

**CARTER R. JOHNSON**  
**November 1, 2009**

**Education**

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University of Maryland, College Park, Department of Government and Politics  
Ph.D., Political Science, Defended September 9, 2009  
M.A., Political Science, 2006  
Field Exams: International Relations, Comparative Politics

London School of Economics, U.K.  
M.Sc., Comparative Politics, Graduated with Merit, 1999

McMaster University, Canada  
Hon.BA, Political Science, Dean's Honor List, 1997

**Refereed Publications**

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“The Limits of Partition,” *International Security*, Vol.33, No.4 (Spring 2009), pp.203-210 with Horowitz, Michael C. and Weisiger, Alex.

“Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security*, Vol.32, No.4 (Spring, 2008), pp.140-170.

“The Use and Abuse of Minority Rights: Assessing Past and Future EU policies towards Accession Countries of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe,” *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*, Vol.13 No.1 (2006), pp.27-51.

“Ten Years of Democratic Transition in the Balkans: A Comparative Analysis of Romania's Hungarian and Bulgaria's Turkish Minority (1989-1999)” in *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol.8 No.2, (2002), pp.1-28.

**Papers under Review**

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“*Constructing Inter-Ethnic Conflict and Cooperation: Why Some Peasants Harmed and Others Helped Jews during the Romanian Holocaust*” (with Diana Dumitru).  
Revise and Resubmit: *World Politics* (November 2009)

The literature on inter-ethnic violence focuses on instrumentalist and structuralist explanations, yet each of these explanations implicitly requires pre-existing inter-ethnic animosity as an enabling condition. We take one step back in the causal chain and demonstrate how inter-ethnic relations can be constructed by state ideology to be either cooperative or conflictual, using a natural experiment from Eastern Europe for an empirical test using quantitative and qualitative methods.

*“Partition and the End of Ongoing Ethnic Civil War: An Empirical Test of the Theoretical Literature”*

Partition has been proposed as a way to end ongoing ethnic civil wars by separating warring ethnic groups to end the ethnic security dilemma. In this paper I argue that all tests of this theory – by advocates and critics – have suffered from a selection bias and have only tested whether partition prevents war recurrence. I provide a crucial case study, the Georgian-Abkhaz ethnic civil war (1992-1993) to test the ethnic security dilemma. I find strong evidence for many dimensions of the ethnic security dilemma, but conclude that partition cannot end the violence of war.

*Federalism and Secession: The Importance of Pre-War Institutions*

Theoretically, scholars have separately argued that territorial autonomy both increases and decreases separatism. Empirically, cross-national tests consistently show that autonomy decreases rebellion, yet case studies have shown it increases secession. To resolve this puzzle, I argue that the institutional impact of autonomy is contextual, restricting secessionist activity in peace time, but increasing it during times of heightened violence. I present a new cross-national test from ethnic civil wars between 1945 and 2004 demonstrating strong empirical support for my theory.

**Book Chapters and Other Publications**

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“Ethnopolitical Violence and Terrorism in the Middle East” with Victor Asal and Jonathan Wilkenfeld in Joseph Hewitt, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, and Ted Robert Gurr, (eds.), *Peace and Conflict 2008* (USA: Paradigm Publishers, 2007).

“Future policy of the Euro-Atlantic structures toward minorities in the new neighboring countries of the enlarged EU” in *Euroregions: a Potential for Inter-Ethnic Harmonization*. (Chernivtsi: Bukrek Publishers, 2004). pp. 113-127. In Ukrainian.

‘Semipalatinsk Movement (Kazakhstan)’, Levinson, David and Karen Christensen, et al., (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002)

*Country Report Moldova 2000* (London: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2000)

**Dissertation**

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Dissertation Title: Partition as a Solution to Ethnic Civil War: Sovereignty, Demography, and the Role of Post-War State-Building for Peace

Committee:

Mark Lichbach (Chair), Paul K. Huth, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, Johanna Birnir

Dissertation Abstract: Partition has been proposed as a way to (i) end ethnic civil wars and to (ii) build lasting peace. This dissertation builds on partition theory in three

ways and demonstrates empirical support. First, I conducted detailed field research, producing a longitudinal study of ethnic migration and violence in Georgia's 1992-1993 civil war. I conclude that partitioning groups does not end ethnic war. Second, I look at partition's ability to build peace, and argue that post-partition violence is caused by weak states and the triadic political space endogenously created by partitions that do not separate ethnic groups. I call this the Third Generation Ethnic Security Dilemma. I test this empirically by introducing an index measuring the degree to which partitions separate ethnic groups, and I compare all ethnic civil war terminations between 1945 and 2004, demonstrating that partitions which completely separate ethnic groups provide a better chance for peace. Third, I selected two cases (Moldova and Georgia) to examine the causal processes of post-war recurring violence. I conclude that mixed ethnic demography interacts with state-building to cause or avert renewed violence.

### **Academic and Professional Awards and Distinctions**

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Don C. Piper Award, University of Maryland, 2008 (Best conference paper, 2007-2008, in the Department of Government and Politics)  
Graduate Student Travel Grant, University of Maryland, 2005  
Jacob K. Goldhaber Travel Grant, University of Maryland, 2005  
Graduate Student Travel Grant, University of Maryland, 2004  
Fellowship, Civic Education Project, 2001-2003, Visiting Faculty Fellow, Moldova State Pedagogical University  
Fellowship, Civic Education Project, 2000-2001, Visiting Faculty Fellow, National University of Uzbekistan  
Merit Award, London School of Economics, 1999  
Dean's Honour List, McMaster University (top 10 percent of graduating class), 1997

### **Teaching Experience**

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#### **Lecturer, University of Maryland, College Park**

“Civil War: Onset, Dynamics, Inter-State Influence, and Termination”

Winter 2008; Winter 2007

“Introduction to Comparative Politics”

Summer 2005

#### **Lecturer, Moldova State Pedagogical University, Chisinau, Moldova**

“Democracy and Democratization”

Spring 2003; Spring 2002

“Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict Regulation”

Fall 2002; Fall 2001

“European Union: History and Institutions”

Spring 2003; Spring 2002

#### **Lecturer, National University of Uzbekistan, Tashkent, Uzbekistan**

“Democracy and Democratization”

Fall 2000

“Nationalism and International Ethnic Conflict Regulation”

Fall 2000

“European Union: History and Institutions”

Spring 2001

“Human Rights, Minority Rights, and Democracy”

Spring 2001

### **Conferences and Workshops**

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“Ethnic Civil War Termination, Minorities, and Post-Partition Violence: Introducing the Third Generation Ethnic Security Dilemma,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, Toronto, September 3-6, 2009.

“Why Some Peasants Harmed and Others Helped Jews during the Romanian Holocaust: Constructing Inter-Ethnic Conflict and Cooperation,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association annual meeting, Toronto, September 3-6, 2009.

“Constructing Inter-Ethnic Conflict and Cooperation: the Role of State Institutions and Nationality Policy,” paper presented at the International Studies Association annual convention, New York, February 15-18, 2009.

“Partition and Ethnic Civil War Termination: Challenging the Ethnic Security Dilemma Hypothesis,” paper presented at the International Studies Association annual convention, NY, February 15-18, 2009.

“Constructing Inter-Ethnic Conflict and Cooperation: Why Some Peasants Harmed and Others Helped Jews during the Romanian Holocaust,” paper presented at the DC Area Workshop on Contentious Politics, College Park, MD, December 9, 2007.

“Does Partition Work? A New Empirical Examination,” paper at the International Studies Association annual convention, Honolulu, March 1-5, 2005.

“Sovereignty or Demography? Reconsidering the Evidence on Partition in Ethnic Civil Wars,” paper presented at the DC Area Workshop on Contentious Politics, College Park, MD, April 5, 2005.

“Minority Rights for Post-Communist Countries of Europe: are there “required minority rights” for EU accession?” Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, Apr 15, 2004.

“Euro-Atlantic Structures and Minority Rights in Eastern Europe: Achievements and Expectations,” paper presented at the conference on Ethnic Relations in Chernovtsi, Ukraine, April 2003.

“The European Union and Diffusion of Institutions to Eastern Europe: the Case of Minority Rights.” Paper presented at conference, “Romania and Moldova on the New Geopolitical Map of the Region,” Bucharest, May 30th - June 1st, 2003.

“Remarkable Peace: Democratic Transition in the Balkans. A Comparative Analysis of Bulgaria and Romania,” paper presented at the Association for the Studies of Nationalism, Columbia University, New York, April 5-7, 2001.

### **Academic Professional and Other Experience**

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Country Director, American Councils for International Education (2009 – Present)  
Based in Turkmenistan, this position oversees professional and student exchange programs funded by the United States Government.

Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Ann Arbor, Michigan)  
Summer 2004: Advanced Regression; Categorical Data Analysis  
Summer 2006: Advanced MLE; Longitudinal/Time Series

Project Coordinator, Minorities at Risk Project (MAR) (2005-2006)  
Managed daily operations of large quantitative social science research project focusing on ethnic groups, and helped begin a new terrorism research project coding organizations.

Research Assistant, MAR (2004-2005, 2006-2008)  
Quantitative coding and training for social science research project

Academic Coordinator, Civic Education Project (CEP) (2002-2003)  
Provided counsel on content and logistics to faculty members organizing regional events in Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova

### **Professional Service and Memberships**

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Peer Reviewer: International Security; Security Studies; Canadian Slavic Review; Romanian Journal of Society and Politics

Member: American Political Science Association, International Studies Association; International Institute for Strategic Studies

### **International Experience**

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Turkmenistan: Country Director, American Councils (January 2009 to Present)

Moldova and Transnistria: Research Trip (4 months, 2008).

Georgia and Abkhazia: Research Trip (3 months, 2008).

Moldova and Transnistria: Visiting Lecturer (academic year 2001-2003).

Uzbekistan: Academic Training Project (1 month 2002); Visiting Lecturer (academic year 2000-2001).

Poland: Copy-Editor, the Warsaw Voice 1997-1998.

## Language Skills

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**English:** Native

**Russian:** Fluent

**French:** Reading knowledge

**Romanian:** Basic

## References

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## Contact Information

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