

Causes of Civil Conflict (Course Number?)

Winter 2018

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Location: TBD

Credit: 4

Instructor: Jason Renn

Office Hours: TBD or by appointment

Meeting Time: Tuesday and Thursday, Time TBD

Type: Lecture/Discussion

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1 Course Description

This seminar is designed to introduce students to the scientific study of civil conflict and equip them to pursue their own research interests in civil war and related topics. We will explore the many reasons that lead people to take up arms against the government. To help develop an understanding of these causes, the course explores theoretical arguments as well as narratives and case studies that chronicle civil wars throughout the world. As students become familiar with the explanations for civil conflict presented by scholars, they will apply this knowledge to a specific civil war and evaluate the accuracy of arguments made in media and academic literatures. In addition to helping develop research skills, the course seeks to motivate students to consider the problem of civil war in a global context and what might be done to reduce or prevent this type of violence in the future.

2 Topic Description

In the last half of the twentieth century, civil wars have killed more than 16 million combatants (Sarkees et al 2003). These wars afflict countless more civilians, as death, disease and displacement occur both in wartime and in the wake of violence (Cairns 1997; Lacina et al 2006). In the past two decades, civil wars continue to impact millions of lives throughout the world. In light of the high human as well as material costs associated with civil war, policy makers and academics have sought a greater understanding of this inherently political phenomenon. In this course, we will deal with the question of why these civil wars start (or civil war onset, as it is referred to in the literature).

The readings in this course will introduce students to the scientific study of war, including introductions to terminology, datasets, and theoretical arguments. Activities throughout the course give students experience in using source material the develop the ability to evaluate arguments presented in the academic work. By the end of the course, students will be familiar with the most common explanations for civil war. As we examine the arguments for how psychological factors, ethnicity, political institutions, economic incentives and state capacity affect the decision to fight we will also critique the authors and attempt to access the merit of each argument in terms of theoretical consistency and empirical support. While the course is loosely structured around the distinctions between theories of civil conflict, we also want to recognize that the arguments are not mutually exclusive and the world is rarely deterministic.

The student will select a civil war (not the American Civil War) to research, summarize and analyze for their final paper. This paper will be written in sections and graded throughout the

quarter. The student will demonstrate a detailed knowledge of a specific civil war and the ability to apply and evaluate a theoretical argument in the context of a case study.

3 General Goals of Course:

1. Provide a forum for discussion and debate around the causes of civil war.
2. Foster development of key analytical and research skills, including the ability to a) Understand and critique theoretical explanations for social phenomena as they are presented in academic writing, b) Collect information from primary and secondary sources, and c) Use case studies to evaluate theoretical arguments.
3. Consider potential policies that would reduce the risk of civil war.

4 Course Format

The course is intended to be primarily a discussion with minimal lecturing. Students should complete all readings before the first meeting of the week unless otherwise instructed. Some journal articles may prove to be difficult to understand, but it is crucial that students go through all material and come to class prepared to offer summary, critique and questions. Part of your grade will require that you summarize and incorporate two “optional” readings (articles marked with asterisks) into the weekly topic. This includes providing questions prior to the class meeting and leading a portion of the discussion.

Most weeks include an activity that we will conduct in class during the second half of each class. Most of these activities require preparation on the part of the student, so be diligent to read through the activity in advance and complete any tasks before class. Again, failure to do so will result in a reduction of your participation grade and potentially painfully awkward silence. Exceptional work in these activities may merit extra credit at the instructor’s discretion.

The course includes a short paper which describes a civil war and applies the information from class. Section 7 includes more information about the paper, but I suggest that students begin early.

5 Readings

There is one required text (listed below) for this course, which will be available at the university book store as well as through online retailers.

DeRouen, Karl R. *An Introduction to Civil Wars*. 1st ed. Washington D.C.: CQ, 2015.

All others materials are either available online through the university’s library database or will be made available on the course website.

Many of the readings are academic articles and can be difficult to understand. We will mainly read selections from these readings but know that these readings, though students are encouraged to read more in topics that pique their interest.

Similarly, many of these academic articles will include tables and figures that require some knowledge of statistics to understand. We typically will not read these sections, but if you are in global studies, I would suggest taking a stats course or two since it is an important topic. If you would like to skim these sections, the following primer may be useful (http://www.uky.edu/~clthyn2/PS439G/readings/PS439G_statsguide.pdf) or this video (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZlAKPtPZqyI>). You are always welcome to ask questions about readings that you do not understand, but please do the readings first.

If you have trouble accessing the readings, please let me know. Many of the materials are also available through the library's media database. We will have a quick introduction on how to use this tool in the first week.

Most weeks contain additional readings that, while not required, would likely prove beneficial for anyone considering research in the area. You may also ask me for more material depending on your level of interest or search through the bibliographies to find more material.

6 Schedule

Week 1 – What are Civil Wars and why should we study them?

The goal for the first week is to introduce students to the task of defining and measuring “civil war.” What are the challenges associated with defining a civil war? Do the definitions used in the works below capture all instances of civil conflict? How will the definitions that we use to study civil wars affect us when we begin to ask what causes civil war? The datasets discussed in this week’s activity should help you choose a civil war for your final paper. They are also useful tools for any future research. The interview and selection from DeRouen serves to remind us of the effects of civil war and humanize what is sometimes a cold or sterile study of violence.

Reading:

1. Selection from Correlates of War (COW) coding rules. Only read the section on civil wars from pages 5-7. (http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/COW-war/the-cow-typology-of-war-defining-and-categorizing-wars/at_download/file)
2. Selection from UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset coding rules. Section 2, pages 1-3. (http://www.pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/167/167198_codebook_ucdp_prio-armed-conflict-dataset-v4_2013.pdf)
3. Podcast: What Constitutes a Civil War? (<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=6549129>)
4. DeRouen, pgs 1-14; 26-28.

Activities:

1. Group Assignment: form three to four person and read through an assigned portion of Chapter 2 in DeRouen, “The Costs of Civil War.” You will present to the class.

2. Watch the interview with Ishmael Beah, a former child soldier in Sierra Leone. (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5K4yhPSQEzo>)
3. Go to your favorite international news source and look for an example of a current (or potentially a future) civil war. Could this conflict fit under any or all of the definitions of civil war covered in class?
4. Explore Civil Wars
 - a. Access the Correlates of War Project and PRIO's Armed Conflict Dataset and just look around. Find the list of civil wars in both projects.
 - b. Do any of these wars seem interesting? Begin to think about which you might write about for your final paper.

Optional Readings:

1. Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What is Civil War?: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition."
2. Harbom, Lotta, and Peter Wallensteen (2007). Armed Conflict, 1989-2006. *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(5): 623-634.
3. Sarkees, Meredith Reid, Frank Whelon Wayman, and J. David Singer. "Inter-state, intra-state, and extra-state wars: a comprehensive look at their distribution over time, 1816–1997." *International Studies Quarterly* 47.1 (2003): 49-70.
4. If you want to hear more from Ishmael Beah, you can see him on the Colbert Report (<http://www.colbertnation.com/the-colbert-report-videos/431966/january-08-2014/ishmael-beah>)

Week 2 –Theoretical Explanations for Conflict

The first reading gives a framework for understanding violent conflict (in this case war). We will see a distinction between the opportunity to rebel and the willingness to rebel. In many ways, this is artificial as opportunity and willingness are difficult to disentangle. We can save a discussion of this for later weeks, however. The following readings are foundational explanations for civil conflict and deal with political grievances and ethnic divisions. As we work through the course, consider how many contemporary arguments are still addressing these decades' old papers.

Readings:

1. Selections from Ted Gurr, 1970. *Why Men Rebel*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, chapter 2, pp. 22-58. (Scan available online/via reserve)
2. DeRouen, pgs 83-85.
3. Fisher, Max. "This One Map Helps Explain Ukraine's Protests." *The Washington Post*. (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2013/12/09/this-one-map-helps-explain-ukraines-protests/>)

Activity:

1. Choose a civil war from either the PRIO or Correlates of War list. Find an account (news article, book chapter, speech, etc.) from a person involved in the war where they speak about the reason that they are fighting. Consider the following:
 - a. Who is speaking? Is the person the leader of a group, a foot soldier or something in between?
 - b. Who is the intended audience? Does the speaker have any reason to misrepresent their motivation for fighting?
 - c. When did the violence occur? Was it in the past, current, or is there only the possibility of violence? How might time affect the willingness to fight?
2. Discuss with your classmates what (if anything) could drive you to join a rebellion. We will talk about this in class (highly hypothetically) so consider what you might say.
3. Submit a list of three civil wars that you wish to write about for your final paper. I will email you and confirm that your selection is appropriate. You can look at the PRIO/UCDP list (conflicts with more than twenty-five battle deaths) on pg. 236 of DeRouen.

Optional Readings:

1. Most, Benjamin A., and Harvey Starr. *Inquiry, logic and international politics*. U of South Carolina Press, 1989. Chapters 1 and 2 (Available on course website)
2. Scott Gates, 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1), pp. 111-130.
3. Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49(1):3-42.

Week 3 – Does Ethnicity Fuel Conflict?

Many often cite ethnicity as the issue at the core of civil conflict, but how does it function? What would constitute persuasive evidence that ethnicity causes conflict – or at least makes it more likely? Does ethnicity affect willingness or opportunity? Take a step back when you read the third piece and consider whether "ethnicity" is really a useful concept in any field.

Readings:

1. Selection from Horowitz. 1985. *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 1. (pgs 3-12, 20-24)
2. DeRouen, 90-97.
3. Selections from Chandra, Kanchan. "What is ethnic identity and does it matter?" (pgs. 397-403)

4. Choose one:
 - a. Linguistic Sleuthing in Eastern Congo.
(<http://www.economist.com/blogs/johnson/2012/11/language-identity-and-war>)
 - b. Nanjala Nyabola. *Chasing ghosts in the Central African Republic*.
(<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/02/chasing-ghosts-central-african--201421315531762343.html>)
 - c. Arif Rafiq. The Coming Civil War in Afghanistan.
(http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/02/03/the_coming_civil_war_in_afghanistan)
5. Ellingsen, Tanja. "Colorful community or ethnic witches' brew? Multiethnicity and domestic conflict during and after the cold war." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44.2 (2000): 228-249.

Activity:

1. Game: Celebrity (civil conflict version). Choose a famous public figure and come to class with the following information for your celebrity: age, race, sex, height, religion, citizenship, and known languages.
2. Browse the Minorities at Risk Dataset (<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/mar/data.asp>) and either read through the codebook or choose a group and read the qualitative description. How did the researchers in the project go about identifying these groups?

Optional Readings:

1. Roger Petersen, 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Introduction and Chapter 1
2. Nicholas Sambanis. 2001. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3):259-282.
3. Lars-Erik Cederman and Luc Girardin. 2007. "Beyond Fractionalization: Mapping Ethnicity onto Nationalist Insurgencies." *American Political Science Review* 101(1):173-185.
4. James D. Fearon, Kimuli Kasara, and David Laitin. 2007. "Ethnic Minority Rule and Civil War Onset." *American Political Science Review* 101(1):187-193.
5. Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2000. Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization*. 54(4):845-877

Week 4 – Greed and Resources

Most recent work in civil war studies falls under the "rational choice" approach. This approach, in the simplest form, assumes that individuals have preferences and will – to the best of their ability – do what is "best" according to those preferences. As you read through these pieces consider

how they relate to previous work, specifically Gurr (1970). What are the commonalities? The activities for this week are a bit more time consuming, so start early.

Readings:

1. Selection from Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers* (pgs 563-570).
2. DeRouen, pgs. 103-113; 122-125. (You can find more information on specific resources in the pages that we skipped. If you have a conflict that includes resources as a potential cause, you'll probably want to read this section.)
3. Paul Armstrong. "How Diamonds Fuel Africa's Conflicts."
(<http://www.cnn.com/2012/04/26/world/africa/blood-diamonds/>)
4. Podcast: Chad's Oil Money Raises Stakes
(<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1756114>)
[If you are especially interested in the policy and business side of this debate, you can read this article in place of the podcast. "Regulating the Resource Curse."
(http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/08/27/regulating_the_resource_curse)]

Activity:

1. Lecture/summary of Scott Gates. 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(1):111-130. and Jeremy Weinstein. 2005. "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4):598-624.
2. Consider the evidence for "greed" and "grievance." Which is more convincing? How else might you test the two explanations? Are the two explanations necessarily at odds?
3. Interview some friends and ask them how much material benefit (an actual dollar amount) they would have to receive to commit a crime. If they ask what kind of crime, you may name whatever crime you want – from double parking to war crimes – just remain consistent. Come to class with your answers...but you probably don't want to collect names (i.e. make sure that the answers are anonymous).

Recommended Readings:

1. Stathis Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kocher. 2007. "How Free" Is Free Riding in Civil Wars?" *World Politics* 59(2):177-216.
2. Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights?: The Determinants of Participation in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2):436-455
3. Paul Collier. 2000. "Rebellion as a Quasi-Criminal Activity." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(6):839-853.
4. Ross, Michael. 2004. What do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War? *Journal of Peace Research*. 41(3):337-356.

Week 5 – Opportunity and State Capacity

Up until now, we have primarily considered the actions of individuals and groups that are not part of the government. This is clearly incomplete as any civil conflict, by definition, requires that the state is involved. How can having knowledge about the state, specifically its ability to fend off internal rebellion, improve our understanding of civil war? When you finish reading these articles, consider the relationship between this week's readings and last week. What is the difference?

Readings:

1. Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war." *American political science review* 97.01 (2003): 75-90. (You may skim the results sections, but pay attention to which hypotheses/explanations receive support)
2. James Fearon. "Grievances and Civil War."
(<http://themonkeycage.org/2012/06/27/grievances-and-civil-war/>)
3. <http://themonkeycage.org/2012/11/23/the-unbelievable-lightness-of-some-african-states/>
4. Hendrix, Cullen S. "Measuring state capacity: Theoretical and empirical implications for the study of civil conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 47.3 (2010): 273-285.

Activity:

1. Watch the news segment (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-22261154>) and using any resources at your disposal, spend ten minutes researching Somalia and Somaliland. What's the difference?
2. If you had to measure state weakness, how would you do it? Using the CIA Fact Book (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>) or World Bank (<http://databank.worldbank.org/data/home.aspx>) , find a "weak" state according to your definition that is not fighting a civil war. Then find a strong state that has fought a civil war. How can you explain this?

Additional Readings:

1. Cunningham, David E., Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Idean Salehyan. "It Takes Two A Dyadic Analysis of Civil War Duration and Outcome." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53.4 (2009): 570-597.
2. Robert H. Bates, 2008. "The Logic of State Failure: Learning from Late-Century Africa," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 25 (4), pp. 297-314.
3. Herbst, Jeffrey. 2004. African Militaries and Rebellion: the Political Economy of Threat and Combat Effectiveness. *Journal of Peace Research*. 41(3): 357-369.
4. Thies, Cameron G. "Of rulers, rebels, and revenue: State capacity, civil war onset, and primary commodities." *Journal of Peace Research* 47.3 (2010): 321-332.

Week 6 – Governance and Civil War

Besides being weak, why else might a government be more likely to enter into a civil war? Here are some interesting examples that expand our list of “causes.” How do they relate to the original opportunity/willingness framework from week 2? What about the arguments about state capacity in the previous week? What are the differences? Do you find these arguments more convincing than the previous week?

Readings:

1. Selection from Hegre, Havard. et al. 2001. *Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War*. (pgs. 33-35; 42-44)
2. Paul Stantiland. “When Governments and Rebels Collude.” (<http://themonkeycage.org/2013/05/29/when-governments-and-rebels-collude/>)
3. Threats of Civil War Loom in South Sudan.
(<http://search.proquest.com.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/docview/1494022516/C493EA4CDB1A4867PQ/13?accountid=14553>)
4. DeRouen, pgs. 85-89

Optional Readings:

1. Walter, Barbara. 2006. Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but not others? *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(2): 313-330
2. Thyne, Clayton L. "ABC's, 123's, and the Golden Rule: The Pacifying Effect of Education on Civil War, 1980–1999." *International Studies Quarterly* 50.4 (2006): 733-754.

Activity:

1. Come to class ready to share your progress on the final paper. I’ll ask a few students to give summaries (either volunteers or randomly selected – be prepared either way).

Week 7 – Paper Development and Data Lab

We have now covered a number of different explanations for Gurr’s classic question, “Why [do] men rebel?” With an eye towards your final paper, we will spend the entirety of this week exploring potential evidence for the many theoretical explanations for civil war onset. Bring laptop computers and try to find specific data that you would like to use in your paper. I will create examples using the “Data Sources and Evidence Outline” part of your paper assignments that was due last week.

Readings:

1. Hume on Causation (<http://documents.routledge-interactive.s3.amazonaws.com/9781138793934/A2/Hume/HumeCausation.pdf>)
2. Counterfactuals: Causal Inference Bootcamp (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9j_HWkrSxzI)

Potential Data Sources:

1. World Bank/WDI Dataset
2. Non-State Actor Dataset
3. Armed Conflict Dataset/Correlates of War
4. Google! (but make sure to site and verify)

Week 8 – Case Studies

This week, we will explore how to use case studies and collect information from news archives and other qualitative data. The articles and the activity for the week may help you write your paper.

Readings:

1. Nicholas Sambanis, 2004. "Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War," *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (2), pp. 259-273.
2. Goertz, Gary. "Multimethod Research." *Security Studies* 25.1 (2016): 3-24.

Activity:

1. Read all these articles before class (they are short, don't worry)
 - DRC (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-11108589>)
 - Sri-Lanka (http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/documentaries/2008/09/080915_commonwealth_tales_2.shtml)
 - Peru (<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/27/world/americas/peru-confronts-wounds-of-civil-war.html?ref=shiningpath>)
2. Students will divide into pairs. Beginning with the DRC, one student will explain the war using a theory from class. The other student will refute that argument. We will present your findings.
3. Exploring Proquest and other Archival Databases

Week 9 – A Review and Directions for New Research

As we conclude the course, consider the following readings. The first two articles represent slightly different questions, where instead of asking why civil wars occur they ask what happens as a consequence of the war. The third piece analyzes some of the concerns over data that plague resource-based explanations for war (whether they be greed or state-capacity). The final piece is

a good summary of the literature so far. Based on this class, where should the literature expand? What questions would you like to ask?

Reading

1. Introduction in “Civil Wars.” In Sara Mitchell, Paul F. Diehl, and James Morrow eds. *Guide to the Scientific Study of International Processes* West Sussex: UK: Wiley-Blackwell. (Link on course webpage)
2. DeRouen, pgs. 215-239.

Additional Readings

1. Salehyan, Idean. 2007. Transnational Rebels: Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Movements. *World Politics* 59: 217-242.
2. Ghobarah, Hazem, Paul Huth and Bruce Russett. 2003. Civil Wars Kill and Maim People—Long After the Shooting Stops. *American Political Science Review*. 97: 189-202
3. Buhaug, Halvard and Paivi Lujala. 2005. Accounting for Scale: Measuring Geography in Quantitative Studies of Civil War. *Political Geography*. 24: 399-418.

Activity:

- 1) We will spend the remainder of the class discussing questions for future research. If you are planning on writing a research paper for a senior thesis/capstone, this would be a good time to discuss it.

Week 10 – Presentations, Peer-Review, and Paper Revisions

Every student will present their paper and comment on two other papers. I will randomly assign these groups and will grade presentations, drafts, and feedback. You must submit your slides and paper drafts 48-hours before your presentation to give your discussant time to read the paper. Discussants, in addition to providing substantive feedback on the paper, also comment on the clarity. Consider whether a student who is not enrolled in this class would be able to understand the points made in the paper. If not, why? Everyone should remember that your audience is a peer who is intelligent, but not necessarily educated about your case (otherwise, why would they bother reading your paper?).

Remember to be respectful, constructive, and gracious as you prepare your feedback. I've provided some examples in the readings section, but these are truly optional.

Readings:

1. Sample Feedback (<http://www.bc.edu/libraries/help/tutoring/writing/owlsamples.html>)
2. Slide Design (<https://magneticspeaking.com/5-ideas-from-edward-tufte-about-compelling-powerpoint-design/>)

7 Assessment

Grades for the class will be calculated using the percentages below:

Attendance (10%)

Quizzes (20%) – These will cover the readings and will not be announced in advanced.

Participation (30%) – Includes summaries of optional readings, discussion, and course activities.

Final Paper (40%) – Multiple components since students submit the paper in sections.

Your final paper should demonstrate critical thinking. It is not a summary of the pieces covered in the course, nor is it merely a report on your civil war. The majority of the assignment should focus on evaluating a theoretical explanation in your particular case using rigorous logic and evidence. The paper should be no shorter than 8 pages and no longer than 10 pages, excluding a title page, figures, tables, footnotes and the bibliography. There should be two main sections. The first describes your civil war (~2 pages) and the second, evaluates at least two explanations that we discussed in class.

In order to ensure that papers are of high quality, students will write the paper in parts. Below are the relevant due dates for each component, along with the percentage that each component forms for the “Final Paper” grade.

1. Case Selection – Week 2 (5%)
2. Historical Background with Sources – Week 3 (10%)
3. Detailed Outline Week 5 – (10%)
4. Data Sources and Evidence Outline – Week 6 (15%)
5. Draft – Week 8 (20%)
6. Class Presentation and Paper Revisions – Week 10 (20%)
7. Final Paper – Scheduled Final Exam Day (20%)

8 Course Policies

There is a zero-tolerance policy for academic dishonesty in this course. As the final paper is the only written assignment, plagiarism will result no credit for the assignment and an “F” in the course. It is also likely that you will face further disciplinary action if you plagiarize. Please consult the student handbook (http://admin.illinois.edu/policy/code/article1_part4_1-401.html) for more information on the university’s plagiarism policy. If you are confused about the distinction between plagiarism and summarizing, I encourage you to visit the writing center (<http://www.cws.illinois.edu/>) and read about plagiarism (<http://www.library.illinois.edu/learn/research/academicintegrity.html>).

Please do your best to minimize distractions in the classroom. This includes silencing your cell phone, only using a computer for class-related purposes (I will ban computers if I see people goofing off) and coming to class on time. Excessive tardiness will mean no credit for attending class.

I will require official documentation for all excused absences and special accommodations. For more information on what qualifies as an excused absence, consult Article 1, Section 501 of the Student Handbook. If you are absent, I still expect that you to complete the readings and reserve the right to assign make-up work to access this.