

## **Civil War: Microfoundations and Local Dynamics**

Political Science 490, Winter 2013

Mondays, 2:00-4:50 pm

Scott Hall 212

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Office hours: Thursdays 10:00 am - 12:00 pm.

### **Course description**

Civil wars have become the most common form of war in the post-Cold War period. In the past fifteen years, a growing literature in political science, anthropology, economics, geography, and sociology has studied different aspects of this type of conflict. Regardless the question they address, all these studies deal explicitly or implicitly with questions about the behavior of civilians and combatants. Even questions about the macro-level dynamics of war such as its onset, duration, and termination require us to make assumptions about how civilians and combatants make choices. For example, theories of civil war duration requires us to make assumptions about why civilians decide to join armed groups or aid them, or why combatants decide to follow their leaders' decision to end the war.

This seminar focuses on these micro-level aspects of civil war. We will address questions related to the behavior of civilians and combatants in contexts of civil war, such as the following: Why do civilians join rebels or paramilitaries? Why do they resist against the presence of these groups in their territory? Why do they support them? Why do they leave their hometowns to become refugees or internally displaced? Why do combatants victimize civilians? Why do they use different levels and types of violence? Why do they rule local populations? Why, and how, do they make deals with local authorities?

The seminar is designed as the second part of a 2-quarter sequence. The first part was taught by Professor Will Reno in the fall of 2013, and explored more general questions about the causes of civil war and some of its dynamics. Students are *not* required to have taken Professor Reno's course in order to take this seminar, and I will not assume that you have already read the materials assigned in that course. For those who have taken Professor Reno's class, you will find a few overlapping readings. These are very important sources in the field, and they are quite rich. Reading these materials twice will be useful for you, and it will improve the quality of our discussion.

The course is structured as follows. In the first session we will clarify some key concepts and discuss the evolution of the literature on civil war. In the second session we will discuss readings that theorize and/or describe the local context in which civilians and combatants make choices. We then turn to specific behaviors that civilian and combatants adopt by exploring key wartime phenomena: violence against civilians; rebel governance; recruitment of combatants; displacement of civilians; civilian support for and resistance against rebels; and the micro-level dynamics of counterinsurgency operations.

We will discuss each assigned reading in great depth. We will evaluate the quality of proposed theories and hypotheses, and the advantages and shortcomings of their research designs. We will also pay special attention to fieldwork in contexts of civil war. The readings rely on different methods and kinds of empirical evidence. I urge you to read all of them carefully and to consider them seriously, regardless your own epistemological positions.

## Requirements

### (1) Attendance and participation

Attendance and participation in the discussion are mandatory. You are required to do *all* the readings and come prepared to discuss them in class.

### (2) Memos

You should submit 3 memos during the quarter discussing the readings assigned for a given week. The memos should discuss the quality of the readings (evaluating both their theoretical propositions and empirical evidence) and their contribution to our understanding of the phenomenon we are studying. Each memo should be between 1,500 and 2,500 words. Memos are due on Blackboard on Monday by 10:00 a.m.

### (3) Final paper

You should write a final paper on a topic of your choice. You should discuss with me the topic of your paper during office hours before Monday, February 17<sup>th</sup>. The paper should address a relevant question about the local dynamics of civil war or individual behavior in conflict zones. It should include a literature review, a clear theoretical proposition, and either a test of that theoretical proposition or a detailed research design to test it. You can rely on any empirical method. The paper should have between 9,000 and 10,000 words, including references and footnotes. You should upload your paper on Blackboard by Monday, March 17<sup>th</sup>.

## Grades

Participation	10%
Memos (10% each)	30%
Final paper	60%

## Readings

You should purchase *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* by Stathis Kalyvas (Cambridge University Press, 2006), which is available at Norris. All other readings are available on Blackboard.

## Electronic Etiquette

You can bring your laptop or PDA to class to take notes and/or have the readings available but I request that you turn off your internet connection. Regardless our multitasking skills, discussion is more focused and intellectually stimulating in the absence of online distraction.

## Schedule

### Monday, January 13

#### Introduction. Concepts and overview of key debates in the field

- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What Is A Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6): 814-858.
- Kalyvas, Stathis, 2007. "Civil Wars." In Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds. *Handbook of Political Science*. New York: Oxford University Press, 416-434.
- Hegre, Håvard, and Nicholas Sambanis. "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 4 (August 2006): 508-535.
- Blattman, Christopher and Edward Miguel. 2010. "Civil War." *Journal of Economic Literature* 48 (1): 3-57.

#### Suggested readings:

- Tarrow, Sidney. "Inside Insurgencies: Politics and Violence in an Age of Civil War." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 03 (2007): 587-600.
- Eckstein, Harry. "On the Etiology of Internal Wars." *History and Theory* 4, no. 2 (1965): 133-163.
- Schepher-Hughes, Nancy and Phillipe Bourgois. 2004. *Violence in War and Peace: an Anthology*. Blackwell. Especially the Introduction.
- Mary Kaldor (2001) *New & Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).
- David, Steven R. "Internal war: causes and cures." *World Politics* 49, no. 4 (1997): 552-576.
- Jack Hirshleifer. *Theorizing about conflict*. Handbook of defense economics, 1995.

### \*\*\*Friday, January 25 (noon to 2:00 pm)

#### The context of civilian-combatant relations

- Kalyvas, Stathis, 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction (pp. 1-15); Chapter 1 (pp. 16-31); Chapter 4 (pp. 87-110); and Chapter 5 (pp. 111-145).
- Wood, Elisabeth. "The social processes of civil war: The wartime transformation of social networks". *Annual Review of Political Science* Vol. 11: 539-561.

#### Suggested readings:

- Arjona, Ana, 2013. "Wartime institutions: a research agenda". Paper under review.
- Jann K. Kleffner, 2007. "From 'belligerents' to 'fighters' and civilians directly participating in hostilities – On the principle of distinction in non-international armed conflicts one hundred years after the Second Hague Peace Conference." *Netherlands International Law Review*, 54, pp. 316-336.
- Stathis Kalyvas, "The Ontology of Political Violence," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2003, 1(3), pp. 475-494.
- Kalyvas, Stathis, 2001. "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics*, 54:1, 99-118.
- Staniland, Paul. "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders." *Perspectives on Politics* Volume: 10, Issue: 02, Pages: 243-264

**Monday, January 27**

**Violence against non-combatants I: what explains variation in the intensity of violence?**

- Stathis Kalyvas, 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 146-208).
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars." *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 54, Issue 2, pages 291–313, June.
- Downes, Alex. 2006. "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War." *International Security* 30 (4): 152-195.

Suggested readings:

- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein, 2006. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War." *The American Political Science Review* 100, no. 3: 429-447.
- Eck, Kristine and Lisa Hultman. "One-Sided Violence against Civilians in War: Insights from New Fatality Data." *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (2): 233-246.
- Zeitzoff, Thomas. 2011. "Using Social Media to Measure Conflict Dynamics: An Application to the 2008–2009 Gaza Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (6): 938-969.
- Metelits, Claire. 2009. "The Consequences of Rivalry: Explaining Insurgent Violence Using Fuzzy Sets." *Political Research Quarterly* 62 (4): 673-684.
- Bhavnani, Ravi, Dan Miodownik, and Hyun Jin Choi. 2011. "Three Two Tango: Territorial Control and Selective Violence in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (1): 133-158.
- Dube, Oendrilla and Juan Vargas, 2013. "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia." *Review of Economic Studies* Vol 80. No. 4.
- Kalyvas, Stathis and Adam Kocher, 2009. "The dynamics of violence in Vietnam: An analysis of the hamlet evaluation system (HES)." *Journal of Peace Research*, volume 46, No. 3.

*Sexual violence*

- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2009. "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics and Society* 37 (1): 131-161.
- Cohen, Dara, 2013a. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)," *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 461-477 (August 2013).
- Cohen, Dara, 2013b. "Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War," *World Politics* 65(3): 383-415.
- Leiby, Michele. 2009. "Wartime Sexual Violence in Guatemala and Peru." *International Studies Quarterly* 53 (2): 445-468.
- Cohen, Dara, Amelia Hoover, Tia Palermo and Amber Peterman, 2011. "Rape Reporting During War: Why the Numbers Don't Mean What You Think They Do". *Foreign Affairs*, August 1<sup>st</sup>. Online: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68008/amber-peterman-dara-kay-cohen-tia-palermo-and-amelia-hoover-gree/rape-reporting-during-war?page=show>

*Genocide and mass killing*

- Valentino, Benjamin, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "Draining the Sea: Mass Killings and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* 58 (2): 375-407.

### *Terrorism and suicide bombing*

- Andrew Kydd and Barbara Walter, "The Strategies of Terrorism," *International Security*, 2006, 31(1), pp. 49-80.
- Gambetta, Diego. 2005. *Making Sense of Suicide Missions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Robert Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review*, 2003, 97(3), pp. 1-19.

### **Monday, February 3**

#### **Rebel governance I**

Read six of the following papers. They are all part of the edited volume *Rebel Governance*, edited by Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir and Zachariah Mampilly, forthcoming by Cambridge University Press.

- Reno, William. "Administration and the Political Strategy of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, 1989-1992".
- Wickham-Crowley, Timothy. "Transitions to and from Rebel Governance in Latin America, 1956-1990".
- Mampilly, Zachariah. "Performing the Nation-State: Rebel Groups and Symbolic Sovereignty".
- Coggins, Bridgett. "Rebel Diplomacy: Violent Non-State Actors and the Strategic Use of Talk".
- Kalyvas, Stathis. "Rebel Governance during the Greek Civil War, 1942-1949".
- Suykens, Bert. "State-Rebel Relations and Ideologies of Governance: Rebel Governance in Naxalite and Naga India".
- Hoffman, Kasper. "Myths Set in Motion: The Governance Practices of General Padiri's Maï-Maï Militia".
- Förster, Till. "Dialogue Direct: Rebel Governance and Civil Order in Northern Côte d'Ivoire".
- Barter, Joshua. "The Rebel State in Society: Governance and Accommodation in Aceh, Indonesia".
- Gutierrez Sanin, Francisco. "Recruitment, Resources and Rebel Governance: The Evolution of Urban Militias in Medellín, Colombia"

### **Monday, February 10**

#### **Rebel governance II**

- Arjona, Ana, 2013. Social Order in Civil War. Manuscript under review. Selected chapters.
- Mampilly, Zachariah. *Rebel Rulers*. Cornell University Press. Selected chapters.

Suggested readings:

- Claire Metelits, 2010. *Inside Insurgency: Violence, Civilians, and Revolutionary Group Behavior*. NYU Press.
- Kasfir, Nelson, 2004. "The Creation of Civil Administration by Guerrillas: The National Resistance Army and the Rwenzururu Kingdom Government in Uganda." Presented at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 3.
- Wickham-Crowley, Timothy, 1987. "The rise (and sometimes fall) of guerrilla governments in Latin America". *Sociological Forum* No. Vol. 2, No. 3, pp: 473-499.

- Raeymaekers, T., Menkhaus, K. and K. Vlassenroot, 2008. "State and non-state regulation in African protracted crises: governance without government?". *Afrika Focus* Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 7-21.

**\*Paper topic\***

You should discuss your paper topic with me before Monday, February 17<sup>th</sup>.

**Monday, February 17**

**Recruitment**

- Gates, Scott. 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1): 111–130.
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein, 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War". *American Journal of Political Science*, April.
- Kalyvas, Stathis, 2008. "Ethnic defection in civil war." *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 41 no. 8, pp. 1043-1068.
- Parkinson, Sarah, 2013. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *American Political Science Review* vol. 107 (03) p. 418-432.
- Ana Arjona, 2013. "Recruitment in Civil War: An Institutional Approach." Working paper.

Suggested readings:

- Kalyvas, Stathis and Adam Kocher, 2007. "How "Free" Is Free Riding in Civil Wars?: Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem." *World Politics*, Volume 59, Number 2.
- Eck, Kristine, 2010. Raising Rebels: Participation and Recruitment in Civil War. Dissertation, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University. <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:304382>

**Monday, February 24**

**Displacement**

- Engel, Stefanie and Ana M. Ibañez, 2007. "Displacement Due to Violence in Colombia: A Household-Level Analysis." *Economic Development & Cultural Change*, January, Vol. 55 Issue 2, pp. 335-365.
- Steele, Abbey, 2009. "Seeking Safety: Avoiding Displacement and Choosing Destinations in Civil Wars." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 46, No. 3, pp. 419-429.
- Balcells, Laia and Abbey Steele, 2013. "Violence and Displacement in Civil War." Unpublished Manuscript: Duke University and Syracuse University.
- Muana, Patrick. 1997. "The Kamajoi Militia: Civil War, Internal Displacement and the Politics of Counter-Insurgency." *African Development* 22 (3/4):77-100.

## Monday, March 3

### Civilian support and resistance

#### Denunciation

- Kalyvas, Stathis. "Intimacy" In *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, pp. 330-363.
- Diana Dumitru, and Carter Johnson, "Constructing Interethnic Conflict and Cooperation: Why Some People Harmed Jews and Others Helped Them during the Holocaust in Romania," *World Politics*, 63(1), 2011, pp. 1-42.

#### Support

- Petersen, Roger, 2001. *Resistance and Rebellion*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-79).
- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair and Kosuke Imai, 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *APSR*, Volume 107 Issue 04.

#### Resistance

- Finkel, Evgeny, 2013. "Political Identities and Resistance to Oppression: Ghetto Uprisings during the Holocaust." *Unpublished paper*. Pp. 1-36.
- Starn, Orin, 1995. "To Revolt against the Revolution: War and Resistance in Peru's Andes." *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 547-580.

#### Suggested readings

- Petersen, Roger, 2001. *Resistance and Rebellion*. Cambridge University Press. Other chapters.
- Wood, E. J. (2003). *Insurgent collective action and civil war in El Salvador*. *Cambridge studies in comparative politics* (p. xvii, 308 p.). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kaplan, Oliver, 2013. "Protecting civilians in civil war: The institution of the ATCC in Colombia." *Journal of Peace Research* 50: 351, pp. 351-367.
- Lubkemann, Stephen, 2005. "Migratory Coping in Wartime Mozambique: An Anthropology of Violence and Displacement in 'Fragmented Wars'." *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2005, pp. 493-508.
- Roger Petersen, 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

## Monday, March 10

### The micro-dynamics of counterinsurgency

- Kilcullen, David, 2006. "Counter-insurgency *Redux*." *Survival*, vol. 48 no. 4, Winter, pp. 111-130.
- Kocher, Adam, Stathis Kalyvas and Tom Pepinsky, 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War." *American Journal of Political Science*. Volume 55, Issue 2, pp. 201-218.
- Lyall, Jason, 2010. "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." *APSR* Vol. 104, No. 1.
- Lyall, Jason, 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Vol. 53, No. 3.

- Berman, Eli, Jacob Shapiro and Joseph Felter, 2011. "Can hearts and minds be bought? The economics of counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 119 No. 4.

Suggested readings:

- Roger Petersen and Jon Lindsay, 2011. "Varieties of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Iraq, 2003-2009," case study prepared for the Naval War College Center for Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups. <http://igcc.ucsd.edu/assets/001/503974.pdf>
- Lyall, Jason, and Isaiah Wilson III. "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 67-106.
- Downes, Alexander, 2007. "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy." *Civil Wars* 9, no. 4: 420-444.
- Jordan, Jenna, 2009. "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation." *Security Studies* 18, no. 4: 719-755.

**\*Monday, March 17**

The final paper is due today on Blackboard.