of integration, while Mansfield/Bronson and Mansfield/Pevehouse focus more on the international political impact of integration. Mansfield and Solingen attempt to summarize and integrate this burgeoning literature.*

*Today's meeting should address the reasons for integration, its potential benefits and drawbacks, and the extent to which these benefits and drawbacks seem to be experienced in the real world. For example, how convincing is the articles' discussion of the (political and economic) logic behind integration? Furthermore, drawing from the articles' analyses, how effective has integration been so far? Have the justifications given for integration been supported, do the drawbacks seem to have outweighed the benefits in practice, and have there been any additional impacts that were not anticipated? Is integration a universal solution, or does it seem likely to be successful only in certain conditions? (Note that this week's discussion papers are not allowed to focus on Mansfield and Solingen, because that is primarily a literature review rather than an original scholarly contribution.)*

- Walter Mattli (1999). "Explaining Regional Integration Outcomes." *Journal of European Public Policy* 6, 1 (March): 1-27.
- Barry Eichengreen and Jeffrey Frankel (1995). "Economic Regionalism: Evidence from Two 20th Century Episodes." *North American Journal of Economics and Finance* 6, 2 (Fall): 89-106.
- Daniel Yuichi Kono (2007). "When Do Trade Blocs Block Trade?" *International Studies Quarterly* 51 1 (March): 165-181.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Rachel Bronson (1997). "Alliances, Preferential Trading Arrangements, and International Trade." *American Political Science Review* 91, 1 (March):94-107.
- Edward D. Mansfield & Jon C. Pevehouse (2000). "Trade Blocs, Trade Flows, and International Conflicts." *International Organization* 54, 4: 775-808.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Etel Solingen (2010). "Regionalism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 145-163.

### *Additional Readings:*

- Richard E. Baldwin (1997). "The Causes of Regionalism." *World Economy* 20, 7 (November): 865-888.
- Tamim Bayoumi and Barry Eichengreen (1998). "Is Regionalism Simply a Diversion? Evidence From the Evolution of the EC and EFTA." In Takatoshi Ito and Anne Krueger (eds.), *Regionalism versus Multilateral Trade Arrangements*, University of Chicago Press, pp. ??-??.
- Jagdish Bhagwati, Pravin Krishna, and Arvind Panagariya (1997). *Trading Blocs: Alternative Approaches to Analyzing Preferential Trade Agreements*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Jagdish Bhagwati, David Greenaway, and Arvind Panagariya (1998). "Trading Preferentially: Theory and Policy." *Economic Journal* 148, 449 (July): 1128-1148.
- Kerry A. Chase (2003). "Economic Interests and Regional Trading Arrangements: The Case of NAFTA." *International Organization* 57 (Winter): 137-174.
- Louise Fawcett and Andrew Hurrell, eds. (1995). *Regionalism in World Politics: Regional Organization and International Order*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Louise Fawcett (2004). "Exploring Regional Domains: A Comparative History of Regionalism." *International Affairs* 80, 3: 429-46
- Yi Feng and Gaspare M. Genna (2003). "Regional Integration and Domestic Institutional Homogeneity: A Comparative Analysis of Regional Integration in the Americas, Pacific Asia and Western Europe." *Review of International Political Economy* 10, 2 (May): 278-309.
- Jeffrey A. Frankel, Ernesto Stein, Shang-Jin Wei (1997). *Regional Trading Blocs in the World Economic*

System. Institute for International Economics.

- Andrew Gamble and Anthony Payne, eds. (1996). *Regionalism and World Order*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- John F. Helliwell (1998). *How Much Do National Borders Matter?* Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Miles Kahler (1995). *International Institutions and the Political Economy of Integration*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Daniel Yuichi Kono (2002). "Are Free Trade Areas Good for Multilateralism? Evidence from the European Free Trade Association." *International Studies Quarterly* 46, 4 (December):507-527.
- Edward D. Mansfield (1998). "The Proliferation of Preferential Trading Arrangements," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42, 5 (October): 523-543.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen Milner (1999). "The New Wave of Regionalism." *International Organization* 53, 3 (Summer): 589-626.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Jon C. W. Pevehouse (2013). "The Expansion of Preferential Trading Arrangements." *International Studies Quarterly* 57, 3 (September): 592-604.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Eric Reinhardt (2003). "Multilateral Determinants of Regionalism: The Effects of GATT/WTO on the Formation of Preferential Trading Arrangements." *International Organization* 57, 4 (Fall): 829-862
- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen Milner (1997). *The Political Economy of Regionalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Edward D. Mansfield, Helen V. Milner, and B. Peter Rosendorff (2002). "Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements." *International Organization* 56 (Summer): 477 – 513.
- Walter Mattli (1999). *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walter Mattli (2000). "Sovereignty Bargains in Regional Integration." *International Studies Review* 2, 2 (Summer): 149-180.
- Kenichi Ohmae (1995). *The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies*. New York: Free Press. (and other works on the same topic by Ohmae)
- Maurice Schiff and L. Alan Winters (2003). *Regional Integration and Development*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Publications.
- John Whalley (1998). "Why Do Countries Seek Regional Trade Agreements?" In Jeffrey A. Frankel, ed., *The Regionalization of the World Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 63-83.

## **9. Tuesday, March 15: NO CLASS (Spring Break)**

### **II. Historical Contexts and International Relations**

#### **10. Tuesday, March 22: History as a Context / Learning from History**

*The rest of the course will examine historical contexts in international relations. We will begin this section of the course by considering what history is, along with its potential benefits (for scholars as well as policymakers) and its potential pitfalls. Margaret MacMillan, a well-known historian, addresses many of these issues in a recent book. Vertzberger examines the use of history by decision-makers, while Horowitz examines the ways that a leader's personal experience with the military (if any) affects his/her leadership.*

*An initial reaction to MacMillan might be that she is an historian, not a political scientist (and certainly not a quantitative scholar of international relations) so her work is of little relevance for this course. This view is far from the truth, though, and we could learn a lot from historians. For one thing, many of the theories that we will be examining over the rest of this course explicitly rest upon historical factors, making an understanding of history vital to the development and assessment of such theories. Most of the data sets that we use (and that will be collected for future use) must be constructed from historical records and other historical sources. Furthermore, while we may use different methodologies, both historians and political scientists are often concerned with questions of causal connections and with the explanation of events or patterns.*

*Our discussion this week should consider the general points that are raised by MacMillan, as well as the*

more specific points raised by the political scientists. For example, we should discuss the problems faced by scholars as well as leaders in identifying and interpreting history -- is there a single objective "history" or "historical lesson" that can be agreed, or is each observer doomed to his/her own subjective interpretation? Do personal biases and goals interfere with the analysis of history -- and should they? What are some obstacles in leaders' attempts to learn from history, and (how?) can they be addressed? What are some obstacles in scholars' attempts to learn from history, and (how?) can they be addressed? This should not be taken as a complete list of topics to be discussed, of course; feel free to raise any other questions or issues that arise from your reading of these sources.

- MacMillan: all
- Yaacov Y. I Vertzberger (1986). "Foreign Policy Decisionmakers as Practical-Intuitive Historians: Applied History and Its Shortcomings." *International Studies Quarterly* 30: 223-247.
- Michael C. Horowitz (2014). "How Prior Military Experience Influences the Future Militarized Behavior of Leaders." *International Organization* 68, 3 (June): 527-559.

#### *Additional Readings:*

- Lloyd Etheredge (1985). *Can Governments Learn? American Foreign Policy and Central American Revolutions*. Elmsford, NY: Pergamon Press.
- Karl-Georg Faber (1978). "The Use of History in Political Debate." *History and Theory* 17, 4: 36-67.
- David Hackett Fischer (1970). *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*. New York: Harper Torchbooks.
- Eric Hobsbawm (1997). *On History*. New York: The New Press.
- Ole R. Holsti and James N. Rosenau (1980). "Does Where You Stand Depend on When You Were Born? The Impact of Generation on Post-Vietnam Foreign Policy Beliefs." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 44: 1-22.
- Michael Howard (1984). "The Use and Abuse of Military History." In Howard, *The Causes of Wars*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Michael Howard (1994). *The Lessons of History*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- William W. Jarosz with Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (1993). "The Shadow of the Past: Learning From History in National Security Decision Making." In Philip Tetlock, et. al. (eds.), *Behavior, Society, and International Conflict*, Volume 3. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 162-189.
- Robert Jervis (1976). *Perception and Misperception in International Relations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapter 6 ("How Decision-Makers Learn from History").
- Yuen Foonh Khong (1992). *Analogies at War*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Jack S. Levy (1994). "Learning and Foreign Policy: Sweeping a Conceptual Minefield." *International Organization* 48, 2: 279-312.
- Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May (1986). *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers*. New York: The Free Press.
- Dan Reiter (1994). "Learning, Realism, and Alliances: The Weight of the Shadow of the Past." *World Politics* 46, 4 (July): 490-526.
- Dan Reiter (1995). "Political Structure and Foreign Policy Learning: Are Democracies more Likely to Act on the Lessons of History?" *International Interactions* 21, 1: 39-62.
- Dan Reiter (1996). *Crucible of Beliefs : Learning, Alliances, and World Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Barbara Tuchman (1982). *Practicing History*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Yaacov Y. I Vertzberger (1990). *The World in Their Minds*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

### **11. Tuesday, March 29: The Impact of Crises and Wars**

*This week we will begin attempting to apply the general understanding of history as discussed last time, by examining historically-oriented theories in international relations. The first set of theories to be addressed involves the wide-ranging impact of crises and wars. Levy & Morgan and Pickering examine the often-asserted "war weariness" phenomenon to determine whether one war makes another less likely, while Grossman et al.*

approach the same basic question from the perspective of individuals rather than states. Leng examines the impact of past crises on subsequent bargaining behavior, and Fortna and Werner/Yuen examine the impact of details of the settlement of the past conflict, including the terms of treaties as well as peacekeeping operations. Finally, Debs and Goemans examine the impact of war on political leaders' survival in office.

Today's meeting should consider each of the empirical readings both on its own merits and as a piece in the larger puzzle of the effects of past crises or wars. Are the author's hypotheses credible? Are the research designs appropriate, and the results convincing? What more could be done to improve this particular piece, or to extend beyond it in future research? Alternatively, are there any worthwhile topics related to the impact of crises and wars that are not addressed systematically in these readings, and how could/should these be studied?

- Jack S. Levy and T. Clifton Morgan (1986). "The War-Weariness Hypothesis: An Empirical Test." *American Journal of Political Science* 30, 1: 26-49.
- Jeffrey Pickering (2002). "War-Weariness and Cumulative Effects: Victors, Vanquished, and Subsequent Interstate Intervention." *Journal of Peace Research* 39/3 (May): 313-337
- Guy Grossman, Devorah Manekin, and Dan Miodownik (2015). "The Political Legacies of Combat: Attitudes toward War and Peace among Israeli Ex-Combatants." *International Organization* 69, 4 (Fall): 981-1009.
- Russell J. Leng (1983). "When Will They Ever Learn? Coercive Bargaining in Recurrent Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 27, 3 (September): 379-419.
- Virginia Page Fortna (2003). "Inside and Out: Peacekeeping and the Duration of Peace after Civil and Interstate Wars." *International Studies Review* 5, 4: 97-.
- Suzanne Werner and Amy Yuen (2005). "Making and Keeping Peace." *International Organization* 59: 261-292.
- Alexandre Debs and Hein E. Goemans (2010). "Regime Type, the Fate of Leaders and War." *American Political Science Review* 104, 3 (August): 430-445.

#### *Additional Readings (Recurrent Conflict):*

- Kyle Beardsley (2011). "Peacekeeping and the Contagion of Armed Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 73, 4 (October): 1051-1064.
- Paul F. Diehl, Jennifer Reifschneider, and Paul Hensel (1996). "United Nations Intervention and Recurring Conflict." *International Organization* 50: 683-700.
- Virginia Page Fortna (2004). *Peace Time: Cease-Fire Agreements and the Durability of Peace*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Virginia Page Fortna (2004). "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects." *World Politics* 56, 4 (July).
- Virginia Page Fortna (2004). "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, 2 (June): 269-92.
- Virginia Page Fortna (2003). "Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace." *International Organization* 57, 2 (Spring): 337-72.
- David Garnham (1986). "War-proneness, War-Weariness and Regime Type, 1816-1980." *Journal of Peace Research* 23, 3: 279-285.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1990). "Territorial Changes and Recurring Conflict." In Charles S. Gochman and Alan N. Sabrosky (eds.), *Prisoners of War? Nation-States in the Modern Era*. Lexington: D.C. Heath.
- Gary Goertz, Bradford Jones, and Paul F. Diehl (2005). "Maintenance Processes in International Rivalries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 5, 742-769
- Joseph Grieco (2001). "Repetitive Military Challenges and Recurrent International Conflicts, 1918-1994." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, 2: 295-316.
- Paul R. Hensel (1994). "One Thing Leads to Another: Recurrent Militarized Disputes in Latin America, 1816-1986." *Journal of Peace Research* 31, 3 (August): 281-298.
- Richard Ned Lebow (1981). *Between Peace and War*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, chapter 9 ("Crisis as a Learning Experience").
- Russell J. Leng (2000). *Bargaining and Learning in Recurrent Crises: The Soviet-American, Egyptian-Israeli,*

*and Indo-Pakistani Rivalries*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Nigel Lo, Barry Hashimoto, and Dan Reiter (2008). "Ensuring Peace: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Postwar Peace Duration, 1914-2001." *International Organization* 62, 4: 717-736.
- Zeev Maoz (1984). "Peace by Empire? Conflict Outcomes and International Stability, 1816-1976." *Journal of Peace Research* 21, 3: 227-241.
- T. Clifton Morgan and Jack S. Levy (1990). "Base Stealers versus Power Hitters: A Nation-State Level Analysis of the Frequency and Seriousness of War." In Charles S. Gochman and Alan Ned Sabrosky (eds.), *Prisoners of War? Nation-States in the Modern Era*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 43-56.
- Robert Powell (2012). "Persistent Fighting and Shifting Power." *American Journal of Political Science* 56, 3 (July): 620-637.
- Paul D. Senese and Stephen L. Quackenbush (2003). "Sowing the Seeds of Conflict: The Effect of Dispute Settlements on Durations of Peace." *Journal of Politics* 65, 3: 696-.
- Suzanne Werner (1999). "The Precarious Nature of Peace: Resolving the Issues, Enforcing the Settlement, and Renegotiating the Terms." *American Journal of Political Science* 43, 3: 912-934.

*Additional Readings (Conflict Management):*

- Paul F. Diehl and Patrick Regan (2015). "The Interdependence of Conflict Management Attempts." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 32, 1 (February): 9-107.
- Molly M. Melin (2011). "The Impact of State Relationships on If, When, and How Conflict Management Occurs." *International Studies Quarterly* 55, 3 (September): 691-715.
- Andrew P. Owsiak (2014). "Conflict Management Trajectories in Militarized Interstate Disputes: A Conceptual Framework and Theoretical Foundations." *International Studies Review* 16, 1 (March): 50-78.
- Krista E. Wiegand and Emilia Justyna Powell (2011). "Past Experience, Quest for the Best Forum, and Peaceful Attempts to Resolve Territorial Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55, 1 (February): 33-59.

*Additional Readings (Political and Economic Consequences):*

- Philip Arena (2008). "Success Breeds Success? War Outcomes, Domestic Opposition, and Elections." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25 (2): 136 - 151.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Randolph M. Siverson, and Gary Woller (1992). "War and the Fate of Regimes." *American Political Science Review* 86, 3 (September): 635-646.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Randolph M. Siverson (1995). "War and the Survival of Political Leaders: A Comparative Study of Regime Types and Political Accountability." *American Political Science Review* 89, 4: 841-855.
- Sarah E. Croco (2011). "The Decider's Dilemma: Leader Culpability, War Outcomes, and Domestic Punishment." *American Political Science Review* 105, 3 (August): 457-477.
- A. F. K. Organski and Jacek Kugler (1977). "The Costs of Major Wars: The Phoenix Factor." *American Political Science Review* (December): 71, 4.
- Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson (1988). "War and the Economic Growth of Major Powers." *American Journal of Political Science* 513-538.
- Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson (1989). *War and State Making: The Shaping of the Global Powers*. Boston: Unwin-Hyman, 1989.
- Arthur A. Stein and Bruce Russett (1980). "Evaluating War: Outcomes and Consequences." In T. R. Gurr, ed., *Handbook of Political Conflict*. New York: Free Press, pp. 399-422.
- William R. Thompson (1994). "The Consequences of War." *International Interactions* 19, 1-2: 125-147
- Dirk Van Raemdonck and Paul F. Diehl (1989). "After the Shooting Stops: Insights on Postwar Economic Growth." *Journal of Peace Research* 26, 3: 249-264.
- Laron K. Williams, David J. Brule, and Michael Koch (2010). "War Voting: Interstate Disputes, the Economy and Electoral Outcomes." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27(5): 411-16.

## **12. Tuesday, April 5: Interstate Rivalry I: Measuring Long-Term Relationships**

*The topic of rivalry -- sometimes called "enduring rivalry" or "interstate rivalry" -- has received a great*



deal of scholarly attention, and will receive two weeks of coverage in this course. The first week focuses on the variety of definitions and theoretical approaches that have been proposed so far, while next week will emphasize empirical findings on the dynamics of rivalry. Goertz and Diehl have been the most prominent scholars of rivalry, with a large number of articles and several books; their definition and data set have gotten the most use so far. Hensel's "evolutionary" conception of the beginnings of rivalry and Bennett's work on rivalry termination offer additional conceptions of what rivalry is, when it begins, and when it ends. Thompson has proposed a different conceptualization of rivalry based on the perceptions of leaders rather than on observable armed conflict data, while Crescenzi et al. suggest a more dynamic model of interstate relations that does not rely so much on thresholds or categories. Carter and Signorino conclude the readings with a more methodological perspective on how to incorporate the impact of past relations between the same states.

Today's meeting should focus on the different conceptualizations and measures of rivalry discussed in these readings, as the authors present very different approaches to studying the beginning, continuation, and ending of rivalry. For example, how do these scholars differ in conceptualizing "rivalry" or "rivals," and which conceptual elements seem most or least appropriate? Turning from conceptualization to measurement, does Klein, Goertz, and Diehl's measure seem appropriate, and how does it compare to Bennett's measurement of termination, Hensel's more evolutionary measurement of rivalry processes, Thompson's more perceptual measurement, Crescenzi et al.'s more dynamic approach, or Carter and Signorino's more methodological approach? What might be the relative advantages and disadvantages of each approach, and for which purposes might it be most useful?

- James P. Klein, Gary Goertz, and Paul F. Diehl (2006). "The New Rivalry Dataset: Procedures and Patterns." *Journal of Peace Research* 43, 3: 331-348.
- Paul R. Hensel (1999). "An Evolutionary Approach to the Study of Interstate Rivalry." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 17, 2 (Fall): 179-206.
- D. Scott Bennett (1997). "Measuring Rivalry Termination, 1816-1992." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41, 2: 227-254.
- William R. Thompson (2001). "Identifying Rivals and Rivalries in World Politics." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, 4: 557-586.
- Mark J. C. Crescenzi, Andrew J. Enterline, and Stephen B. Long (2008). "bringing Cooperation Back In: A Dynamic Model of Interstate Interaction." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25, 3: 264-280.
- David B. Carter and Curtis S. Signorino (2010). "Back to the Future: Modeling Time Dependence in Binary Data." *Political Analysis* 18, 3: 271-292.

#### *Additional Readings:*

- Mark J. C. Crescenzi and Andrew J. Enterline (2001). "Time Remembered: A Dynamic Model of Interstate Interaction." *International Studies Quarterly* 45, 3: 409-431.
- Mark J. C. Crescenzi, Jacob D. Kathman, Katja B. Kleinberg, and Reed M. Wood (2012). "Reliability, Reputation, and Alliance Formation." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, 2 (June): 259-274.
- Allen Dafoe, Jonathan Renshon, and Paul Huth (2014). "Reputation and Status as Motives for War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17: 371-393.
- Erik Gartzke and Michael Simon (1999). "'Hot Hand': A Critical Analysis of Enduring Rivalries." *Journal of Politics* 61, 3 (August): 777-798.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (2000). "(Enduring) Rivalries." In Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 222-267.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (2000). "Rivalries: The Conflict Process." In John A. Vasquez, ed., *What Do We Know about War?* Boulder, CO: Rowman and Littlefield, pp. 197-217.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1992). "The Empirical Importance of Enduring Rivalries." *International Interactions*, 18(2): 151-163.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1993). "Enduring Rivalries: Theoretical Constructs and Empirical Patterns." *International Studies Quarterly*, 37(2): 147-171.

- James P. Klein, Gary Goertz, and Paul F. Diehl (2006). "The Peace Scale: Conceptualizing and Operationalizing Non-Rivalry and Peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 25, 1 (March): 67-80.
- William R. Thompson (1994). "Principal Rivalries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39: 195-223.

### 13. Tuesday, April 12: Interstate Rivalry II: Studying Rivalry Dynamics

*This topic follows up on the more conceptual coverage of rivalry from last week by examining research on the dynamics of rivalries -- i.e., what makes them start, continue, and end? Hensel and Stinnett/Diehl examine the origins of rivalry, while Bennett and Owsiak offer different takes on the termination of rivalries. Rasler and Thompson consider which rivalries escalate to war at least once, while Greig examines conflict management within ongoing rivalries and Mitchell and Prins use rivalry to help study the diversionary use of force.*

*Today's meeting should consider each reading both on its own merits (i.e., in terms of theory, research design, and empirical analyses) and in relation to the conceptual issues addressed last week. For example, which approach to rivalry (if any) is best supported -- or called into question -- by the results? Furthermore, how could the study of rivalry's origins, continuation, or ending be improved further?*

- Paul R. Hensel (2001). "Evolution in Domestic Politics and the Development of Rivalry: The Bolivia-Paraguay Case." In William R. Thompson, ed., *Evolutionary Interpretations of World Politics*. New York: Routledge, pp. 176-217.
- Douglas M. Stinnett and Paul F. Diehl (2001). "The Path(s) to Rivalry: Behavioral and Structural Explanations of Rivalry Development." *Journal of Politics* 63, 3: 717-740.
- D. Scott Bennett (1998). "Integrating and Testing Models of Rivalry Termination." *American Journal of Political Science* 42: 1200-1232.
- Andrew P. Owsiak and Toby J. Rider (2013). "Clearing the Hurdle: Border Settlement and Rivalry Termination." *Journal of Politics* 75, 3 (July): 757-772.
- Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson (2006). "Contested Territory, Strategic Rivalries, and Conflict Escalation." *International Studies Quarterly* 5- 1 (March): 145-167.
- J. Michael Greig (2001). "Moments of Opportunity: Recognizing Conditions of Ripeness for International Mediation between Enduring Rivals." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, 6: December 2001.
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell and Brandon C. Prins (2004). "Rivalry and Diversionary Uses of Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(6): 937-961.

#### *Additional Readings:*

- Seden Akcinaroglu, Elizabeth Radziszewski, and Paul F. Diehl (2014). "The Effects of Rivalry on Rivalry: Accommodation and the Management of Threats." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 10, 1 (January): 81-100.
- Pelle Andersen, Justin Baumgardner, J. Michael Greig, and Paul F. Diehl (2001). "Turning Down the Heat: Influences on Conflict Management in Enduring Rivalries." *International Interactions* 27, 3: 239-274.
- Tony Armstrong (1993). *Breaking the Ice: Rapprochement between East and West Germany, the United States and China, and Israel and Egypt*. Washington, DC: USIP Press.
- D. Scott Bennett (1996). "Security, Bargaining, and the End of Interstate Rivalry." *International Studies Quarterly* 40, 2: 157-183.
- D. Scott Bennett 1997. "Democracy, Regime Change, and Rivalry Termination." *International Interactions*, 22(4): 369-397.
- Jacob Bercovitch and Paul F. Diehl (1997). "Conflict Management of Enduring Rivalries: The Frequency, Timing, and Short-term Impact of Mediation." *International Interactions* 22 (4): 299-320.
- Michael Colaresi (2005). *Scare Tactics: The Politics of International Rivalry*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Michael Colaresi and William R. Thompson (2002). "Strategic Rivalries, Protracted Conflict, and Crisis Escalation." *Journal of Peace Research* 39/3 (May): 263-287.
- Michael Colaresi and William R. Thompson (2002). "Hot Spots or Hot Hands? Serial Crisis Behavior, Escalating Risks, and Rivalry." *Journal of Politics* 64, 4 (November): 1175-1198.

- Michael Colaresi, Karen Rasler, and William R. Thompson (2008). *Strategic Rivalry: Space, Position, and Conflict Escalation in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Justin Conrad (2011). "Interstate Rivalry and Terrorism: An Unprobed Link." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55, 4 (August): 529-555.
- Derekh D. F. Cornwell and Michael P. Colaresi (2002). "Holy Trinities, Rivalry Termination, and Conflict." *International Interactions* 28, 4 (October-December).
- Paul F. Diehl, ed. (1996). *The Dynamics of Enduring Rivalries*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- David R. Dreyer (2010). "Issue Conflict Accumulation and the Dynamics of Strategic Rivalry." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, 3 (September): 779-795.
- David R. Dreyer (2012). "Issue Intractability and the Persistence of International Rivalry." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29, 5 (November): 471-489.
- David R. Dreyer (2013). "Exploring the Concept of Rivalry: From India and Pakistan to the Yankees and Red Sox." *Journal of Political Science Education* 9, 3: 308-319.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1995). "The Initiation and Termination of Enduring Rivalries: The Impact of Political Shocks." *American Journal of Political Science* 39, 1: 30-52.
- Paul F. Diehl and Gary Goertz (2000). *War and Peace in International Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Michael G. Findley, James A. Piazza, and Joseph K. Young (2012). "Games Rivals Play: Terrorism in International Rivalries." *Journal of Politics* 74, 1 (January): 235-248.
- Goertz, Gary and Patrick M. Regan (1997). "Conflict Management and Enduring Rivalries." *International Interactions*, 22(4): 321-330.
- Paul R. Hensel, Gary Goertz, and Paul F. Diehl (2000). "The Democratic Peace and Rivalries." *Journal of Politics* 62, 4 (November): 1173-1188.
- Paul K. Huth and Bruce Russett (1993). "General Deterrence between Enduring Rivals: Testing Three Competing Models." *American Political Science Review* 87, 1: 61-73.
- Douglas Lemke and William Reed (2001). "War and Rivalry among Great Powers." *American Journal of Political Science* 45/2 (April): 457-469
- Zeev Maoz and Ben D. Mor (1996). "Enduring Rivalries: The Early Years." *International Political Science Review* 17, 2: 141-160.
- Zeev Maoz and Ben D. Mor (2002). *Bound by Struggle: The Strategic Evolution of Enduring International Rivalries*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Zeev Maoz and Belgin San-Akca (2012). "Rivalry and State Support of Non-State Armed Groups (NAGs), 1946-2001." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, 4 (December) 720-734.
- Michael Dean McGinnis and John T. Williams (2001). *Compound Dilemmas: Democracy, Collective Action, and Superpower Rivalry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Ben D. Mor (1997). "Peace Initiatives and Public Opinion: The Domestic Context of Conflict Resolution." *Journal of Peace Research* 34, 2: 197-216.
- Karen Rasler and William R. Thompson (2001). "Rivalries and the Democratic Peace in the Major Power Subsystem." *Journal of Peace Research* 38/6 (November): 659-683
- Cameron G. Thies (2005). "War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 451-465.
- William R. Thompson, ed. (1998). *Great Power Rivalries*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- William R. Thompson (2003). "A Street Car Named Sarajevo: Catalysts, Multiple Causation Chains, and Rivalry Structures." *International Studies Quarterly* 47/3 (September): 453-474.
- John A. Vasquez (1993). *The War Puzzle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- John A. Vasquez (1996). "Distinguishing Rivals That Go to War from Those That Do Not: A Quantitative Comparative Case Study of the Two Paths to War." *International Studies Quarterly* 40: 531-558.

#### **14. Tuesday, April 19: The Legacy of Colonialism**

*For many states in today's developing world, the most important historical context is the legacy of colonial rule. Most states in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East were ruled by foreign powers for*

decades or centuries, and have experienced relatively short periods of independence since the end of colonialism. These readings examine the impact of colonial rule on the newly independent states' economic, political, and military prospects. Topics addressed include post-independence economic relations with the former colonizer (Athow/Blanton and Head et al.), economic development (Acemoglu et al.), political stability (Blanton et al. and Bernhard et al.), and territorial claims (Hensel et al.).

Today's meeting should consider these very different readings as a group, as well as individually. For example, what is it about colonialism that seems likely to affect the future -- do all colonial legacies work the same, or are there important differences? Are all colonial legacies negative, or can some have a positive impact? Is there any way that the former colonies can adapt or overcome these legacies, or are they all doomed to the same fate?

- Brian Athow and Robert Blanton (2002). "Colonial Style and Colonial Legacies: Trade Patterns in French and British Africa." *Journal of Third World Studies* 19, 1 (Spring): 219-243.
- Keith Head, Thierry Mayer, and John Ries (2010). "The Erosion of Colonial Trade Linkages after Independence." *Journal of International Economics* 81: 1-14.
- Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson (2002). "Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117, 4 (November): 1231-1294.
- Robert Blanton, T. David Mason, and Brian Athow (2001). "Colonial Style and Post-Colonial Ethnic Conflict in Africa." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, 4 (July): 219-243.
- Michael Bernhard, Christopher Reenock, and Timothy Nordstrom (2004). "The Legacy of Western Colonialism on Democratic Survival." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, 1 (March): 225-250.
- Paul R. Hensel, Michael Allison, and Ahmed Khanani (2012). "Colonial Legacies and Territorial Conflict." (*Note that this paper is currently under revision, and an updated version will be made available as the assigned week approaches.*)

*Additional Readings (colonial legacies):*

- Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson (2001). "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91, 5: 1369-96.
- Joy Asongazoh Alemazung (2010). "Post-Colonial Colonialism: An Analysis of International Factors and Actors Marring African Socio-Economic and Political Development." *Journal of Pan African Studies* 3, 10 (September): 62-84.
- Alberto Alesina and David Dollar (2000). "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?." *Journal of Economic Growth* 5, 1 (March): 33-63.
- Timothy Besley and Marta Reynal-Querol (2014). "The Legacy of Historical Conflict: Evidence from Africa." *American Political Science Review* 108, 2 (May): 319-336.
- J. Barron Boyd, Jr. (1979). "African Boundary Conflict: An Empirical Study." *African Studies Review* 22, 3 (December): 1-14.
- Paul Cammack, David Pool, and William Tordoff (1993). *Third World Politics: A Comparative Introduction*, 2nd edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 15-55. (chapter 1: "The Heritage of the Past")
- David B. Carter and H. E. Goemans (2011). "The Making of the Territorial Order: New Borders and the Emergence of Interstate Conflict." *International Organization* 65, 2: 275-309.
- Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth M. Sokoloff (2002). "Factor Endowments, Inequality, and Paths of Development among New World Economies." *Economia* 3, 1: 41-109.
- Benjamin E. Goldsmith and Baogang He (2008). "Letting Go without a Fight: Decolonization, Democracy and War, 1900-94." *Journal of Peace Research* 45, 5: 587-611.
- Elliott Green (2012). "On the Size and Shape of African States." *International Studies Quarterly* 56, 2 (June): 229-244.
- Robin M. Grier (1999). "Colonial Legacies and Economic Growth." *Public Choice* 98 3-4 (March): 317-335.
- Jacob Gerner Hariri (2012). "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106, 3 (August): 471-494.

- Keith Head, Thierry Mayer, and John Ries (2010). "The Erosion of Colonial Trade Linkages after Independence." *Journal of International Economics* 81: 1-14.
- Tomila Lankina and Lullit Getachew (2012). "Mission or Empire, Word or Sword? The Human Capital Legacy in Postcolonial Democratic Development." *American Journal of Political Science* 56, 2 (April): 465-483.
- Nimah Mazaheri (2014). "Oil Wealth, Colonial Legacies, and the Challenges of Economic Liberalization." *Political Research Quarterly* 67, 4: 769-782.
- Steven R. Ratner (1996). "Drawing a Better Line: *Uti Possidetis* and the Borders of New States." *American Journal of International Law* 90, 4 (October): 590-624.
- Kenneth M. Sokoloff and Stanley L. Engerman (2000). "History Lessons: Institutions, Factor Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14, 3 (Summer): 217-232.
- Saadia Touval (1967). "The Organization of African Unity and African Borders." *International Organization* 21, 1 (Winter): 102-127.

*Additional Readings (history and economics):*

- Ha-Joon Chang (2002). *Kicking away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective*. London: Anthem Press.
- Daniel Chirot, ed. (1989). *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Barry Eichengreen and Douglas A. Irwin (1998). "The Role of History in Bilateral Trade Flows." In Jeffrey Frankel, ed., *The Regionalization of the World Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Alexander Gerschenkron (1962). *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

## **15. Tuesday, April 26: Evolving Historical Norms**

*Another factor related to historical contexts is the evolution of historical norms in the international system. Almost by definition, norms vary in strength over time, as more countries decide whether or not to accept the norm and whether or not to follow it in practice; the strength of the norm at any given point in time can thus be thought of as part of that time's historical context. A variety of literature in the past two decades has discussed norms, but the empirical analysis of norms has been plagued by serious difficulties. Axelrod, Goertz / Diehl, and Finnemore / Sikkink have all attempted to address these issues, whether attempting to specify how norms are created and evolve over time, or attempting to improve the empirical testing of hypotheses related to norms. Norms have been receiving a much greater amount of scholarly attention since the emergence of the democratic peace research agenda, as scholars have argued that democracies share certain norms that help to account for the democratic peace; Mitchell examines these supposed democratic norms, and Zacher and Hensel et al. examine another supposed norm regarding territorial integrity in IR.*

*Today's meeting should begin with the basic idea of what norms are, how they begin / evolve / end, and how they can be studied. Most of the time, though, should be spent analyzing the various attempts to examine norms empirically -- ranging from Goertz and Diehl's work on the decolonization norm to Dixon's, Mitchell's, and Zacher's recent analyses. Is the author's description of the norm reasonable? Is the empirical analysis appropriate, and the conclusion convincing? How could the work be improved? Finally, beyond these existing attempts to study norms, we should also be prepared to discuss other norms that might usefully be studied.*

- Robert Axelrod (1986). "An Evolutionary Approach to Norms." *American Political Science Review* 80: 1095-1111.
- Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl (1992). "Toward a Theory of International Norms: Some Conceptual and Measurement Issues." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 36, 4: 635-664.
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (1998). "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52, 4 (Autumn): 887-917.
- Sara McLaughlin Mitchell (2002). "A Kantian System? Democracy and Third Party Conflict Resolution." *American Journal of Political Science*, 46(4): 749-759.

- Mark W. Zacher (2001). "The Territorial Integrity Norm: International Boundaries and the Use of Force." *International Organization* 55, 2 (Spring): 215-250.
- Paul R. Hensel, Michael Allison, and Ahmed Khanani (2009). "Territorial Integrity Treaties and Armed Conflict over Territory." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26, 2 (April): 120-143.

*Additional Readings:*

- William J. Dixon (1993). "Democracy and the Management of International Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37: 42-68.
- William J. Dixon (1994). "Democracy and the Peaceful Settlement of International Conflict." *American Political Science Review* 88, 1 (March): 14-32.
- Ann Florini (1996). "The Evolution of International Norms." *International Studies Quarterly* 40, 3: 363-389.
- Benjamin O. Fordham and Victor Asal (2007). "Billiard Balls or Snowflakes? Major Power Prestige and the International Diffusion of Institutions and Practices." *International Studies Quarterly* 51, 1 (March): 31-52.
- Christopher Gelpi (1997). "Crime and Punishment: The Role of Norms in Crisis Bargaining." *American Political Science Review* 91, 2 (June): 339-360.
- Charles W. Kegley, Jr., and Gregory A. Raymond (1990). *When Trust Breaks Down : Alliance Norms and World Politics*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett (1993). "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986." *American Political Science Review* 87, 3. (September): 624-638.
- John Mueller (1989). *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War*. New York: Basic Books.
- John R. Oneal, Frances H. Oneal, Zeev Maoz, and Bruce Russett (1996). "The Liberal Peace: Interdependence, Democracy, and International Conflict, 1950-85." *Journal of Peace Research* 33, 1 (February): 11-28.
- James Lee Ray (1989). "The Abolition of Slavery and the End of International War." *International Organization* 43 (Summer): 405-439.
- Gregory A. Raymond (1994). "Democracies, Disputes, and Third-Party Intermediaries." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 38, 1. (March): 24-42.

## **16. Tuesday, May 3: Paper Presentations**

*The final class meeting is devoted to the presentation of each student's original research paper. As such, this is basically an opportunity to conclude the course with a week on "contextual effects not covered in the syllabus" or "other contextual topics that really interest the students in this course," rather than a week to read and discuss yet another set of already-published work. Each student must present his/her research paper in no more than 10-15 minutes (this time limit will be strictly enforced - but note that it will be set based on the number of students enrolled in the course), followed by questions from the rest of the students; handouts are allowed, but PowerPoint presentations are not, so that we don't spend half of the class period dealing with computer or projector problems.*

## **Tuesday, May 10: FINAL PAPERS DUE (via TurnItIn, by 3:30 PM)**

*The final version of your research paper must be turned in through the TurnItIn link on the course's Blackboard page no later than the scheduled final exam period for this course. This final version of the paper must include a memo describing the changes that have been made in response to the written reviewers' comments.*