

# IR Seminar: International Conflict and Intervention

## POL-GA 3700.002

### Spring 2013

Bernd Beber  
NYU Department of Politics  
19 West 4<sup>th</sup> Street, Room 414  
bernd.beber@nyu.edu  
Office hours: Thursdays, 3-5pm

## Overview

This course will familiarize students with key debates about coercive and non-coercive international interventions in armed conflicts and conflict-prone environments. While we cover some classic works, the course focuses on recent studies and ongoing research. There are five parts to this course. First, we will discuss why states and/or rebel groups fight in the first place, with a focus on theoretical and empirical work on bargaining between disputants. Second, we will briefly discuss methodological challenges in learning about conflict and intervention. Third, we will discuss a series of different types of interventions, the conditions in which they are likely, their intended and unintended effects, and the benchmarks we should use to evaluate them. Fourth, we analyze the case of Sudan in detail, with respect to the conflicts in both South Sudan and Darfur. We conclude the semester with student presentations.

## Requirements

The course meets once a week (Thursdays, 6.20-8.20pm) in Room 432, 19 West 4<sup>th</sup> Street. All readings for the course are available online or on NYU Classes. We will spend the majority of the seminar talking about the assigned readings and the ideas that connect them, so it is essential that you come prepared to make thoughtful contributions to our discussion. Some of the readings make heavy use of game theory and/or statistics, and knowledge of the relevant methods is helpful, but not required for the course.

Grades will be based on class participation (40%, including discussant duties described below), a research paper or detailed project proposal (40%), and a presentation of your research project (20%). Research papers or proposals will be 20-30 pages long and will be related to key theoretical or empirical questions discussed in the course. A one-paragraph description of the paper or project proposal is due on Friday, **March 15**. A two-page summary of the main argument and structure is due on Friday, **April 12**. The paper is due on Friday, **May 17**.

We will start off the discussion each week with comments from one or more students on some of the required readings. Each student will be assigned to specific readings and serve as a discussant three times. As a discussant, you should briefly identify the reading's key arguments and findings, potential criticisms, and open questions. You should not simply summarize the reading, but discuss the work as if you were discussing it at a conference or workshop. Even if you are not a designated discussant in a given week, you need to be ready to talk about any of the required readings.

## Schedule

### January 31

#### Introduction and course logistics

### February 7

#### Bargaining theory and war

##### Required:

- James D. Fearon (1995), "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2706903.pdf>>.
- Erik Gartzke (1999), "War is in the Error Term," *International Organization* 53(3): 567-587, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2601290.pdf>>.
- Damon Coletta and Erik Gartzke (2003), "Testing War in the Error Term," *International Organization* 57(2): 445-448, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3594859.pdf>>.
- Mark Fey and Kristopher W. Ramsay (2007), "Mutual Optimism and War," *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 738-754, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/4620097.pdf>>.
- R. Harrison Wagner (2000), "Bargaining and War," *American Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 469-484, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2669259.pdf>>.
- Robert Powell (2004), "The Inefficient Use of Power: Costly Conflict with Complete Information," *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 231-241, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/4145309.pdf>>.

##### Further reading:

- Thomas C. Schelling (1956), "An Essay on Bargaining," *American Economic Review* 46(3): 281-306, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/1805498.pdf>>.
- Ron Hassner (2003), "'To Halve and To Hold': Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies* 12(4): 1-33, <<http://www.informaworld.com/index/713636734.pdf>>.
- John Mueller (2000), "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'," *International Security* 25(1): 42-70, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2626773.pdf>>.

### February 14

#### Some empirical evidence on bargaining and conflict

##### Required:

- David Clark, Charles Holt, Timothy Nordstrom, William Reed, and Katri Sieberg (2010), "Some Experimental Results for a Quantal Response Bargaining Model of War," working paper, <[http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1643267](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1643267)>.
- Dustin H. Tingley (2011), "The Dark Side of the Future: An Experimental Test of Commitment Problems in Bargaining," *International Studies Quarterly* 55(2), 521-544, <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2011.00654.x/pdf>>.
- Curtis S. Signorino (1999), "Strategic Interaction and the Statistical Analysis of International Conflict," *American Political Science Review* 93(2): 279-297, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2585396>>.
- Kevin A. Clarke and David M. Primo (2007), "Modernizing Political Science: A Model-Based Approach," *Perspectives on Politics* 5(4): 741-753, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592707072192>>.

#### Further reading:

- P. Terrence Hopmann (1995), “Two Paradigms of Negotiation: Bargaining and Problem Solving,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 542(1): 24-47, <<http://ann.sagepub.com/content/542/1/24.full.pdf>>.
- Jack Levy (1998), “The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 139-165, <<http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.1.1.139>>.
- Christopher Blattman and Edward Miguel (2010), “Civil War,” *Journal of Economic Literature* 48(1): 3-57, <<http://pubs.aeaweb.org/doi/pdfplus/10.1257/jel.48.1.3>>.

#### February 21

#### Epistemological considerations

#### Required:

- Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green, and Edward H. Kaplan (2004), “The Illusion of Learning from Observational Research,” in Ian Shapiro, Rogers M. Smith, and Tarek E. Masoud (eds.), *Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press), ch. 12, 251-273, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511492174.012>>.
- Susan Hyde (2010), “The Future of Field Experiments in International Relations,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 628: 72-84, <<http://ann.sagepub.com/content/628/1/72.full.pdf>>.
- Angus Deaton (2010), “Instruments, Randomization, and Learning about Development,” *Journal of Economic Literature* 48(2): 424-455, <<http://www.aeaweb.org/articles.php?doi=10.1257/jel.48.2.424>>.
- Gregory Robinson, John E. McNulty, and Jonathan S. Krasno (2009), “Observing the Counterfactual? The Search for Political Experiments in Nature,” *Political Analysis* 17(4): 341-357, <<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/17/4/341.full.pdf>>.
- Alan Gerber and Neil Malhotra (2008), “Do Statistical Reporting Standards Affect What Is Published? Publication Bias in Two Leading Political Science Journals,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3(3): 313-326, <<http://www.qjps.com/getpdf.aspx?doi=100.00008024&product=QJPS>>.
- Symposium on Research Registration (2013), *Political Analysis* 21(1)
  - Macartan Humphreys, Raul Sanchez de la Sierra, and Peter van der Windt (2013), “Fishing, Commitment, and Communication: A Proposal for Comprehensive Nonbinding Research Registration,” *Political Analysis* 21(1): 1-20, <<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/1/1.full.pdf>>.
  - James E. Monogan III (2013), “A Case for Registering Studies of Political Outcomes: An Application in the 2010 House Elections,” *Political Analysis* 21(1): 21-37, <<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/1/21.full.pdf>>.
  - Richard G. Anderson (2013), “Registration and Replication: A Comment,” *Political Analysis* 21(1): 38-39, <<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/1/38.full.pdf>>.
  - Andrew Gelman (2013), “Preregistration of Studies and Mock Reports,” *Political Analysis* 21(1): 40-41, <<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/1/40.full.pdf>>.
  - David D. Laitin (2013), “Fisheries Management,” *Political Analysis* 21(1): 42-47, <<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/21/1/42.full.pdf>>.

Further reading:

- Michael E. Sobel (2008), "Identification of Causal Parameters in Randomized Studies With Mediating Variables," *Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics* 33(2): 230-251, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/20172114.pdf>>.
- Kosuke Imai, Luke Keele, Dustin Tingley, and Teppei Yamamoto (2011), "Unpacking the Black Box of Causality: Learning about Causal Mechanisms from Experimental and Observational Data," *American Political Science Review* 105(4): 765-789, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055411000414>>.
- Donald P. Green, Shang E. Ha and John G. Bullock (2010), "Enough Already about 'Black Box' Experiments: Studying Mediation Is More Difficult than Most Scholars Suppose," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 628: 200-208, <<http://ann.sagepub.com/content/628/1/200.full.pdf>>.

**February 28**  
**Mediation**

Required:

- Andrew H. Kydd (2006), "When Can Mediators Build Trust?" *American Political Science Review* 100(3): 449-462, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/27644366.pdf>>.
- Mark Fey and Kristopher W. Ramsay (2010), "When Is Shuttle Diplomacy Worth the Commute? Information Sharing through Mediation," *World Politics* 62(4), <[http://www.princeton.edu/~kramsay/Site/research\\_files/mediation1.5.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/~kramsay/Site/research_files/mediation1.5.pdf)>.
- Jacob Bercovitch and Scott S. Gartner (2006), "Is There Method in the Madness of Mediation? Some Lessons for Mediators from Quantitative Studies of Mediation," *International Interactions* 32(4): 329-354, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03050620601011024>>.
- Jonathan Wilkenfeld, Kathleen Young, Victor Asal, and David Quinn (2003), "Mediating International Crises Cross-National and Experimental Perspectives," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(3): 279-301, <<http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/47/3/279.full.pdf>>.
- Eric S. Dickson (2009), "Do Participants and Observers Assess Intentions Differently During Bargaining and Conflict?" *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 910-930, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/20647958.pdf>>.
- Alex Mintz, Steven B. Redd, and Arnold Vedlitz (2006), "Can We Generalize from Student Experiments to the Real World in Political Science, Military Affairs, and International Relations?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(5): 757-776, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/27638520.pdf>>.

Further reading:

- Johannes Hörner, Massimo Morelli, and Francesco Squintani (2010), "Mediation and Peace," Cowles Foundation Discussion Paper No. 1765, <<http://cowles.econ.yale.edu/P/cd/d17b/d1765.pdf>>.
- J. Michael Greig (2005), "Stepping into the Fray: When Do Mediators Mediate?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 249-266, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3647675.pdf>>.
- Isak Svensson (2007), "Bargaining, Bias and Peace Brokers: How Rebels Commit to Peace," *Journal of Peace Research* 44(2): 177-194, <<http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/44/2/177.full.pdf>>.
- David O. Sears (1986), "College Sophomores in the Laboratory: Influences of a Narrow Data Base on Social Psychology's View of Human Nature," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 51(3): 515-530, <[doi.apa.org/journals/psp/51/3/515.pdf](http://doi.apa.org/journals/psp/51/3/515.pdf)>.

## March 7

### Military intervention

#### Required:

- Patrick M. Regan (1996), "Conditions of Successful Third-party Intervention in Intrastate Conflicts," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(2): 336-359, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/174356.pdf>>.
- Michael G. Findley and Ashley Anne Mitchell (2011), "Lootable Resources and Third-Party Intervention into Civil Wars," working paper, <[http://michael-findley.com/sites/default/files/byu/files/resources\\_civil-war-intervention\\_24june2011.pdf](http://michael-findley.com/sites/default/files/byu/files/resources_civil-war-intervention_24june2011.pdf)>.
- Stephen E. Gent (2008), "Going in When it Counts: Military Intervention and the Outcome of Civil Conflicts," *International Studies Quarterly* 52(4): 713-735, <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00523.x/pdf>>.
- Kevin A. Clarke (2009), "Return of the Phantom Menace: Omitted Variable Bias in Political Research," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26(1): 46-66, <<http://cmp.sagepub.com/content/26/1/46.full.pdf>>.
- Colin Vance and Nolan Ritter (2012), "The Phantom Menace of Omitted Variables: A Comment," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29(2): 233-238, <<http://cmp.sagepub.com/content/29/2/233.full.pdf>>.
- Kevin A. Clarke (2012), "More Phantom Than Menace," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29(2): 239-241, <<http://cmp.sagepub.com/content/29/2/239.full.pdf>>.

#### Further reading:

- Patrick M. Regan (1998), "Choosing to Intervene: Outside Interventions in Internal Conflicts," *Journal of Politics* 60(3): 754-779, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2647647.pdf>>.
- Paul K. Huth (1998), "Major Power Intervention in International Crises, 1918-1988," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42(6): 744-770, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/174392.pdf>>.

## March 14

### Peacekeeping

#### Required:

- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis (2007), "The UN Record on Peacekeeping Operations," *International Journal* 62(3): 495-518. Available on NYU Classes.
- Page Fortna (2004), "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48(2): 269-292, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3693574.pdf>>.
- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis (2000), "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 94(4): 779-801, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2586208.pdf>>.
- Michael J. Gilligan and Ernest J. Sergenti (2008), "Do UN Interventions Cause Peace? Using Matching to Improve Causal Inference," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3(2): 89-122. Available on NYU Classes.
- Page Fortna and Lise Howard (2008), "Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature," *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 283-301, <<http://arjournals.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.polisci.9.041205.103022>>.

Further reading:

- Roland Paris (1997), "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Liberal Internationalism," *International Security* 22(2): 54-89, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2539367.pdf>>.

**March 21**

**Spring break – No class**

**March 28**

**The role of private actors**

Required:

- Peter W. Singer (2002), "Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry and Its Ramifications for International Security," *International Security* 26(3): 186-220, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3092094.pdf>>.
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (1998), "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52(4): 887-917, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2601361.pdf>>.
- Kenneth R. Rutherford (2000), "The Evolving Arms Control Agenda: Implications of the Role of NGOs in Banning Antipersonnel Landmines," *World Politics* 53(1): 74-114, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/25054137.pdf>>.
- Michael J. Findley, Daniel L. Nielson, and Jason C. Sharman (2013), "Using Field Experiments in International Relations: A Randomized Study of Anonymous Incorporation," *International Organization* forthcoming, <[http://michael-findley.com/texas/files/field-experiments-ir\\_final-accepted-version.pdf](http://michael-findley.com/texas/files/field-experiments-ir_final-accepted-version.pdf)>.
- Holger Lutz Kern and Jens Hainmueller (2009), "Opium for the Masses: How Foreign Media Can Stabilize Authoritarian Regimes," *Political Analysis* 17(4): 377-399, <<http://pan.oxfordjournals.org/content/17/4/377.full.pdf>>.

Further reading:

- Jeremy Scahill (2007), *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army*, New York, NY: Nation Books.
- James D. Morrow (2001), "The Institutional Features of the Prisoners of War Treaties," *International Organization* 55(4): 971-991, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3078622.pdf>>.
- Warren Strobel (1996), "The CNN Effect," *American Journalism Review* 18(4): 32-34 (May), <<http://www.ajr.org/article.asp?id=3572>>.
- Steven Livingston (1997), "Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention," Joan Shorenstein Center, Research Paper R-18. Available on NYU Classes.
- Peter V. Jakobsen (2000), "Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect," *Journal of Peace Research* 37(2): 131-143, <<http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/37/2/131.full.pdf>>.

**April 4**

**ISA – No class**

## **April 11**

### **Aid and conflict**

#### Required:

- Richard A. Nielsen, Michael G. Findley, Zachary S. Davis, Tara Candland, and Daniel L. Nielson (2011), "Foreign Aid Shocks as a Cause of Violent Armed Conflict," *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2): 219-232, <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00492.x/pdf>>.
- Jean-Paul Azam and Véronique Thelen (2010), "Foreign Aid Versus Military Intervention in the War on Terror," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(2): 237-261, <<http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/54/2/237.full.pdf>>.
- James D. Fearon, Macartan Humphreys, and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2009), "Can Development Aid Contribute to Social Cohesion after Civil War? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Post-Conflict Liberia," *American Economic Review* 99(2): 287-291, <<http://www.aeaweb.org/articles.php?doi=10.1257/aer.99.2.287>>.
- Peter M. Aronow, Allison Carnegie, and Nikolay Marinov (2012), "The Effects of Aid on Rights and Governance: Evidence from a Natural Experiment," working paper, <[http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2124994](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2124994)>.

#### Further reading:

- Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti (2004), "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach," *Journal of Political Economy* 112(4): 725-753, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/3555136.pdf>>.

## **April 18**

### **Election monitoring**

#### Required:

- Susan D. Hyde (2007), "The Observer Effect in International Politics: Evidence from a Natural Experiment," *World Politics* 60(1): 37-63, <[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world\\_politics/v060/60.1.hyde.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v060/60.1.hyde.pdf)>.
- Susan D. Hyde (2010), "Experimenting in Democracy Promotion: International Observers and the 2004 Presidential Elections in Indonesia," *Perspectives on Politics* 8(2): 511-527, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592710001222>>.
- Dawn Brancati (2012), "Building Confidence in Elections: The Case of Electoral Monitors in Kosovo," working paper, <[http://brancati.wustl.edu/Brancati\\_KosovaFieldExperiment.pdf](http://brancati.wustl.edu/Brancati_KosovaFieldExperiment.pdf)>.
- Nahomi Ichino and Matthias Schündeln (2012), "Deterring or Displacing Electoral Irregularities? Spillover Effects of Observers in a Randomized Field Experiment in Ghana," *Journal of Politics* 74(1): 292-307, <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0022381611001368>>.

## **April 25**

### **Case study: Sudan**

#### Required:

- Scott Straus (2005), "Darfur and the Genocide Debate," *Foreign Affairs* 84(1), 123-133, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/20034212.pdf>>.

- Alex J. Bellamy (2005), “Responsibility to Protect or Trojan Horse? The Crisis in Darfur and Humanitarian Intervention after Iraq,” *Ethics and International Affairs* 19(2): 31-53, <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1747-7093.2005.tb00499.x/pdf>>.
- Chaim Kaufmann (1996), “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security* 20(4): 136-175, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/2539045.pdf>>.
- Nicholas Sambanis (2000), “Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature,” *World Politics* 52(4): 437-483, <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdfplus/25054126.pdf>>.
- Bernd Beber, Philip Roessler, and Alexandra Scacco (2012), “Who Supports Partition? Violence and Political Attitudes in a Dividing Sudan,” working paper, available on NYU Classes.

Further reading:

- Joan Esteban, Massimo Morelli, and Dominic Rohner (2010), “Strategic Mass Killings,” Households in Conflict Network Working Paper 78, <<http://www.hicn.org/papers/wp78.pdf>>.
- Gerard Prunier (2005), *The Ambiguous Genocide*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Alex de Waal (2007), “Darfur and the Failure of the Responsibility to Protect,” *International Affairs* 83(6): 1039-1054, <<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2007.00672.x/pdf>>.
- Scott Straus (2006), “Rwanda and Darfur: A Comparative Analysis,” *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1(1): 41-56. Available on NYU Classes.

**May 2**

**Paper presentations**

**May 9**

**Paper presentations**