

KRISTEN A. HARKNESS  
curriculum vitae

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School of International Relations  
University of St. Andrews  
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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. American Political Science Association, African Politics Section, Best Article Award for “The Ethnic Army and the State: Explaining Coup Traps and the Difficulties of Democratization in Africa.”

## Teaching

2022. Shortlisted for the University of St. Andrews Students' Association *Outstanding Teacher (Arts and Divinity)* Award.
2017. Winner of the University of St. Andrews Students' Association *Excellent Module (Arts and Divinity)* Teaching Award.
2014. Winner of the 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.  
Reviewed in: [Comparative Politics](#), [Democratization](#), and [H-War](#); and profiled by [Africa Defense Forum](#) and the [New Books Network](#).

### Research Articles (Peer Reviewed)

2022. "Security Force Assistance to Cameroon: How Building Enclave Units Deepens Autocracy." *International Affairs* 98(6): 2099-2117.
2022. "The Ethnic Stacking in Africa Dataset: When Leaders Use Ascriptive Identity to Build Military Loyalty." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 39(5): 609-632.
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. Reprinted in 2018 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)

2021. "Teaching the Military and Revolutions: Simulating Civil-Military Relations during Mass Uprisings" (with Marc R. DeVore). *PS: Political Science and Politics* 54(2): 315-320.

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

#### Blogposts and Policy Roundtables

2022. “Security Force Assistance in Africa is Shoring Up Dictatorships” (May 23). *Irregular Warfare Initiative* hosted by the Modern War Institute at West Point. At <https://mwi.usma.edu/security-force-assistance-in-africa-is-shoring-up-dictatorships/>.
2022. “Diversifying Africa’s Militaries May Be the Key to Democratization” (February 23). *Democracy in Africa*. At <http://democracyin africa.org/diversifying-africas-militaries-may-be-the-key-to-successful-democratization/>.
2022. “Africa Has Had Eight Coup Attempts in Recent Months. What’s Behind the ‘Coup Epidemic?’” (February 9). The Washington Post’s *Monkey Cage*. At <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/02/09/africa-has-had-8-coup-attempts-recent-months-whats-behind-coup-epidemic/>.
2021. Chair, “Policy Roundtable: The Military and Mass Protests in Africa,” and author of contributing article, “Introduction: The Military and Mass Protests in Africa.” *Texas National Security Review*. At <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-the-military-and-mass-protests-in-africa/>.
2017. “Without Mugabe, Is Democracy Coming to Zimbabwe? Probably Not” (November 22). The Washington Post’s *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>.

#### Book Reviews

2021. “Review: *Divided Armies: Inequality and Battlefield Performance in Modern War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press).” ISSF/H-Diplo Roundtable XII-11. At <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28443/discussions/7689347/h-diploissf-roundtable-12-11-divided-armies-inequality-and>.
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.

#### Datasets

2021. “The Ethnic Stacking in Africa Dataset”: <https://doi.org/10.17630/6e99900f-22e2-44bb-b7b1-309d25a4bb63>
2017. “Microlevel Conflict Data from the Mau Mau Rebellion.” (with Rex Douglass): <https://github.com/rexdouglass/MeasuringLandscape>

#### 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

### Fellowships

2023. UK Parliament, Thematic Research Lead in International Affairs and Defense (ESRC funded).

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.

### 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” (with Phil O’Brien, PI, and other Co-Is, University of St. Andrews).

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), a Minerva funded program, \$7,500 for processing microlevel Mau Mau conflict events data (with Rex Douglass, PI, University of San Diego).

2010-2011. PIIRS Dissertation Writing Grant [declined], Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, Princeton University.

### 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).

### Scholarships

2005-2010. Princeton University Fellowship, full funding for five years of PhD study.

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)
  - IR5064 “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

- [2022 (December). **Boston University**, African Studies Center, Walter Rodney Seminar]
- [2022 (December). **College of William & Mary**, Department of Government Colloquium]
- 2022 (October). **Cornell University**, Reppy Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies  
“When Soldiers Rebel: Ethnic Armies and Political Instability in Africa”
- 2022 (September). **University of York**, York Centre for Conflict and Security  
“Creating Ethnic Stacking Data” as part of the launch workshop “Surveying the Horizons of Peace, Conflict and Security Research.”

- 2021 (June). **American University**, Bridging the Gap 2021 International Policy Summer Institute, part of the 2020 cohort 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, (r)oundtable, (w)orkshop*

- American Political Science Association: 2021(r,d), 2019(p,d), 2018(p,w), 2017(p), 2014(p), 2013(p), 2011(p), 2010(p), 2009(p)

- European Initiative for Security Studies: 2022(c), 2021(p)
- European Research Group on Military and Society: 2019(p)
- International Studies Association: 2022(p,p,d), 2019(p,c,d), 2018(p), 2017(p,p,d), 2016(p,p), 2015(p,p,d), 2013(p,p,p,c), 2012(p)
- Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society: 2021(p)
- Midwest Political Science Association: 2013(p,p,d), 2011(p), 2010(p,c), 2008(p)
- Network of European Peace Scientists: 2021(p), 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, Sep 2020-current
- University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) member, Sep 2017-Dec 2018
- School of International Relations
  - Director of the Institute for the Study of War and Strategy, Aug 2022-current
  - Director of Impact and Innovation, Oct 2019-current
  - Management Committee member, Jan 2020-current
  - Research Committee member, Oct 2019-current
  - Sub-Honours Advising, Sep 2016-current
  - Job Search Committees: Nov 2021-Jan 2022; Nov 2019-Jan 2020
  - REF Environment Narrative Drafting Committee member, Feb 2020-Jan 2021
  - Staff & PhD Research Workshop Co-convener, Aug 2014-Dec 2019
  - School Ethics Committee Convener, Sep 2017-Dec 2018
  - School Ethics Committee member, Sep 2016-Dec 2018
  - Academic Misconduct Officer, Sep 2014-July 2017
  - International Security Studies MLitt Program Co-director, Jan-June 2015

#### Journal Editorial Service

- *Democratization*: Associate Editor with responsibility for Sub-Saharan Africa (April 2021-current)
- *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* (2022, 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)

- *Oxford Research Encyclopedia* (2019)
- *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 manuscript)
- Columbia University Press (2020 manuscript)
- Palgrave MacMillian (2017 proposal)

#### Professional Society Service

- 2022 (7 October): Women in Conflict Studies, co-leader of a mentoring session on “Turning your Dissertation into a Book”
- 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 “Military and Security Forces: From Repression to Democratization”

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

- Alexandra Kerr, PhD expected 2024
- Marcel Plichta, PhD expected 2024
- 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
- European Initiative for Security Studies, 2021-present
- International Studies Association, 2011-present
- Network of European Peace Scientists, 2017-present
- Peace Science Society, 2012-present
- Scottish Council on Global Affairs, 2022-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