

# **PSC 570: Civil Order and Civil Violence**

**Prof. Bethany Lacina**  
**Wednesdays, 4-6:40pm**  
**Harkness 329**

Civil order undergirds all other political processes. This course covers how violence is regulated—primarily by states but through other mechanisms, as well. The readings cover five approaches to civil order, what it is and how it is sustained. Each conception of civil order implies a different account—in some cases a few different accounts—of when and why unregulated violence occurs, as well as the character of that violence.

There are a large number of topics in the study of civil violence that we will not cover, for example: explanations of why individuals participate in violence, problems of organizing armed groups including state militaries, strategic and tactical uses of violence, patterns of violence and warfighting within conflicts, conflict termination, peacemaking and post-conflict societies, international interventions in civil conflict, and particular types of violence—e.g., communal violence, electoral violence, criminal violence, genocide, ethnic cleansing. Also, this course is heavily weighted toward introducing the major theories of the state and violence. However, to contribute new research in this field, one also needs to become familiar with the empirical literature on these topics.

## **Instructor**

Professor Lacina  
Email: [blacina@ur.rochester.edu](mailto:blacina@ur.rochester.edu)  
Office: Harkness 320B  
Office hours: Wednesdays, 10-12

## **Course Requirements**

1. Students must attend every class. A student who misses class must get in touch with me within 24 hours of the start of the missed class period and then complete a make-up assignment. Students who do not follow this procedure will have an unexcused absence.
2. All students, whether auditing or taking the course for credit, must do the reading. The course schedule below lists readings under two headings: readings for class and readings for the comprehensive exam. Students who incorporate this course into their International Relations or Comparative Politics field exams will be responsible for the latter, in addition to the course readings. For the comprehensive exam, students are also responsible for the entirety of all books (except edited volumes) assigned during the course, although only portions of books are assigned during the course.
3. Six response papers. For six of the weekly sessions students will write a paper of 1,000 to 1,750 words. Three of the six papers must be completed in weeks 2-7; three must be completed in weeks 8-14. Papers should offer an analysis of one or more readings for the

week. Readings from other courses may also be incorporated. Students may not write a paper for a week when they will not be in class.

**The papers should not merely summarize the reading.** Examples of what a paper might do:

- Choose a point of conflict between readings and defend one of the readings on this point
- Apply one author's critique of existing work to another reading; make an argument regarding how the critique does or does not undermine that reading
- Point out logical inconsistencies or important omissions from the theory in one or more readings; show that the errors or omissions are non-trivial
- Identify shortcomings in the empirics in one or more readings and explain why and to what extent those shortcomings might undermine the author's conclusions
- Describe a research frontier (theoretical or empirical) that the readings suggest; explain how that research follows from the readings and defend its likely value

Papers must be completed by 10AM on the day of the seminar, with copies posted on the class website. Late work is not accepted.

Papers will be graded only as satisfactory or unsatisfactory, although I will provide comments to each student. I will post some examples of satisfactory papers on the course website. Late papers are automatically deemed unsatisfactory. A paper is automatically deemed unsatisfactory if the student does not attend class.

**All students must write a paper for the second week of class.** A student who does not earn a satisfactory grade on that paper must write the papers for subsequent weeks until they have handed in at least one satisfactory paper.

4. All students must read the papers of the other students before the seminar meets and be prepared to comment on those papers.

## Course grade

Final course grades will be determined using the chart below.

Grade	Requirements
A	6 satisfactory papers No unexcused absences Consistent reading of assigned materials and other students' papers in advance of the seminar and evidence of preparation to comment on them
A-	6 satisfactory papers
B+	5 satisfactory papers No unexcused absences Consistent reading of assigned materials and other students' papers in advance of the seminar and evidence of preparation to comment on them
B	5 satisfactory papers
B-	4 satisfactory papers
C	3 satisfactory papers
E	<3 satisfactory papers

## **Class schedule**

Reading for the week must be completed by all students before class.

### **1. September 4: Introduction to the course**

No reading.

### **2. September 11: Civil order as the defense of property rights**

#### ***Reading for the week:***

Anderson, Perry. 1974. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. NLB. Part I: Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5. (128 pages)

Luebbert, Gregory M. 1987. "Social foundations of political order in interwar Europe." *World Politics* 39(4). (30 pages)

North, Douglass C., John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. 2009. *Violence and Social Orders*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 4. (112 pages)

#### ***Reading for the comprehensive exam:***

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship*. Cambridge University Press.

Poggi, Gianfranco. 1978. *The Development of the Modern State*. Stanford University Press.

### **3. September 18: Civil violence as a challenge to property rights**

#### ***Reading for the week:***

North, Douglass C. 1981. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. W.W. Norton. Pp. 1–170. (171 pages)

Gurr, Ted Robert. 1970. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5. (132 pages)

#### ***Reading for the comprehensive exam:***

Moore, Barrington, Jr. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Beacon.

Olson, Mancur. 1984. *The Rise and Decline of Nations*. Yale University Press.

### **4. September 25: Civil order as a protection racket**

Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3). (10 pages)

Thies, Cameron G. 2004. "State Building, Interstate and Intrastate Rivalry: A Study of Post-Colonial Developing Country Extractive Efforts, 1975–2000." *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1). (20 pages)

Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990–1992*. Blackwell. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 7. (164 pages)

Weber, Max. 1946. "Politics as a vocation." In Gerth, H.H. and C. Wright Mills, eds. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford University Press. (53 pages)

**Reading for the comprehensive exam:**

Bates, Robert, Avner Greif, and Smita Singh. "Organizing violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(5).

Centeno, Miguel Angel. 2003. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. Penn State Press.

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War-making and state-making as organized crime." In Peter Evans et al., eds., *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge University Press.

**5. October 2: Civil violence as banditry**

**Reading for the week:**

Bates, Robert H. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart*. Cambridge University Press. Parts I, II, III. (142 pages)

Lichbach, Mark. 1994. "What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary: Dilemma, Paradox, and Irony in Peasant Rebellion." *World Politics* 46(3). (36 pages)

Reno, William. *Warlord Politics in an African State*. Lynne Rienner. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4. (132 pages)

**Reading for the comprehensive exam:**

Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and grievance in civil war." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4).

Esteban, Joan, Laura Mayoral, and Debraj Ray. 2012. "Ethnicity and conflict: Theory and facts." *Science* 336(6083).

Grossman, Herschell I. 1991. "A General Equilibrium Model of Insurrections." *The American Economic Review* 81(40).

**6. October 9: Civil violence as racketeer competition**

**Reading for the week:**

Popkin, Samuel L. 1979. *The Rational Peasant*. University of California Press. Chapters 2, 5, 6. (115 pages)

Spruyt, Hendrik. 1994. *The Sovereign State and its Competitors*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. (158 pages)

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2005. "Autonomous recovery and international intervention in comparative perspective." Working paper available at <http://ssrn.com/abstract=997377> (35 pages)

**Reading for the comprehensive exam:**

Berman, Eli. 2009. *Radical, Religious, and Violent*. MIT Press.

Skaperdas, Stergios. 2013. "Warlord competition." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(4).

## **7. October 16: Civil violence as the failure of state institutions**

### ***Reading for the week:***

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Yale University Press. Chapter 5. (80 pages)

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2. (109 pages)

Solnick, Steven L. 1998. *Stealing the State: Control and Collapse in Soviet Institutions*. Harvard University Press. Introduction and chapters 2, 4. (94 pages)

### ***Reading for the comprehensive exam:***

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2004. "Neotrusteeship and the problem of weak states." *International Security* 28(4).

Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton University Press.

Young, Crawford. 1997. *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*. Yale University Press.

## **8. October 23: Civil order as incorporation**

### ***Reading for the week:***

Henley, David. 2004. "Conflict, justice, and the stranger-king: Indigenous roots of colonial rule in Indonesia and elsewhere." *Modern Asian Studies* 38(1). (60 pages)

Whyte, William Foote. 1993. *Street Corner Society*. University of Chicago Press. Introduction and part II. (150 pages)

Barkey, Karen. 1996. *Bandits and Bureaucrats*. Cornell University Press. Chapters 1, 5, 6. (111 pages)

### ***Reading for the comprehensive exam:***

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. "Political institutions, policy choice and the survival of leaders." *British Journal of Political Science* 32(4).

Levi, Margaret. 1989. *Of Rule and Revenue*. University of California Press.

Wintrobe, Ronald. 1990. "The tinpot and the totalitarian: An economic theory of dictatorship," *The American Political Science Review* 84(3).

## **9. October 30: Civil violence as resistance to incorporation**

### ***Reading for the week:***

Migdal, Joel S. 1988. *Strong Societies and Weak States*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 6, 7. (142 pages)

Scott, James C. 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed*. Yale University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. (177 pages)

***Reading for the comprehensive exam:***

Hobsbawn, E.J. 1974. "Peasant land occupations." *Past & Present*. 62(February).

Tilly, Charles. 1976. "Major forms of collective action in Western Europe, 1500–1975." *Theory and Society* 3(3).

**10. November 6: Civil order as legitimate practice**

***Reading for the week:***

Geertz, Clifford. 1980. *Negara: The theatre state in nineteenth-century Bali*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 4, and conclusion. (75 pages)

Levi, Margaret. 1997. *Consent, dissent, and patriotism*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4. (106 pages)

Meyer, John M., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 1997. "World Society and the Nation-State." *American Journal of Sociology* 103(1). (38 pages)

Thornton, Patricia M. 2007. *Disciplining the State: Virtue, Violence and State-Making in Modern China*. Harvard University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5. (91 pages)

***Reading for the comprehensive exam:***

Shils, Edward. 1961. "Centre and periphery." In *The Logic of Personal Knowledge*. Routledge.

**11. November 13: Civil violence as contested legitimacy**

***Reading for the week:***

Badie, Bertrand. 2000. *The Imported State: The Westernization of the Political Order*. Translated by Claudia Royal. Stanford University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5. (116 pages)

Scott, James C. "The erosion of patron-client bonds and social change in rural Southeast Asia." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 32(1). (33 pages)

Shils, Edward. 1960. "Political development in the new states." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2(3). (28 pages)

Wood, Elisabeth. 2004. *Insurgent collective action and civil war in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 3, 7, 8. (130 pages)

***Reading for the comprehensive exam:***

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44(1).

Lohmann, Susanne. 1994. "The dynamics of informational cascades: The Monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989–91." *World Politics* 47(1).

**12. November 20: Civil order as national legitimacy**

***Reading for the week:***

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Cornell University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. (61 pages)

Green, Abigail. 2001. *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Germany*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction and chapters 3, 4, 5. (125 pages)

Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen*. Stanford University Press. Chapters 1, 7, 15, 17, 18. (129 pages)

**Reading for the comprehensive exam:**

Anderson, Benedict. 1982. *Imagined Communities*. Verso.

Laitin, David D. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture*. University of Chicago Press.

Shils, Edward. 1957. "Primordial, personal, sacred, and civil ties." *British Journal of Sociology* 8(2).

**November 27: No class**

**13. December 4: Civil violence as contested national legitimacy**

Breuilly, John. 1994. *Nationalism and the State*. University of Chicago Press. Pages TBA.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "The integrative revolution: Primordial sentiments and civil politics in the new states." In Geertz, Clifford, ed. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. Basic Books. (56 pages)

Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. University of California Press. Chapters 1, 6. (115 pages)

Wimmer, Andreas, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Brian Min. 2009. "Ethnic politics and armed conflict: A configurational analysis of a new global data set." *American Sociological Review* 74(2). (22 pages)

**Reading for the comprehensive exam:**

Alesina, Alberto and Enrico Spolaore. 2003. *The Size of Nations*. MIT Press.

Hale, Henry. 2008. *The Foundations of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

Hechter, Michael. 2001. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford University Press.

**14. December 11: Violence as legitimate practice**

**Reading for the week:**

Ghassen-Fachandi. 2010. "Ahimsa, identification, and sacrifice in the Gujarat pogrom." *Social Anthropology* 18(2). (21 pages)

Hull, Isabel V. 2003. "Military culture and the production of 'Final Solutions' in the colonies: The example of Wilhelminian Germany." In Gellately, Robert and Ben Kiernan, eds. *The Specter of Genocide*. Cambridge University Press. (23 pages)

Miguel, Edward. 2005. "Poverty and witch killing." *Review of Economic Studies* 72(4). (20 pages)



Mocan, Naci. 2013. "Vengeance." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 95(3). (14 pages)

Ron, James. 2000. "Boundaries and violence: Repertoires of state action along the Bosnia/Yugoslavia divide." *Theory and Society* 29(5). (41 pages)

***Reading for the comprehensive exam:***

Brass, Paul R. 2003. *The Production of Hindu-Muslim Violence in Contemporary India*. University of Washington Press.