ARMED GOVERNANCE (IR5732)
CANDLEMAS SEMESTER 2021/2022

Nicholas Barnes (Lecturer)
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Time: Tuesdays, 12:00 – 2:00pm
Location: Arts Building, 321 Seminar Room 9

NOTICE on Venues: Due to the Covid Pandemic, venues for tutorials may change. We encourage you to keep an eye on your personal timetables via your MySaint profile.

Office Hours (virtual): Thursdays, 4:00 – 6:00pm or by appointment
Sign up for office hours here: https://nicholasbarnes.youcanbook.me

This module will be in-person unless the policies of the University change (see https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/coronavirus/covid-code/_). For those unable to attend in-person, they can participate virtually on Teams. Office hours will be held virtually unless otherwise noted.

MODULE OVERVIEW

This module will examine the origins, motivations, and dynamics of armed governance. Once considered purely the domain of states and state-like entities, the last several decades have seen the proliferation of violent organizations that govern local populations. And yet, because their motivations for doing so are various, scholars have mostly studied these governance dynamics in isolation. This module aims to break down these barriers by developing new multi-disciplinary perspectives and frameworks for armed governance as a cohesive unit of study. Together, students and the instructor will interrogate a series of interrelated questions: to what extent do non-state armed groups rule over civilian affairs in areas under their control? How they do it? Why? What explains variation within and across armed groups in their governance structures and practices? Why do some groups rely more heavily on violence and coercion to rule local populations? Why do others employ more collaborative and benevolent practices? Finally, the module will address the agency of civilians/citizens in these contexts by asking how individuals and communities shape governance outcomes either by resisting or through collaboration and cooperation? Over the course of the semester, students will develop a research project focusing on one of the above questions and applying it to a non-state armed group case. Previous coursework in political violence and reading knowledge of statistics will be beneficial but not essential.

This module is being offered as a 'teaching-led research' module and utilizes collaborative learning pedagogical techniques. Each of the students will partner with the instructor to develop a research project which explores new insights about armed governance. The module will be held as an intensive weekly seminar in which students and the instructor will explore cutting-edge research and innovative applications to the study of armed governance. The module instructor is developing a long-term research agenda in this area and will be drawing insights from the module and student research projects.

Learning Objectives:

By the end of the semester, students should be able to:

1. Describe the origins and motivations of governance by non-state armed groups.
2. Analyze the different governance behaviors of non-state armed groups within existing theoretical paradigms.
3. Articulate the primary ways that civilians respond to armed governance regimes and why.
4. Write and speak intelligently and persuasively about armed governance.
5. Develop in-depth knowledge about at least one context of armed governance.
6. Complete an Masters-level research project.

MODULE COMPONENTS AND ASSESSMENT

1. Attendance and Participation
Attendance at seminars is required, and students can only be absent from a maximum of two, regardless of whether a self-certification is made. Missing more than two seminars could result in the issuance of an Academic Alert: FINAL. As the module employs a collaborative learning pedagogy, students are expected to contribute to collective discussions, having prepared by doing the assigned readings. Worth 5%.

A few basic ground rules for tutorial discussions:
- It is essential that the classroom remain a safe zone for all students regardless of gender, age, race, ethnic background, religion, sexual and political orientation, ability or disability.
- I expect you all to promote an active learning environment by supporting each other intellectually, asking questions (of me and your fellow students), and by being respectful and patient.
- When you speak, remember that you are in dialogue not just with me, but with the entire class. Speak and listen to your classmates.

2. Infographic (Due February 14th by 12pm)
Students will choose a non-state armed group anywhere in the world, conduct some preliminary research and create an illustrated, annotated bibliography (i.e., **an infographic**), in which they visualize **the origins and activities of the group** (where it started/when/the people involved/and what their motivations and strategies are). The infographic should include **at least 5 scholarly books or articles** (not including any sources on the syllabus). Each student will schedule a meeting with the professor to discuss their research topic and question. I will give a short tutorial on how to create and design infographics the week prior to this assignment due date. Worth 10%.

> **Grading Rubric for Infographic:**
> 1) **Analysis** (50%) – should be rigorous, persuasive, and well-researched
> 2) **Artistic vision** (25%) – aesthetic/formal choices should be coherent, thought-out and "work"; images and text should engage the viewer and should be more than the sum of their parts
> 3) **Technical execution** (25%): images and text should be clear

3. Literature Review (Due March 14th at 12pm)

Expanding on the research from the previous assignment, students will write a literature review of 2,000 words in which they ask a conceptually or theoretically important question about the armed group they have chosen and summarize and analyze possible answers to that question. The paper should include **at least 10 scholarly books or articles** (only TWO of the ten sources can be from the syllabus). Please note that the word limit is inclusive of footnotes/citations, but exclusive of bibliography. A margin of 5% either way is permissible before a penalty is applied. The details of that penalty can be found in the School Handbook and on the School website. Worth 25%.

Rating of Performance	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Adequate	Weak	Poor
Mark Range	16.5+	15-16.4	13.5-14.9	10.5-13.4	7.1-10	<7.0
(a) Relevance to the research question						
(b) Sound ordering and structuring of material						
(c) Quality and clarity of written presentation						
(d) Effective citations						
(e) Demonstration of sound understanding of the topic						
(f) Identification of major debates and developments within the fields under review						
(g) Quality of Analysis						
(h) Critical evaluation of the relevant literature						
(i) Accurate and extensive coverage of the literature						
(j) Insight and originality						

4. Project Presentations (Due March 29th/April 5th by 12pm)

The last two sessions of the module will be reserved for student presentations. Each student will make a 10-12 minute video presentation about the progress of their research project that will be followed by 8-10 minutes of question and answer and class discussion. Research presentations will be evaluated on several criteria, including: clarity, organization, content, delivery, use of presentation media/resources, and response to questions. Worth 10%.

Rating of Performance	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Adequate	Weak	Poor
Mark Range	16.5+	15-16.5	13.5-14.9	10.5-13.4	7.5-10.4	<7.5
CONTENT						
a) Is the research question presented clearly? Is the structure of the presentation logical and easy to follow?						
b) Is the argument consistent? Is there valid evidence to support the argument?						
c) Is the breadth and depth of the content sufficient? Does it show evidence of effective research and understanding of concepts relevant to unit concepts?						
d) Does the conclusion adequately sum up the presentation and highlight points of interest?						
DELIVERY						
e) Is the presenter at ease with the material he/she is using? Is he/she able to understand and present it?						
f) Is the format well designed (use graphics, animation, transitions, titles, and labels)?						
g) Are the slides easy to read? Do they effectively support the oral delivery? Does the presenter use them competently?						
h) Is the time keeping well-managed?						

5. Research Paper (Due April 11th by 12pm)

Building on the previous assignments, students will outline, draft, and revise a 5,000 word research paper on their non-state armed group. This extended case study will be used to address one of the enduring theoretical or conceptual debates concerning armed governance. Note that the word limit is inclusive of footnotes/citations, but exclusive of bibliography. A margin of 5% either way is permissible before a penalty is applied. The details of that penalty can be found in the School Handbook and on the School website. Worth 50%.

Research Paper Grading rubric		How you did
1. Argument (40%)	*Clear question and argument* *Why is this an important question?* *How does your argument answer the question?* *Good use of class concepts*	
2. Research (40%)	*Use of scholarly material (connections to class material)* *Evidence supports argument*	
3. Writing (20%)	*Well structured, with clear introduction and conclusion* *Focused on topic throughout and does not get side-tracked* *Free of mistakes that make paper hard to follow*	
Grading	*Key criteria are quality of argument, research, and presentation.* *Argument and research are the most important.*	**16.5-20** Excellent in 3 **15-16.4** Excellent in 2, good in 1 **13.5-14.9** Excellent in 1 **10.5-13.4** Good in 2/3 **7.5-10.4** Good in 1, not good in 2 **<7.5** Not good in any
Your grade		

NOTE: All submission of essays, marking, and feedback will be done on MMS.

Grading Breakdown:

Seminar Participation	5%
Infographic (Due February 14)	10%
Literature Review (Due March 14)	25%
Project Presentation (Due March 29/April 5)	10%
Final Project (Due April 11th)	50%

CLASS POLICIES
NOTE: Students are responsible for knowing and adhering to the contents of the School handbook which is available on the School website under
Current Students/Postgraduates/Handbooks and resources <u>AND</u> the Student Handbook Webpages, found here: <u>https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/education/handbook/</u>

Equality and Diversity
The School of International Relations actively strives to create a diverse population within its staff and students and wishes to provide a place of welcome and tolerance for study and research. To foster diversity and inclusion, equal access to opportunity is essential.

Academic quality and rigor for all students and staff is linked to the elimination of bias and discrimination. The School works with the University to investigate all cases of discrimination, harassment, and violence, and is committed to diversity and inclusivity, for students and for staff. The School adheres to strict non-discrimination policies, and will not tolerate disrespect, discrimination, harassment, or violence by, or against, any member of our community.

If you need to report or talk with someone about these issues, please contact with either the School's Equality and Diversity Chair, Dr Jeffrey Murer, ir-edi@st-andrews.ac.uk or the Head of School, Professor Ali Watson irhos@st-andrews.ac.uk Please note that we are willing to help staff and students navigate the University reporting system.

Director of Student Well-being
The School of International Relations now has a dedicated Director of Student Well-being, Dr. Ryan Beasley. Email: irwellbeing@st-andrews.ac.uk. If you are facing difficulties at an academic or personal level and would like to discuss them, please get in touch with Dr. Beasley. Any requests for Leaves of Absence must be submitted to Dr. Beasley.

Communication
How should you communicate with me? The best way for me to answer your questions and provide you guidance in this course is in my OFFICE HOURS. Please sign up for them! You can sign up here: For administrative concerns and simple clarifying questions, you can also e-mail me. I will try to respond to any e-mails within 24 hours during the week but do not expect me to respond to e-mails over the weekend. If you are wondering how to write appropriate and professional emails, check these websites out for some guidance: here and here.

Requests for Extensions
Extensions to coursework deadlines are only granted when a student's ability to complete coursework has been significantly affected by extenuating circumstances. To request an extension students should contact the Module Coordinator as soon as possible. Student must make requests for extension by email and must include valid reasons for requesting an extension. Students are expected to be able to plan ahead and to manage their time effectively; thus, students should not expect to be granted an extension due to a deadline clash.
Module coordinators may approve extensions for **up to two weeks**. Module Coordinators will consult and seek approval of the Director of Student Well-being for extension requests of more than two weeks.

Self-Certification
Students who fail to submit a compulsory assessment on time, including an extended deadline or where a student has previously negotiated an extension, must complete a Self-Certificate. Self-certificates are online forms that must be completed when a student is unable to engage with classes or complete assignments. They should normally be submitted within 3 days (or as soon as practically possible). If the submission of a Self-Certificate is temporarily impossible then the student should make every effort to contact the Module Co-ordinator and then complete a self-certificate as soon as is practical thereafter. To submit a self-certificate please use the self-certificate tasks on the 'My details and development' workspace on MySaint. For further details, please see the Self-Certification Policy found, here: https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/students/academic/academic-advising/glossary/self-certificate/

READINGS AND MATERIALS

Any syllabus on this topic is inherently incomplete. This course intends to provide MLitt students an overview some of the most prominent research on the subject. The readings are primarily comprised of peer-reviewed journal articles and excerpts from academic books as well as several in-depth journalistic accounts. The readings are both sophisticated and numerous. Students should be prepared to cover a lot of material. Moreover, we will pay particular attention to the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of these works and, by the end of the semester, students should be able to evaluate between these various approaches and identify strengths and weaknesses of each.

COURSE SCHEDULE

WEEK	DATE	TOPIC
1	January 18	Introduction
2	January 25	Conceptualizing Armed Governance
3	February 1	Political, Criminal, and Extra-legal Violence
4	February 8	Territory and Violence I
5	February 15	Territory and Violence II
	February 22	**Vacation week**
6	March 1	Providing Order, Goods, and Services I
7	March 8	Providing Order, Goods, and Services II
8	March 15	Collaboration and Obedience
9	March 22	Resistance to Armed Governance
10	March 29	Project Presentations
11	April 5	Project Presentations
12	April 12	Revision Week
13	April 19	No Class (final exams period)
14	April 26	No Class (final exams period)

Week 1 (January 18): Introduction: Armed Governance and Collaborative Learning

Week 2 (January 25): Conceptualizing Armed Governance
Required:
> Lessing, Benjamin. 2020. "Conceptualizing Criminal Governance." *Perspectives on Politics* 19(3): 854–73.
>
> Arjona, Ana, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly. eds. 2015. *Rebel Governance in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chaps. 1–2, pp. 1–46.
>
> Tapscott, Rebecca. 2019. "Conceptualizing Militias in Africa." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (March): 1–23.

Suggested:
> Furlan, Marta. 2020. "Understanding Governance by Insurgent Non-State Actors: A Multi-Dimensional Typology." *Civil Wars*, *22*(4): 478–511.
>
> Jentzsch, Corinna, Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Livia Isabella Schubiger. 2015. "Militias in Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(5): 755–69.
>
> Mampilly, Zachariah, and Megan A. Stewart. 2021. "A Typology of Rebel Political Institutional Arrangements." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(1): 15–45.
>
> Carey, Sabine C. and Neil J. Mitchell. 2017. "Progovernment Militias." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 127–147.
>
> Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
>
> Skaperdas, Stergios. 2001. "The Political Economy of Organized Crime: Providing Protection When the State Does Not." *Economics of Governance* 2(3): 173–202.

Week 3 (February 1): Political, Criminal, and Extra-legal Violence
Required:
> Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2015. "How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime--and How They Do Not." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1517–40.
>
> Barnes, Nicholas. 2017. "Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 15(4): 967–87.
>
> Bateson, Regina. 2021. "The Politics of Vigilantism." *Comparative Political Studies* 54(6): 923–55.

Suggested:
> Lessing, Benjamin. 2015. "The Logic of Violence in Criminal War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1486–1516.
>
> Gutiérrez Sanín, Francisco. 2008. "Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War." *Politics & Society* 36(1): 3–34.
>
> Phillips, Brian. 2015. "What is a Terrorist Group? Conceptual Issues and Empirical Implications." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27(2): 225-242.
>
> Rodgers, D. and R. Muggah. 2009. "Gangs as Non-State Armed Groups: The Central American Case." *Contemporary Security Policy* 30(2): 301–17.
>
> Khalil, James. 2013. "Know Your Enemy: On the Futility of Distinguishing Between Terrorists and Insurgents." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36(5): 419–430.
>
> Phillips, Brian. 2018. "Terrorist Tactics by Criminal Organizations: The Mexican Case in Context." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12(1): 46–63.

Idler, Annette, and James J.F. Forest. 2015. "Behavioral Patterns among (Violent) Non-State Actors: A Study of Complementary Governance." *Stability* 4(1): 1–19.

Raeymaekers, Timothy. 2010. "Protection For Sale? War and the Transformation of Regulation on the Congo-Ugandan Border." *Development and Change* 41(July 2007): 563–87.

Week 4 (February 8): Territory and Violence I
Required:

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4 and 5. Pp. 87–145.

Suggested:

Staniland, Paul. 2012. "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders." *Perspectives on Politics* 10(02): 243–64.

Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2007. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Metelits, Claire. 2009. *Inside Insurgency: Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behavior*. NYU Press. Selection.

INFOGRAPHIC DUE ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14th (12 PM)

Week 5 (February 15): Territory and Violence II
Required:

Barnes, Nicholas. 2021. "The Logic of Criminal Territorial Control: Military Intervention in Rio de Janeiro." *Comparative Political Studies* (FirstView)

Tapscott, Rebecca. 2021. "Vigilantes and the State: Understanding Violence through a Security Assemblages Approach." *Perspectives on Politics* (FirstView)

Suggested:

Magaloni, Beatriz et al. 2020. "Living in Fear: The Dynamics of Extortion in Mexico's Drug War." *Comparative Political Studies* 53(7): 1124–74.

Berg, Louis Alexandre, and Marlon Carranza. 2018. "Organized Criminal Violence and Territorial Control: Evidence from Northern Honduras." *Journal of Peace Research* 55(5): 566–81.

LeBas, Adrienne. 2013. "Violence and Urban Order in Nairobi, Kenya and Lagos, Nigeria." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48(3): 240–62.

Magaloni, Beatriz, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, and Vanessa Melo. 2020. "Killing in the Slums: Social Order, Criminal Governance, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 552-572.

February 21st–25th Vacation

No seminar this week

Week 6 (March 1): Providing Order, Goods, and Services I

Required:

Stewart, Megan A. 2017. "Civil War as State Building: Strategic Governance in Civil War." *International Organization* 72(1): 205–226.

Arjona, Ana. 2016. *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War.* Cornell University Press. Pp. 21-29, 41-65.

Suggested:

Revkin, Mara Redlich. 2020. "What Explains Taxation by Resource-Rich Rebels? Evidence from the Islamic State in Syria." *Journal of Politics* 82(2): 757–64.

Mampilly, Zachariah. C. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Heger, Lindsay L., and Danielle F. Jung. 2017. "Negotiating with Rebels: The Effect of Rebel Service Provision on Conflict Negotiations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(6): 1203–29.

Week 7 (March 8): Providing Order, Goods, and Services II

Required:

Barnes, Nicholas. 2021. "A Theory of Criminalized Governance." From forthcoming book manuscript.

Lessing, Benjamin, and Graham Denyer Willis. 2019. "Legitimacy in Criminal Governance: Managing a Drug Empire from behind Bars." *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 584–606.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. 2006. "The Dynamics of Criminal Governance: Networks and Social Order in Rio de Janeiro." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38(2): 293–325.

Suggested:

Skarbek, David. 2011. "Governance and Prison Gangs." *American Political Science Review* 105(04): 702–16.

Arias, Enrique Desmond and Corinne D. Rodrigues. 2006. "The Myth of Personal Security: Criminal Gangs, Dispute Resolution, and Identity in Rio de Janeiro's Favelas." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48(4): 53–81.

LITERATURE REVIEW DUE ON MONDAY, MARCH 14th (12 PM)

Week 8 (March 15): Collaboration and Obedience

Required:

Arjona, Ana. 2017. "Civilian Cooperation and Non-Cooperation with Non-State Armed Groups: The Centrality of Obedience and Resistance." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 2318(July): 1–24.

Revkin, Mara Redlich, and Ariel I. Ahram. 2020. "Perspectives on the Rebel Social Contract: Exit, Voice, and Loyalty in the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria." *World Development* 132: 104981.

Suggested:

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2012. "Micro-Level Studies of Violence in Civil War: Refining and Extending the Control-Collaboration Model." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24(4): 658–68.

Condra, Luke N., and Austin L. Wright. 2019. "Civilians, Control, and Collaboration during Civil Conflict." *International Studies Quarterly* 63(4): 897–907.

Kasfir, Nelson. 2005. "Guerrillas and Civilian Participation: The National Resistance Army in Uganda, 1981–86." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 43(2): 271–96.

Terpstra, Niels, and Georg Frerks. 2017. "Rebel Governance and Legitimacy: Understanding the Impact of Rebel Legitimation on Civilian Compliance with the LTTE Rule." *Civil Wars* 19(3): 279–307.

Week 9 (March 22): Resisting Armed Governance

Ley, Sandra, Shannan Mattiace, and Guillermo Trejo. 2019. "Indigenous Resistance to Criminal Governance: Why Regional Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Protect Communities from Narco Rule in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review* 54(1): 181–200.

Arjona, Ana. 2016. *Rebelocracy: Social Order in the Colombian Civil War.* Cornell University Press, pp. 65-78.

Moncada, Eduardo. 2019. "Resisting Protection: Rackets, Resistance, and State Building." *Comparative Politics* 51(3): 321–39.

Suggested:

Kaplan, Oliver. 2013. "Protecting Civilians in Civil War: The Institution of the ATCC in Colombia." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3): 351–67.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. 2019. "Social Responses to Criminal Governance in Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Kingston, and Medellín." *Latin American Research Review* 54(1): 165–80.

Arjona, Ana. 2016. "Institutions, Civilian Resistance, and Wartime Social Order: A Process-Driven Natural Experiment in the Colombian Civil War." *Latin American Politics and Society* 58(3): 99–122.

Steele, Abbey. 2011. "Electing Displacement: Political Cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3): 423–45.

Revkin, Mara Redlich. 2021. "Competitive Governance and Displacement Decisions Under Rebel Rule: Evidence from the Islamic State in Iraq." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65(1): 46–80.

Gade, Emily Kalah. 2020. "Social Isolation and Repertoires of Resistance." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 309–25.

Week 10 (March 29): Project Presentations

Week 11 (April 5): Project Presentations

FINAL PROJECT DUE ON MONDAY, APRIL 11th (12 PM)

Week 12 (April 12): Revision Week (No classes)