

KRISTEN A. HARKNESS  
curriculum vitae

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School of International Relations  
University of St. Andrews  
Arts Building, The Scores  
St. Andrews KY16 9AX  
Scotland, United Kingdom

44-01334-462934

[kh81@st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:kh81@st-andrews.ac.uk)

CURRENT POSITION

**Senior Lecturer (Associate Professor)** 2018-current  
Lecturer (Assistant Professor), 2013-2018  
*School of International Relations, University of St. Andrews*

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

**Postdoctoral Fellow** 2012-2013  
*Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame*

**Visiting Lecturer (Predoctoral)** 2011-2012  
*Department of Political Science, Duke University*

**Instructor** 2010-2011  
*Princeton Writing Program, Princeton University*

EDUCATION

**Princeton University**  
Ph.D., Department of Politics, June 2012  
M.A., Department of Politics, September 2007  
Fields: Comparative Politics, International Relations, Political Theory  
Dissertation Committee: Jennifer Widner (chair), Robert Keohane, Evan Lieberman

**Johns Hopkins University**  
M.A. in Teaching, School of Education, May 2005

**Macalester College**  
B.A., International Studies and Political Science, May 2002  
*Magna cum Laude* with Honors in International Studies

HONORS & AWARDS

Research

2017. African Politics Conference Group (APCG), a section of the American Political Science Association, Best Article Award for “The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa.”

## Teaching

2017. University of St. Andrews Students' Association *Excellent Module (Arts/Divinity)* Teaching Award.

2014. University of St. Andrews Students' Association *Innovation in Teaching* Award.

## PUBLICATIONS & PAPERS

### Books

2018. *When Soldiers Rebel: Ethnic Armies and Political Instability in Africa*. Cambridge UP.

### Research Articles (Peer Reviewed)

2021. "Detecting the Need for Change: How the British Army Adapted to Warfare on the Western Front and in the Southern Cameroons" (with Michael Hunzeker). *European Journal of International Security* 6(1): 66-85.

2018. "Measuring the Landscape of Civil War: Evaluating Geographic Coding Decisions with Data from the Mau Mau Rebellion" (with Rex Douglass). *Journal of Peace Research* 55(2): 190-205.

2017. "Military Loyalty and the Failure of Democratization in Africa: How Ethnic Armies Shape the Capacity of Presidents to Defy Term Limits." *Democratization* 24(5): 801-818.

- 2018. Reprinted in, David Kuehn (ed.), *The Military's Impact on Democratic Development: Midwives or Gravediggers of Democracy?* Routledge.

2016. "The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60(4): 587-616.

2015. "US Security Assistance in Africa: The Case for More." *Parameters* 45(2): 13-24.

2015. "Military Maladaptation: Counterinsurgency and the Politics of Failure" (with Michael Hunzeker). *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38(6): 777-800.

### Book Chapters

2020. "Cameroon: The Military and Autocratic Stability." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of the Military in Politics*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1800>.

2019. "Militaries." In, Gabrielle Lynch and Peter VonDoepp (eds.), *Handbook of Democratization in Africa*. Routledge, 161-173.

### Teaching Articles (Peer Reviewed)

2020. "Teaching the Military and Revolutions: Simulating Civil-Military Relations during Mass Uprisings" (with Marc R. DeVore). *PS: Political Science and Politics*. Online First: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096520000888>

2014. "The Strategy Project: Teaching Strategic Thinking through Crisis Simulation" (with Michael Hunzeker). *PS: Political Science & Politics* 47(2): 513-517.

### Book Reviews

2020. "Review: *Divided Armies: Inequality and Battlefield Performance in Modern War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press)." ISSF/H-Diplo Roundtable. Forthcoming.

2014. "Is Vision Enough? Review: *Africa Emerges: Consummate Challenges, Abundant Opportunities* by Robert I. Rotberg (Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press)." *Review of Politics* 76(3): 525-527.

2013. "Review: *The Soldier and the Changing State: Building Democratic Armies in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas* by Zoltan Barany (Princeton: Princeton University Press)." *Political Science Quarterly* 128(3): 572-574.

#### Blogposts

2017. "Without Mugabe, Is Democracy Coming to Zimbabwe? Probably Not" (November 22). *Monkey Cage*. At [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/22/without-mugabe-is-democracy-coming-to-zimbabwe-probably-not/?utm\\_term=.da17e2916625](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/22/without-mugabe-is-democracy-coming-to-zimbabwe-probably-not/?utm_term=.da17e2916625).

2016 "To Promote Stability and Democracy in Africa, Focus on Its Militaries" (October 2). *Lawfare*. At <https://lawfareblog.com/promote-stability-and-democracy-africa-focus-its-militaries>.

#### Under Review

"The Ethnic Stacking in Africa Dataset: When Leaders Use Ascriptive Identity to Build Military Loyalty" [R&R at *Conflict Management and Peace Science*]

"Introduction: The Military and Mass Protests in Africa" [under editorial review for a policy roundtable with the *Texas National Security Review*]

#### Working Papers (available upon request)

"Mass Protests and Ethnic Armies: How Coup Proofing Impacts Military Defection" (with Kara Kingma Neu)

"Does Ethnic Stacking Work? Evaluating the Effectiveness of Ascriptive Loyalty for Coup Proofing"

"The Costs of Silence: Collective Punishment and Intelligence Extortion during the Kenya Emergency" (with Rex Douglass)

"Logics of Brutality: An Analytical Framework for Comparing COIN Tactical Effectiveness Across Contexts"

"Barriers to Peace: Ethnic War and the Paradox of Rebel-Military Integration"

## FELLOWSHIPS & GRANTS

#### Research Grants

2020. PI: St. Andrews Restarting Research Funding Scheme (SARRF), £15,300 for "The Ethnic Politics of Dictatorship."

2020. Co-I: St. Andrews Restarting Interdisciplinary Research Fund (SARIRF), £63,422 for "A Strategy Bridge from International Relations/Strategic History to Management Studies." [£3,000 designated for my book project, "The Ethnic Politics of Dictatorship."]

2017. PI: British Academy/Leverhulme Small Research Grant, £8,230 for "The Role of Ethnicity in African Militaries: Generating New Data on Ethnic Stacking Practices."

2013. Co-I: Empirical Studies of Conflict (ESOC) program, \$7,500 for processing microlevel Mau Mau conflict events data (with Rex Douglass, UC San Diego).

## Teaching Grants

2018. University of St. Andrews Enhancement Fund, £570 for “Workshop: Evaluating, Sharing, and Publishing Innovative Teaching Practices” (with Ryan Beasley and Faye Donnelly, University of St. Andrews).
2018. University of St. Andrews Teaching Development Fund, £3500 for “Improving the IR PGT Learning Experience through Simulations” (with Adam Bower and Faye Donnelly, University of St. Andrews).

## Fellowships and Scholarships

- 2012-2013. Postdoctoral Fellowship, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame.
- 2010–2011. Quinn Morton Teaching Fellowship, Princeton Writing Program, Princeton University.
- 2010-2011. PIIRS Dissertation Writing Grant [declined], Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Princeton University.
- 2005-2010. Princeton University Fellowship.
- 1998-2002. National Merit Scholarship, National Merit Scholarship Corporation and Macalester College.
- 1998-2002. DeWitt Wallace Distinguished Scholarship, Macalester College.
1998. National Italian-American Mid-Pacific Regional Scholarship, National Italian-American Foundation.

## Dissertation Grants

2010. Mamdouha S. Bobst Center for Peace and Justice grant for fieldwork in Kenya and Senegal.
2009. Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies grant for archival research in Britain.
2008. Princeton Politics Department Stafford Fund grant for Kansas University Statistics Camp for Multi-Level Modeling.
2007. Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies grant for archival research in France.
2007. Princeton Politics Department Stafford Fund grant for the Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Methods Research.
2006. Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies grant for summer language study in French.

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

### University of St. Andrews

2012-present

- IR3060 “Rebellion and Revolution”
- IR4548 “Force and Statecraft”
- IR5001 “International Security” (graduate)
- IR5065 “The Military in Politics” (graduate)
- lectures contributed to:
  - IR2006 “Issues in International Relations” on ethnic conflict
  - IR4099 “Honours Dissertation in International Relations” on comparative methods and research ethics

- IR5601 “Research Methods in International Relations” (graduate) on comparative methods, quantitative analysis, and research ethics
- ID5102 “Curriculum Design and Assessment” (graduate) on incorporating simulations, debates, and policy workshops into teaching practice

**Duke University** 2011-2012

- Polsci 299S “Civil War” (graduate)
- Polsci 144 “Force and Statecraft”
- Polsci 199D “Pirates, Privateers, and State Power”

**Princeton University** 2010-2011

- Wri 156 “Pirates, Privateers, and State Power” (Freshman Writing Seminar)

## PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

### Invited Talks and Workshops

- [2021 (June). **American University**, Bridging the Gap 2021 International Policy Summer Institute, part of 2020 cohort postponed due to covid-19]
- [2021 (?). **The College of William & Mary**, Book Workshop for Sharan Grewal, “Soldiers of Democracy: Military Legacies and Democratic Transitions in Egypt and Tunisia”, postponed due to covid-19]
- [2021 (?). **George Mason University**, Center for Security Policy Studies, postponed due to covid-19]
- 2020 (October). **Kansas State University** and the **University of Kansas**, “Men on Horseback,” joint military history seminar series  
Panel Expert: The Military and Elections
- 2020 (October). **University of Pennsylvania**, Perry World House  
“Mass Protests and Ethnic Armies: How Coup Proofing Impacts Military Defection”
- 2020 (February). **Trinity College Dublin**, Political Science Research Seminar  
“The Ethnic Stacking in Africa Dataset: When Leaders Use Ascriptive Identity to Build Military Loyalty”
- 2019 (January). **University of Edinburgh**, Centre of African Studies  
“Mass Protests and Ethnic Armies: How Coup Proofing Impacts Regime Survival and Repression”
- 2018 (November). **University of Oxford**, Comparative Politics Seminar  
“Mass Protests and Ethnic Armies: How Coup Proofing Impacts Regime Survival and Repression”
- 2018 (September). **IE University Madrid**, Politics Research Group Seminar  
“Mass Protests and Ethnic Armies: How Coup Proofing Impacts Regime Survival and Repression”
- 2018 (September). **Naval Postgraduate School**, AFRICOM training workshop for Foreign Area Officers held in Stuttgart, Germany  
“Shaping the Domestic Context: Military Actors as Domestic Political Constraints”
- 2018 (April). **University of Central Florida**, Workshop on U.S. Military Assistance  
“Rethinking Security Force Assistance in Africa: The Case for Building Merit-Based Militaries”
- 2017 (December). **University of Strathclyde**, School of Government and Public Policy  
“When Soldiers Rebel: Ethnic Armies and Political Instability in Africa”

- 2017 (November). **University of Glasgow**, School of Social and Political Sciences  
 “When Soldiers Rebel: Ethnic Armies and Political Instability in Africa”
- 2016 (June). **RAND**, Washington D.C.  
 Discussant and Panel Expert: African Insurgencies
- 2013 (May). **Northwestern University**, Buffett Center Working Group on Security Studies  
 “The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa”
- 2012 (November). **University of Notre Dame**, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies  
 “Barriers to Peace: Ethnic War and the Paradox of Rebel-Military Integration”
- 2010 (October). **University of Pennsylvania**, Program on Democracy, Citizenship, and Constitutionalism  
 “Dangers to Democratization: Military Responses to Constitutional Changes of Leadership in Africa”

#### Conferences

*(c)hair; (d)iscussant; (p)aper; p(o)ster; (w)orkshop*

- American Political Science Association: 2019(p,d), 2018(p,w), 2017(p), 2014(p), 2013(p), 2011(p), 2010(p), 2009(p)
- European Research Group on Military and Society: 2019(p)
- International Studies Association: 2019(p,c,d), 2018(p), 2017(p,p,d), 2016(p,p), 2015(p,p,d), 2013(p,p,p,c), 2012(p)
- Midwest Political Science Association: 2013(p,p,d), 2011(p), 2010(p,c), 2008(p)
- Network of European Peace Scientists: 2018(p), 2017(p)
- Peace Science Society: 2017(w), 2016(w,w), 2015(p), 2013(p), 2012(p)
- Princeton Conference on Psychology and Policy Making: 2010(d)

#### Online Colloquia and Workshops

*(c)hair; (d)iscussant; (p)aper*

- African Politics Conference Group Online Colloquium: 2020(d)
- Conflict Consortium Virtual Workshop: 2019(d)

## UNIVERSITY AND PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

#### University of St. Andrews

- Research, Innovation, and Impact Committee member, Fall 2020-current
- University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) member, Fall 2017-Fall 2018
- School of International Relations
  - Director of Impact, Fall 2019-current
  - Management Committee member, Spring 2020-current
  - Research Committee member, Fall 2019-current
  - Sub-Honours Advising, Fall 2016-current
  - REF Environment Narrative Drafting Committee member, Spring 2020-Fall 2020
  - Staff & PhD Research Workshop Co-convenor, Fall 2014-Fall 2019
  - School Ethics Committee Convenor, Fall 2017-Fall 2018
  - School Ethics Committee member, Fall 2016-Fall 2018
  - Academic Misconduct Officer, Fall 2014-Spring 2017
  - International Security Studies MLitt Program Co-director, Spring 2015

#### Journal Editorial Service

- *Contemporary Voices*: Editorial Advisory Board Member (January 2018-March 2021)

#### Journal Referee Service

- *American Journal of Political Science* (2019, 2015)
- *American Political Science Review* (2019, 2017, 2014)
- *Comparative Political Studies* (2020, 2019, 2016, 2015, 2013)
- *Comparative Politics* (2020, 2019, 2016, 2015)
- *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2020, 2019, 2018, 2017, 2016, 2014, 2012)
- *Democratization* (2021, 2020, 2019, 2017, 2016)
- *European Journal of International Security* (2020)
- *Foreign Policy Analysis* (2019)
- *Government & Opposition* (2020)
- *International Area Studies Review* (2018)
- *International Interactions* (2021)
- *International Security* (2021)
- *International Studies Quarterly* (2021, 2018, 2017)
- *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2017, 2016, 2015, 2014)
- *Journal of Global Security Studies* (2018)
- *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* (2020)
- *Journal of Peace Research* (2021, 2020, 2019, 2017, 2016)
- *Journal of Politics* (2020)
- *PS: Political Science & Politics* (2020, 2019)
- *The RUSI Journal* (2019)
- *War in History* (2019)
- *World Politics* (2019, 2018, 2014)

#### Book Referee Service

- Lynne Reinner (2021 book manuscript)
- Columbia University Press (2020 book manuscript)
- Oxford Research Encyclopedia (2019 chapter)
- Palgrave MacMillian (2017 book proposal)

#### Professional Society Service

- 2020 (2 October): Women in Conflict Studies, co-leader of a mentoring session on “Turning your Dissertation into a Book”
- 2020 (13 August): Security Force Loyalty Networking Group, co-leader for a mentoring session on “Publishing your First Book”
- 2019 (28 August - 1 September): American Political Science Association, organizer of an annual conference working group on “Security Force Loyalty”
- 2019 (summer): British Academy, peer reviewer for funding call, “Tackling the UK’s International Challenges”
- 2018 (summer): African Politics Conference Group, member Best Book Awards Committee
- 2018 (29 August): American Political Science Association, co-leader annual conference Dissertation Workshop on “Militaries and Security Forces: From Repression to Democratization”

#### PhD and MPhil Research Students (\*Chair/First Supervisor)

- Muhyadin Saed, PhD expected 2023\*
- Christopher Bennett, PhD expected 2023\*
- Peter Lind, PhD 2016
- Hannah Solomon-Strauss, MPhil 2015\*

#### External PhD Examinations

- 2019: Flinders University, Australia

## PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND AFFILIATIONS

#### Active

- African Politics Conference Group (APCG), 2013-present
- American Political Science Association, 2005-present
- European Research Group on Military and Society (ERGOMAS), 2018-present

- International Studies Association, 2011-present
- Network of European Peace Scientists, 2017-present
- Peace Science Society, 2012-present
- Security Force Loyalty Networking Group, 2013-present
- Women in Conflict Studies, 2017-present

Past

- Midwest Political Science Association, 2007-2013
- Pi Sigma Alpha National Political Science Honors Society, inducted 2002
- Princeton University Center for International Security Studies, 2010-2012
- Sigma Delta Pi National Spanish Honors Society, inducted 2002