

Ph.D. Program in Political Science

P SC 87605 (122209) Civil War: Causes and Dynamics

Seminar Topics and Reading List
Spring Semester 2016

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Wednesdays 4:15-6:15 p.m.
Seminar Room: 6493
Office Hours: Tuesdays 5:00-6:00

Civil war is a subject of scholarly study as old as the field of political science itself. The topic has taken on a new prominence, however, in the post-cold war international environment, and academic research has exploded in the past 25 years. Although the topic is by definition in the field of comparative politics – civil wars are wars that are *internal* to a particular country and its sovereign borders – this definition does not reflect the reality of contemporary civil wars, including structural causes located in globalization, their regional and transnational dynamics, and the new normative consensus internationally on both the right and the responsibility to intervene to stop the violence. Moreover, as *war*, students of international relations are also deeply engaged in its study, including current interest in the changing character of war.

So, in fact, the literature on civil wars does cross back and forth between comparative politics and international relations, and in its course, reveals their very different theoretical and research approaches to a subject and exposes both the fuzziness of the boundary between the two subfields and the immense differences of mind-set and difficulty of doing genuinely interdisciplinary work. This course will be largely oriented in the comparative politics theoretical literature, but students in the seminar are free to choose which literatures of political science are most of interest to their study and research.

This is a research seminar, which means that the readings and discussion will aim to make the student as knowledgeable about the literature, its debates, unanswered questions, and research frontiers on this topic as possible, while the outcome goal is a research project and paper. Students should be warned that the best of this literature is based on case studies, wonderfully rich but detailed and lengthy. Please read as many case studies as you can.

Grading will be based on four responsibilities (Assignments):

- one page, or less, summary of the arguments in the readings for each seminar session, to be handed in at the time of that session (in class or by email)
- informed participation in the discussion of the readings for that session

- providing resident expertise for the seminar on one country case, contributing to the discussion with examples from that case or the literature on that case, as the discussion requires
- a final research paper, due May 25, 5:00 p.m. (and no later).

Writing assignment deadlines:

1. As mentioned above already, weekly, a brief summary of the arguments of the readings for that session (by brief, I mean even less than a page, though you can do more if you wish for your own records; but it's a good opportunity to practice conciseness)
2. **February 24:** research topic due, preferably as a research question if you can; I wanted this by February 20 but we do not have a meeting then; if you can send it sooner, that would be excellent (so, in class hard copy or by email to me before)
4. **March 2:** your research question due, in class or by email beforehand
5. **May 18:** a 10-minute (maximum; good practice!) presentation of the argument of your research paper
6. **May 25:** research paper due by 5:00 p.m. (no exceptions except for emergencies)

Readings and the Books you may wish to purchase:

Most of the readings are journal articles and working papers; those that are not available on the Mina Rees Library's online journal access site (look there first) are placed on Blackboard. I think I am correct that I have placed everything on Blackboard except two articles on the *American Political Science Review* (Parkinson; Lyall).

There are three books that we will read in their entirety, or nearly; if you wish to own a copy, I recommend that you order them on our library link to Amazon because it gives our library a cut; if you have an objection to Amazon, this is only a recommendation. They are on reserve at the library, also.

Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge University Press 2006).

Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse* (Cornell 2014).

Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (Cambridge University Press 2003).

You may also enjoy reading the blog, Political Violence @ a Glance, on occasion, where many academic experts on civil war write brief summaries of their newest work, debate the literature, and provide regularly recommended reading lists:

<http://politicalviolenceataglance.org/>

Seminar Schedule

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|-----------------|---|
| February 3 | Introduction: An Overview of the Field |
| (1) February 10 | Definitions: What is Civil War, and does it matter? |

Harry Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars," *History and Theory* 4(2) (1965): 133-63, or "Introduction: Toward the Theoretical Study of Internal War," in Harry Eckstein, ed., *Internal War: Problems and Approaches*: 1-32.

Nicholas Sambanis, "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48:6 (December 2004): 814-858.

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "What is Political Violence? On the Ontology of Civil War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1:3 (2003): 475-494.

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (2006), ch.1: 16-31.

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Is ISIS a Revolutionary Group and if Yes, What Are the Implications?" *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 2015).

Nicholas Sambanis and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, "Civil War as Sovereignty Rupture: Coding Intra-State Conflict, 1945-2012," ms. June 22, 2015.

Further Reading:

Annual *States in Armed Conflict*, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

Annually, data reported in *Journal of Peace Research*; the most recent is: Therese Pettersson and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed conflicts, 1946-2014," *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (July 2015): 536-550.

Michael G. Findley and Joseph K. Young, "Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem," *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2 (June 2012): 285-305.

Francesco Strazzari, "Organized Violence and Organized Crime," *Mediterranean Politics*, 12:2 (July 2007), 185-209.

Roger Gould, "Collective Violence and Group Solidarity: Evidence from a Feuding Society," *American Sociological Review* 64 (1991): 356-380.

(2) February 17

Methodological debates/issues

Nicholas Sambanis, "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48:6 (December 2004): 814-858. (review from previous session, February 6)

Christopher Cramer, *Civil War is not a Stupid Thing* (London: Hurst 2006)/*Violence in Developing Countries: War, Memory, Progress* (Indiana University Press 2007), introduction and chapters 2 and 3: 1-14, 49-138.

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "Transnational Dynamics of Civil War" (introduction to Checkel, ed., *Civil war: mobilizing across borders* (Cambridge UP).

Nicholas Sambanis, "Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War," *Perspectives on Politics* 2:2 (June 2004): 259-279.

Michael D. Ward, Brian D. Greenhill, and Kristin M. Bakke, "The Perils of Policy by P-Value: Predicting Civil Conflicts," *Journal of Peace Research* 47:4 (2010): 363-375.

Robert Blair and Nicholas Sambanis, "Forecasting Civil Wars," ms., August 18, 2015.

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, ch. 2 (32-51).

Halvard Buhaug, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Helge Holtermann, and Gudrun Ostby, "Poverty, Inequality, and Conflict: Using Within-Country Variation to Evaluate Competing Hypotheses," paper presented at the International Studies Association, New York, 15-19 February 2009.

Symposium: Bridging the Gap? Connecting Qualitative and Quantitative Methods in the Study of Civil War," *Qualitative Methods: Newsletter of the American Political Science Association Organized Section for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research* 6/1 (Spring 2008): 13-29 [Checkel, Arjona, Jung, Nome, Steele, and Gates] (available online at: <http://www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/QualitativeMethodsAPSA.html>)

Further Reading:

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Civil Wars," in Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (2007): 416-434.

Special Issue, "Disaggregating Civil War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53: 4 (August 2009).

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Promises and Pitfalls of an Emerging Research Program: the microdynamics of civil war," ch. 16, Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro, and Tarek Masoud, eds., *Order, Conflict, and Violence* (Cambridge University Press 2008): 397-421.

Sidney Tarrow, "Inside Insurgencies: Politics and Violence in an Age of Civil War: Book Review Essay," *Perspectives on Politics* 5:3 (September 2007): 587-600.

Michael Bleaney and Arcangelo Dimico, "How Different Are the Correlates of Onset and Continuation of Civil Wars?" *Journal of Peace Research* 48:2 (2011): 145-155.

Michael McGovern, *Making War in Côte d'Ivoire* (Chicago 2011), Preface.

Jack A. Goldstone, "Using Quantitative and Qualitative Models to Forecast Instability," *Special Report 204* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace, March 2008) [16 pages], available at www.usip.org

Joshua Epstein, "Modeling Civil Violence: An Agent-based Computational Approach," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 9:3 (2002): 7243-50.

DUE February 24: Research Topic (better yet, Research Question), in class

(3) February 24 Clearing Away Some Brush: "New Wars," Civilian Casualties, Wartime Rape, Greed, Criminals, Gendered Bias

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era* (Stanford University Press 2006/7), chs. 1, 2, and 5 (1-32, 95-118).

Stathis Kalyvas, "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54:1 (October 2001): 99-118.

Adam Roberts, "The Civilian in Modern War," *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law*, 2010.

- Adam Roberts, "Lives and Statistics: Are 90% of War Victims Civilians?" *Survival* 52:3 (June-July 2010): 115-136.
- Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Review: New Ways, Old Violence," *International Studies Review* 3:1 (Spring 2001): 139-141.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, "How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime—And How They Do Not," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 59:8 (2015): 1517-1540.
- Michael Ross, "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization* 58/1 (2004): 35-67.
- Elisabeth Jean Wood, "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics and Society* 37 (2009): 131-62.
- Miranda Alison, "Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security," *Security Dialogue*, 35: 4 (December 2004): 447-463.

[see Straus in the session on Violence, and the recommended readings in the same session by King and Verdejo]

Further reading:

- C. Cramer, "*Homo Economicus* Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War," *World Development* 30:11 (2002): 1845-1864.
- Michele Leiby, "Wartime Sexual Violence in Guatemala and Peru," *International Studies Quarterly*, 53 (2009): 445-68
- Elisabeth Jean Wood, "Rape during War Is Not Inevitable: Variation in Wartime Sexual Violence," in *Understanding and Proving International Sex Crimes*, edited by Morten Bergsmo, Alf Butenschøn Skre, and Elizabeth J. Wood, 389-420. Beijing, China: Torkel Opsahl Academic EPublisher, 2012.
- Follow the annual Uppsala reports, including *States in Armed Conflict*, on what they call "one-sided violence."
- Mark Duffield, *Development, Security and Unending War: Governing the World of Peoples* (Polity 2007).
- Special Issue of *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:4 (August 2005) on "Primary Commodities and Civil War."
- Francisco Gutierrez Sanin, "Criminal Rebels? A Discussion of War and Criminality from the Colombian Experience," *Politics and Society* 32 (June 2004): 257-285.
- Cynthia J. Arnson and I. William Zartman, eds., *Rethinking the Economics of War: The Intersection of Need, Creed, and Greed* (Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns Hopkins University Press 2005).
- Philippe Le Billon, *The Geopolitics of Resource Wars* (Cass 2005).
- Small Wars*, the journal
- Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (Simon and Schuster 1998)
- General Rupert Smith, *The Utility of Force: The Art of War in the Modern World* (Vintage 2008), Part III (269-415).

DUE March 2: Research Paper's research question, in class or by email by 5:00 pm

(4) March 2 Classifications and “Causes,” Part I

Nils Petter Gleditsch, Peter Wallensteen, Mikael Eriksson, Margareta Sollenberg, and Havard Strand, “Armed conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset,” *Journal of Peace Research* 39:5 (2002): 615-637.

Christopher Blattman and Edward Miguel, “Civil War,” *Journal of Economic Literature* 48:1 (2010): 3-57.

William Reno, *Warfare in Independent Africa* (Cambridge University Press 2011), ch. 1 (1-34).

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, chapter 3 (52-86).

David E. Cunningham and Douglas Lemke, “Combining Civil and Interstate Wars,” *International Organization*, 67: 3 (July 2013): 609-627.

David Keen, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (2005), ch. 4 (56-81).

Peter Wallensteen and Margareta Sollenberg, “Armed Conflict and Regional Conflict Complexes, 1989-97,” *Journal of Peace Research* 35:5 (1998): 621-34.

Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín and Elisabeth Jean Wood, “Ideology in civil war: Instrumental adoption and beyond,” *Journal of Peace Research*, 51: 2 (2014): 213-226.

John Braithwaite, Valerie Braithwaite, Michael Cookson and Leah Dunn, *Anomie and Violence: non-truth and reconciliation in Indonesian peacebuilding* (ANU Press: 2010): 1-35. (available online at: http://epress.anu.edu.au/anomie_citation.html)

Fabio Sanchez and Maria del Mar Palau, “Conflict, Decentralisation and Local Governance in Colombia, 1974-2004,” *Documento Cede 2006-20* (May 2006).

Further Reading:

Christopher Cramer and Paul Richards, “Violence and War in Agrarian Perspective,” *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 11: 3 (July 2011): 277-297.

Barbara F. Walter, “Bargaining Failures and Civil War,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12 (2009): 243-61.

Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, with Molly Bauer, “Economic Liberalization via IMF Structural Adjustment: Sowing the Seeds of Civil War?” *International Organization* 64 (Spring 2010): 339-56.

Nicholas Sambanis, “A Review of Recent Advances and Future Directions in the Literature on Civil War,” *Defense and Peace Economics*, 13:2 (June 2002): 215-43.

Karen Ballentine and Jake Sherman, eds., *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance* (Lynne Rienner 2003), chs. 1, 3, and 10 (1-18, 47-70, 259-282) (if you wish, read case study chapters on Colombia, Nepal, Bougainville, Kosovo, Sri Lanka, and Burma).

Michael Pugh and Neil Cooper with Jonathan Goodhand, *War Economies in a Regional Context: Challenges of Transformation* (Lynne Rienner: 2004), ch. 2 (17-44).

William Reno, “Shadow States and the Political Economy of Civil Wars,” in Mats Berdal and David Malone, eds. *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars*: 43-68.

Carles Boix, “Economic Roots of Civil Wars and Revolutions in the

Contemporary World,” *World Politics* 60 (April 2008): 390-437.

The UPPSALA/PRIO dataset: (www.pcr.uu.se/database)

Susan L. Woodward, “The Inequality of Violence: On the Discovery of Civil War as a Threat to ‘the North’ in the 1990s and the Debate over Causes and Solutions,” American Political Science Association Task Force on Inequality and Difference in the Developing World, available online at <http://www.apsanet.org/imgtest/TaskForceDiffIneqDevWoodward.pdf>

Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*, volume 1: Africa, volume 2: Europe, Central Asia, and Other Regions (World Bank 2005): Collier-Hoeffler model, with case studies of: Burundi, D.R. Congo, Nigeria, Kenya, Mozambique, Sudan, Algeria, Senegal and Mali, Aceh, Lebanon, Russia, Colombia, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Macedonia, Caucasus.

Special Issue of *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:4 (August 2005) on “Primary Commodities and Civil War.”

Mark Duffield, “The Political Economy of Internal War: Asset Transfer, Complex Emergencies and International Aid,” in Joanna Macrae and Anthony Zwi, eds., *War and Hunger*: 50-69.

Barry Weingast, “Political stability and civil war: institutions, commitment and American democracy,” in Robert Bates, et al., eds., *Analytic Narratives*: 148-193.

(5) March 9 Classifications and “Causes,” Part II

Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War* (2013), chapters 2, 3, and 9: 11-53, 205-222.

Nicholas Sambanis and Moses Shayo, “Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict,” *American Political Science Review* 107:2 (May 2013): 294-325.

Rogers Brubaker, “Ethnicity without groups.” *Arch. Europ. Social.* 2 (2002): 163-189.

Morten Boas and Kevin C. Dunn, *Politics of Origin in Africa: Autochthony, citizenship and conflict* (Zed Books 2013), chs. 1-2 (1-33).

David Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds., *The International Management and Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton University Press 1998), chapter 1 (3-32).

Jack Snyder and Robert Jervis, “Civil War and the Security Dilemma,” in Barbara F. Walter and Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention* (Columbia University Press 1999): 15-37.

Stephen M. Saideman and Marie-Joelle Zahar, eds., *Intra-State Conflict, Governments and Security: Dilemmas of deterrence and assurance* (Routledge: 2008), chs. 1, 2, and 11 (1-32, 205-221); recommended further: chs. 3, 4 (33-71).

For *reference*: Manuel Vogt, et al., “Integrating Data on Ethnicity, Geography, and Conflict: The Ethnic Power Relations Data Set Family,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59: 7 (2015): 1327-1342.

Further Reading:

James D. Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97:1 (2003): 91-106.

Stathis Kalyvas, "Civil Wars," in Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (Oxford University Press 2007): 416-434.

Charles King, "The Micropolitics of Social Violence (A Review Essay)," *World Politics*, 56: 3 (April 2004): 431-455 (review of Beissinger and Varshney).

Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*

Roger Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge University Press 2002).

Russell Hardin, *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict*

Ted Robert Gurr, *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflicts*.

Ted Robert Gurr, "Peoples Against States: Ethnopolitical Conflict and the Changing World System," *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 3 (September 1994): 347-77.

Stuart J. Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War* (2001).

Barbara Walter, *Reputation and Civil War* (Cambridge University Press 2009).

Stathis Kalyvas, "Ethnic Defection in Civil Wars," *Comparative Political Studies* 41:8 (August 2008): 1043-68.

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*, 35:1 (Spring 1993): 27-47.

Rui J.P. de Figueiredo, Jr. and Barry R. Weingast, "The Rationality of Fear: Political Opportunism and Ethnic Conflict," in Walter and Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*: 261-302.

(6) March 16 Civil Wars as a Problem of Collective Action: Participation

Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (2003), chs 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and epilogue (I recommend chs. 2-3): 1-30, 87-265.

For the maps in color, go to <http://www.cambridge.org/us/features/wood> (click on the links to figures on the left hand margin)

Jocelyn Viterna, "Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army," *American Journal of Sociology* 112 (July 2006): 1-45.

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kocher, "How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem," *World Politics* 59 (January 2007): 177-216.

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52:2 (April 2008): 436-455.

Kristine Eck, "Coercion in Rebel Recruitment," *Security Studies* 23:2 (2014): 364-398.

Further Reading:

Paul Staniland, "Cities on Fire: Social Mobilization, State Policy, and Urban Insurgency," *Comparative Political Studies*, 43: 12 (December 2010): 1623-1649.

Jens Christopher Andvig and Scott Gates, "Recruiting Children for Armed Conflict," in Scott Gates and Simon Reich, eds., *Child Soldiers in the Age of Fractured States* (2009).

Christopher Blattman, "Causes of Child Soldiering: The Evidence from Northern Uganda," Working Paper, University of California, Berkeley, 2007.

Bernd Beber and Christopher Blattman, "The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion," *International organization* 67: 1 (2013): 67-104.

Kristine Eck, "Recruiting Rebels: Indoctrination and Political Education in Nepal," in Mahendra Lawoti and Anup Pahari, eds., *The Maoist Insurgency in Nepal: Dynamics and Growth in the 21st Century* (2009).

NB: no class on March 23 (Friday classes that day)

(7) March 30 Civil War Violence

Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*, introduction, chapters 4, 5, 7, 11, and conclusion (1-15, 87-145, 173-209, 364-392); take a look, at least, at chapters 6, 8, 9, 10 (146-172, 210-363).

Alex de Waal, "When Kleptocracy Becomes Insolvent: Brute Causes of the Civil War in South Sudan," *African Affairs* 113/452 (2014): 347-369.

Scott Straus, "Retreating from the Brink: Theorizing Mass Violence and the Dynamics of Restraint," *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2 (June 2012): 343-362.

Further reading:

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge University Press 2007), introduction, chs 1 and 8 (1-60, 299-326); highly recommended that you also read at least chs. 4-5 (127-197).

Ernesto Verdeja, "The Political Science of Genocide: Outlines of an Emerging Research Agenda," *Perspectives on Politics*, 10:2 (June 2012): 307-321.

Charles King, "Can There Be a Political Science of the Holocaust?" *Perspectives on Politics*, 10:2 (June 2012): 323-342.

Alex de Waal, "Mission without End? Peacekeeping in the African Political Marketplace," *International Affairs* 85: 1 (2009): 99-113.

Lee Ann Fujii, *Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda* (Cornell 2009).

Lee Ann Fujii, *Acts of Killing: The logic of violent display*, book ms. in progress; chapter 5, "Putting on a Show," available on the Politics and Protest website from Fall 2014: <http://politicsandprotest.ws.gc.cuny.edu/> or from me.

Erica Chenoweth and Adria Lawrence, eds., *Rethinking Violence: States and Non-State Actors in Conflict* (MIT Press 2010).

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kocher. "The Dynamics of

Violence in Vietnam: An Analysis of the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES),” *Journal of Peace Research* 46 (2009): 335-55.

Jason Lyall, “Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53:3 (2009): 331-62.

(8) April 6 The Organization of Insurgency

Paul Staniland, *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse* (Cornell 2014).

Scott Gates, “Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46:1 (2002): 111-30.

Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín, “Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War,” *Politics and Society* 36 (2008): 3-34.

Further Reading:

Dara Kay Cohen, “Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009),” *American Political Science Review*, 107:3 (August 2013): 461-477.

Kristin M. Bakke, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee J. M. Seymour, “A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars,” *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2 (June 2012): 265-283.

Jeannie Annan, Christopher Blattman, Dyan Mazurana, Khristopher Carlson, “Women and Girls at War: ‘Wives,’ Mothers and Fighters in the Lord’s Resistance Army,” Households in Conflict Network Working Paper 63. (<http://www.hicn.org/papers/wp63.pdf>)

Dirk Kruijt, *Guerrillas* (Zed Books 2008), chs. 2-3 (39-98).

Marianne Heiberg, Brendon O’Leary, and John Tirman, eds., *Terror, Insurgency, and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts* (University of Pennsylvania Press: 2007) – a study of 11 insurgent groups.

(9) April 13 The Dynamics of Civil War

Jayadeva Uyangoda, *Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka: Changing Dynamics* (Washington: East West Center 2007):

http://www.eastwestcenter.org/publications/search-for-publications/browse-alphabetic-list-of-titles/?class_call=view&pub_ID=2172&mode=view

Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*, ch. 8 (“The Duration and Outcome of Civil Wars”): 171-204.

Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson, “Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War,” *American Political Science Review* 107: 3 (2013): 418-32.

Fotini Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (2012), introduction, chs. 1, 2, 8, and conclusion (1-54, 213-246); the two case studies are Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina for those of you who wish to read further.

Laia Balcells and Stathis N. Kalyvas, “Does Warfare Matter? Severity, Duration, and Outcomes of Civil Wars,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 58: 8 (2014): 1390-1418.

David E. Cunningham, 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.

Joakim Kreutz, "How and When Armed Conflicts End: Introducing the UCDP Conflict Termination Dataset," *Journal of Peace Research* 47:2 (2010): 243-250.

Jeffrey T. Checkel, "The Social Dynamics of Civil War – Insights from Constructivist Theory," unpub. memo, February 2011.

David Keen, "Incentives and Disincentives for Violence," in Mats Berdal and David Malone, eds., *Greed and Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil War* (Lynne Rienner 2000), ch. 2 (19-41) (if you wish to read further, see his *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil War*, Adelphi Paper 320 [Oxford 1998].)

Further Reading:

David E. Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science*, 50:4 (October 2006): 875-92.

Paul Staniland, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Insurgent Fratricide, Ethnic Defection, and the Rise of Pro-State Paramilitaries," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 56:1 (February 2012): 16-40.

James D. Fearon, "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41:3 (2004): 275-301.

Charles Call, *Why Peace Fails: The Causes and Prevention of Civil War Recurrence* (Georgetown University Press 2012).

Idean Salehyan and Kristian S. Gleditsch, "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War," *International Organization* 60:2 (Spring 2006): 335-66.

Sharon E. Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State* (California 1996), Prologue (1-20) and Ch. 3, "Guns, Warfare, and the State" (103-157).

(10) April 20 Wartime Institutions and Political Order

Paul Staniland, "States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders," *Perspectives on Politics* 10:2 (June 2012): 243-264.

Ana Arjona, "Wartime Institutions: a Research Agenda," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 58: 8 (2014): 1360-1389.

Mao Tse-tung, translated by Samuel B. Griffith II, "Organization for Guerrilla Warfare, The Political Problems of Guerrilla Warfare, and Appendix," from *On Guerrilla Warfare* (Illinois University Press 2000): 95-113.

Zachariah Cherian Mampilly, *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life During War* (Cornell 2011), chs. 1, 2, and 7 (1-47, 209-230).

Further Reading:

Marie-Joelle Zahar, *Fanatics, Brigands, Mercenaries . . . and Politicians: Militia Decision-Making and Civil Conflict Resolution* (PhD dissertation, Political Science, McGill University).

Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir and Zachariah Mampilly, eds., *Rebel Governance in Civil War* (Cambridge University Press 2014).

NB: No class on April 27 (spring recess)

(11) May 4 Counterinsurgency, Militias

Nicholas Sambanis, Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl, and Moses Shayo, "Parochialism as a Central Challenge in Counterinsurgency," *Science* 336 (May 18, 2012): 805-8. (references and data are at www.sciencemag.org/cgi/content/full/336/6083/805/DC1).

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Aziz Hakimi, "Getting savages to fight barbarians: counterinsurgency and the remaking of Afghanistan," *Central Asian Survey* 32: 3 (2013): 388-405.

Jason Lyall, "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War," *American Political Science Review* 104: 1 (2010): 1-20.

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Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, III, "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization*: 63:1 (Winter 2009): 67-106.

Jessica Stanton, "Regulating Militias: Governments, Paramilitaries, and Civilian Targeting in Civil War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59: 5 (2015): 899-923.

Reed M. Wood, "Rebel Capability and Strategic Violence against Civilians," *Journal of Peace Research* 47:5 (2010): 601-614.

Anthony King, "Understanding the Helmand campaign: British military operations in Afghanistan," *International Affairs* 86:2 (2010): 311-332.

Jerry Meyerle, Megan Katt, and Jim Gavrilis, *Counterinsurgency on the ground in Afghanistan: how different units adapted to local conditions* (CNA Analysis and Solutions November 2010).

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(12) May 11 What role outsiders? the IFIs, donors, US military, intervenors

Burcu Savun and Daniel C. Tirone, "Exogenous Shocks, Foreign Aid, and Civil War," *International Organization* 66:3 (July 2012): 363-393.

Caroline Hartzell and Mathew Hoddie, with Molly Bauer, "Economic Liberalization via IMF Structural Adjustment: Sowing the Seeds of Civil War?" *International Organization* 64 (2010): 339-356.

Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (Kumarian: 1998), chs. 1, 7, and 11 (pp. 1-10, 141-169, 224-238); please read further (e.g., chs. 3, 5 and entire book if you can).

Syria and the Islamic State, POMEPS Briefings 25 (October 1, 2014): 17-23 (Lynch, "Would arming Syria's rebels have stopped the Islamic State?" Beehner, "What

the evidence on interventions really tells us about Syria,” and Schulhofer-Wohl, “How the U.S. fragmented Syria’s rebels”) and 28-29 (Kristin Bakke, “Foreign fighters don’t always help”)

Oeindrila Dube and Suresh Naidu, “Bases, Billets, and Ballots: The Effect of U.S. Military Aid on Political Conflict in Colombia,” Working Paper 197 (Washington: Center for Global Development, January 2010):

www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/1423498

David Keen, “Aid and Violence” and “Emergency Aid as a Welfare Intervention: Some Deficiencies,” chs. 9-10 in *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*, pp. 160-92.

Patrick M. Regan, “Third Party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (2002): 55-74.

Stathis N. Kalyvas and Laia Balcells, “International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict,” *American Political Science Review*, 104: 3 (August 2010): 415-429.

Further Reading:

Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Brookings: 2005), chs. 3-5 (pp. 47-145).

Philip Münch, “Local Afghan Power Structures and the International Military Intervention: a review of developments in Badakshan and Kunduz provinces” (Afghanistan Analysts Network: Thematic Report 03/2013)

Ann Hironaka, *Never Ending Wars: The International Community, weak States, and the Perpetuation of Civil War* (Harvard University Press: 2005).

N. Nunn and N. Qian, “U.S. Food Aid and Civil War,” National Bureau for Economic Research (NBER) Working Paper 17794 (January 2012).

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M. Rowan Abouharb and David L. Cingranelli, *Human Rights and Structural Adjustment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2008).

Bethany Lacina, “Explaining the Severity of Civil Wars,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 50:2 (April 2006): 276-289.

Regine Andersen, “How multilateral development assistance triggered the conflict in Rwanda,” *Third World Quarterly* 21:3 (2000): 441-456.

Francesca Bonino and Antonio Donini, “Aid and Violence: Development Policies and Conflict in Nepal,” Background Report, Feinstein International Center (June 2009) (available online: fic.tufts.edu).

Alex Veit, *Intervention as Indirect Rule: the politics of civil war and statebuilding in Ituri* (Campus-Verlag: 2011).

May 18 Discussion of Research Papers and Findings (individual reports)

May 25 **Final Research Paper Due**

Case Studies: Reading suggestions (slightly idiosyncratic) to get started

Afghanistan

Go onto the Chr. Michelsen Institute website and read their publications on Afghanistan (www.cmi.no), including everything by Astri Suhrke

Barnett Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System* (Yale: 2002)

Olivier Roy, *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan* (Cambridge University Press 1986)

Antonio Giustozzi, *Empires of Mud: War and Warlords of Afghanistan* (Columbia University Press 2009).

Antonio Giustozzi, *Koran, Kalashnikov and Laptop: The Neo-Taliban Insurgency in Afghanistan* (Oxford U.P. 2009).

Antonio Giustozzi, "Afghanistan: Transition without End," Crisis States Research Center (CSRC) Working Paper (WP) 40 (November 2008); (available at: www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/Publications/phase2papers.aspx)

Antonio Giustozzi (2011), "Double-edged Swords: Armies, Elite Bargaining and State-Building (February), Crisis States Research Centre, Working Paper 86 (Series 2). www2.lse.ac.uk/internationalDevelopment/research/crisisStates/Publications/phase2papers.aspx

Dipali Mukhopadhyay, *Warlords, Strongmen Governors, and State Building in Afghanistan* (Cambridge University Press 2014).

Algeria

William Quandt, *Between Ballots and Bullets: Algeria's Transition from Authoritarianism* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Press, 1998).

Roman Hagelstein, "Where and When Does Violence Pay Off? The Algerian Civil War," HiCN Working Paper 43 (<http://www.hicn.org/papers/wp43.pdf>)

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Commitment Problems in Emerging Democracies: The Case of Religious Parties," *Comparative Politics* 32:4 (2000): 379-98.

Miriam R. Lowi, "Algeria, 1992-2002: Anatomy of a Civil War," in Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War*, vol. 1: 221-246.

Angola

Christopher Cramer, *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries* (Hurst 2006), chapter 4.

Philippe Le Billon, "Resource Wealth and Angola's Uncivil Wars," in Arnson and Zartman, eds., *Rethinking the Economics of War*, ch. 5 (pp. 107-139).

Burma/Myanmar

Mary Callahan, *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma* (Cornell University Press 2003).

Burundi

F. Ngaruko and J.D. Nkurunziza, J. D. (2005). "War and its duration in Burundi." in P. Collier and N. Sambanis, eds, *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*, Volume 1: Africa (Washington, D. C.: World Bank, 2005): 35-62.

Peter Uvin, *Life after Violence: A People's Story of Burundi* (Zed: 2009).

Colombia

Ana M. Arjona and Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Preliminary Results of a Survey of Demobilized Combatants in Colombia," May 2006, on Kalyvas' website at Yale.

Fabio Sanchez and Mario Chacon, "Conflict, State and Decentralisation: From Social progress to an Armed Dispute for Local Control, 1974-2002," May 2005, on Households in Conflict website: <http://www.hicn.org/papers>, January 2006.

Jorge Restrepo, Michael Spagat, and Juan Fernando Vargas, "The Dynamics of the Colombian Civil Conflict: A New Data Set," *Homo Oeconomicus* 21:2 (2004): 396-428.

Congo, Democratic Republic of (formerly Zaire)

Thomas Turner, *Congo Wars; Conflict, Myth, Reality* (Zed: 2007).

Severine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (Cambridge University Press: 2010).

El Salvador

William Stanley, *The Protection Racket State: Elite Politics, Military Extortion and Civil War in El Salvador* (Temple University Press 1996).

Dirk Kruijt, *Guerrillas* (Zed Books 2008).

Alberto Martin Alvarez, "From Revolutionary War to Democratic Revolution: The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador," *Berghof Transitions Series 9: Resistance/Liberation Movements and Transition to Politics* (2010)

Côte d'Ivoire

Michael McGovern, *Making War in Cote d'Ivoire* (University of Chicago Press 2011).

Till Foster, "Maintenant on sait qui est qui: Statehood and Political Reconfiguration in Northern Côte d'Ivoire," in Tobias Hagmann and Didier Picard, *Negotiating Statehood: Dynamics of Power and Domination in Africa* (Wiley 2011), but also published originally in *Development and Change* 41:4 (July 2010).

Georgia/Abkhazia/South Ossetia

Svante E. Cornell, "Autonomy as a Source of Conflict," *World Politics* 54 (January 2002): 245-276.

Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *World Politics* 53 (July 2001): 524-552.

Haiti (civil war?)

Alex Dupuy, *The Prophet and Power: Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the International Community, and Haiti* (Rowman and Littlefield: 2007).

Robert Fatton, jr. *The Roots of Haitian Despotism* (Lynne Rienner: 2007).

Peter Hallward, *Damming the Flood: Haiti, Aristide, and the Politics of Containment* (Verso: 2007).

India (northeast and Kashmir)

Jaideep Saikia, ed., *Frontier in Flames: Northeast India in Turmoil* (Penguin Viking 2007).

Namrata Goswami, analyses on the website of the Institute for Defence and Security Analysis (New Delhi).

Sumantra Bose, *Kashmir: Roots of Conflict, Paths to Peace* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, *Inside the Politics of Self-Determination* (Oxford University Press 2014).

Korea

Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War*, 2 vols. (Princeton University Press: 1981 and 1990).

or: Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (Modern Library 2011).

Lebanon

Fawwaz Trahboulsi, *The History of Lebanon* (Pluto 2007): chs. 10-13 and postscript.

Samir Khalaf, *Civil and Uncivil Violence in Lebanon: A History of the Internationalization of Communal Conflict* (Columbia University Press: 2002).

Samir Makdisi and Richard Sadaka, "The Lebanese Civil War, 1975-90," in Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War*, vol. 2: 59-86.

Elizabeth Picard, "Trafficking, Rents, and Diaspora in the Lebanese War," in C. Arnson and I. W. Zartman, eds., *Rethinking the Economics of War*, ch. 2 (23-51).

Liberia

Stephen Ellis, *The Mask of Anarchy: the destruction of Liberia and the religious dimension of an African civil war* (New York University Press, 1999).

Charles S. Johnson, *Bitter Canaan: The Story of the Negro Republic* (Transaction Publishers 1987; second edition 2000).

R. Anders Nilsson, *Dangerous Liaisons: Why Ex-Combatants Return to Violence: cases from the Republic of Congo and Sierra Leone* (Uppsala University 2008).

Mozambique

M. Chingono, *The State, Violence and Development: The Political Economy of War in Mozambique, 1975-1992* (Aldershot 1996).

Jeremy Weinstein and Laudemiro Francisco, "The Civil War in Mozambique: The Balance Between Internal and External Influences," in Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War*, vol. 1: 35-62.

Nepal

Arjun Karki and Binod Bhattarai, eds., *Whose War? Economic and Socio-cultural Impacts of Nepal's Maoist-Government Conflict* (NGO Federation of Nepal 2003).

Arjun Karki and David Seddon, eds., *The People's War in Nepal: Left Perspectives* (Delhi: Adroit, 2003).

Chaitanya Mishra, "Locating the 'Causes' of the Maoist Struggle," in *Essays on the Sociology of Nepal* (FinePrint: 2007).

Deepak Thapa with Bandita Sijapati, *A Kingdom under Siege: Nepal's Maoist Insurgency, 1996-2004* (Zed: 2003).

Deepak Thapa, ed., *Understanding the Maoist Movement of Nepal* (Chautari Books: 2003).

Russia (Northern Caucasus)

Anatol Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power*.

Charles King and Rajan Menon, "Prisoners of the Caucasus," *Foreign Affairs* 89:4 (July/August 2010): 20-34.

Christoph Zürcher, Pavel Baev, and Jan Koehler, "Civil Wars in the Caucasus," in Paul Collier and Nicholas Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War*, vol. 2: 259-298.

Rwanda

Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Pubs., 1999).

Lee Ann Fujii, *Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda* (Cornell 2009).

Bruce Jones, *Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure* (Rienner 2001).

Scott Strauss, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Cornell 2006).

Alison des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story: Genocide in Rwanda* (Human Rights Watch 1999).

Senegal

Macartan Humphreys and Habaye ag Mohamed, "Senegal and Mali," in Collier and Sambanis, eds., *Understanding Civil War*, vol. 1: 247-302.

Sierra Leone

David Keen, *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone*

Paul Richards, *Fighting for the Rain Forest: War, Youth, and Resources in Sierra Leone* (The International African Institute in association with James Currey and Heineman 1996).

Myriam Denov, *Child Soldiers: Sierra Leone's Revolutionary United Front* (Cambridge University Press 2010).

Somalia

Branwen Gruffydd Jones, "The global political economy of social crisis: Towards a critique of the 'failed state' ideology," *Review of International Political Economy* 15:2 (May 2008): 180-205.

Kenneth Menkhaus, *Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism* (2006)

Terrence Lyons and Ahmed I. Samatar, *Somalia: State Collapse, Multilateral Intervention, and Strategies for Political Reconstruction*, Brookings Occasional Papers (Brookings 1995)

Mary Harper, *Getting Somalia Wrong? Faith, War and Hope in a Shattered State* (Zed Books 2012).

David Laitin, "Somalia: Civil War and International Intervention," in B. Walter and J. Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insecurity, and Intervention*: 146-180.

Spain

Stanley Payne, *The Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge University Press 2012).

Sri Lanka

Jayadeva Uyangoda, as assigned above (and everything else by him)

Jonathan Spencer, "On Not Becoming a 'Terrorist': Problems of Memory, Agency, and Community in the Sri Lankan Conflict," in Veena Das, et al., eds., *Violence and Subjectivity*: 120-140.

Sudan

Francis Deng, *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in Sudan* (Brookings 1995)

Alex de Waal, "Who are the Darfurians? Arab and African Identities, Violence and External Engagement," SSRC paper

Sharon E. Hutchinson, *Nuer Dilemmas: Coping with Money, War, and the State* (University of California Press 1996).

Gunnar Sorbo, www.cmi.no

Timor Leste (actually, an independence struggle; perhaps the violence in 2006?)

Ben Moxham, *State-Making and the Post-Conflict City: Integration in Dili, Disintegration in Timor-Leste*, Working Paper 32, Cities and Fragile States Series, Crisis States Research Centre, Development Studies Institute (DESTIN), London School of Economics and Political Science, February 2008.

Yugoslavia

Steven L. Burg and Paul Shoup, *The War in Bosnia-Herzegovina: Ethnic Conflict and International Intervention* (M.E.Sharpe: 1999).

Susan L. Woodward, *Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War* (Brookings 1995).

Countries with armed conflict/civil war since 1990

| | |
|---|---|
| Afghanistan | Moldova (Transnistria) |
| Albania | Mozambique |
| Algeria | Nepal |
| Angola | Nicaragua |
| Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabakh) | Liberia |
| Bangladesh | Macedonia |
| Burma/Myanmar | Mali |
| Burundi | Mexico (Chiapas) |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | Niger |
| Cambodia | Northern Ireland |
| Central African Republic | Pakistan |
| Chad | Papua New Guinea |
| Colombia | Peru |
| Congo\Brazzaville | Philippines |
| D.R. Congo (Zaire) | Russia (Chechnya; north Caucasus) |
| Côte d'Ivoire | Rwanda |
| Croatia (Prevlaka; Krajina; Eastern Slavonia) | Senegal |
| Djibouti | Sierra Leone |
| East Timor/Timor L'este | Solomon Islands |
| Ethiopia | Somalia |
| Ethiopia\Eritrea | South Africa |
| El Salvador | Spain (Basque country) |
| Fiji | Sri Lanka |
| Georgia (Abkhazia; South Ossetia) | Sudan (North/South; Darfur; East) |
| Guatemala | Syria |
| Guinea | Tajikistan |
| Guinea-Bissau | Turkey (Kurdish southeast) |
| Haiti | Uganda (north) |
| Indonesia (Papua; Aceh; Moluccas) | Ukraine (Crimea; eastern Ukraine) |
| India (Kashmir; Assam) | United Kingdom (Northern Ireland) |
| Iran | Uzbekistan |
| Iraq (Kurds; Shiites; post-US invasion) | Western Sahara |
| Israel\Palestine | Yemen |
| Kenya | Yugoslav succession (Slovenia; Croatia; Bosnia-Herzegovina; Kosovo) |
| Lebanon | |