MOBILIZATION OF PEOPLE FOR ARMED CONFLICT

Political Science Department
University of Toronto

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Course #: POL466H1F
Term: Fall 2010
Day: Thursday
Time: 10:00-12:00
Location: UC, Room 44

COURSE DESCRIPTION

For an effective mobilization of combat force, a (non-state) armed group must acquire manpower, weapons, and the ability to command its fighters. The first of these three requirements – the mobilization of people for armed conflict – is one of the most fascinating and controversial issues in the International Relations literature on conflict studies, as well as in anthropology, psychology and history. Why do some people risk their lives and join (para-)military organizations whereas others do not? Why do some armed groups attract large numbers of people while others scramble for recruits? Why do some insurgencies use ideological incentives to mobilize people but others resort to material rewards? This course will first examine theories of recruitment and organization in the context of military struggle. We will then look at the existing macro and micro empirical evidence (case studies, cross-country and cross-group analysis, as well as surveys of ex-combatants) that supports or undermines existing theoretical claims.

COURSE READINGS

The reading load for this course is relatively extensive. You are not required to read every word of the class material. Use your time strategically and try to comprehend the main points of all the readings as well as similarities and contrasts between the arguments made by different authors. Readings listed in the syllabus will form the basis of class discussions and debates. You are expected to come to class having absorbed the basic substance of the background literature and prepared to raise questions about the required readings. You are also required to have one critique and one supportive claim for each reading.

COURSE WEBSITE

The course website on **Blackboard** is accessible through: https://portal.utoronto.ca. The Blackboard site will be used to post additional course materials, such as case studies, datasets, and further readings. Posting of such materials will be announced in class or via e-mail.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Grading: Your final letter grade is based on a 100 point scale with the following weights:

Task	Weight	Due date
Assignment 1	10%	To be determined
Assignment 2	30%	October 28, 2010
Participation	20%	
Writing Project	40%	December 2, 2010

Assignment 1 (10 points): Each undergraduate student will be required to contribute to one lecture on the topic of her/his choice by bringing one newspaper and one academic article that supports or undermines the arguments of the authors from the required readings. The student's summary of these should take about 10 minutes.

Assignment 2 (30 points): On October 7, each student will pick/be assigned three readings: a book, a macro study article and a micro study article. By October 28, students will be expected to write (and possibly present) a critical review of those materials, in which they are to apply and evaluate the validity of recruitment theories studied by that day in our course. The review should be about 5-10 pages long.

Participation (20 points): It is critical that you attend all sessions of the class and that you arrive on time, due to the interactive nature of the course. Class meetings will consist of short lectures, discussions of the readings, small-group exercises, and role-playing games. Engaged participation is essential both to your ability to absorb the information and to the effective functioning of the classroom environment. Each student has the obligation both to participate and to facilitate the participation of others. Different students will be called on during each class to provide a verbal analysis of the readings to the class in order to get discussion started. On any given day, be prepared to fulfill this role.

Final Research Paper (40 points). You will write a final paper (20-30 pages in length) presenting original research on one of the key themes discussed in the seminar, or on another related aspect of civil war agreed on in advance with the instructor. The final paper should contain a research question, literature review, your theoretical argument, and a proof of that argument. A proof can be based either on justified agreement with one side of the literature, or some minimal empirical test based on qualitative analysis of cases. More details on the paper writing strategy will be provided by the instructor during the lectures. For additional information on how to craft a scholarly argument, see Teresa Pelton Johnson, "Writing for International Security: A Contributor's Guide," *International Security* 16(2) (1991), pp: 171-180: http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/156/writing_for_international_security.html

Plagiarism will not be tolerated on any written assignment. Plagiarism means attempting to pass off someone else's research or writing as your own. It is very easy to catch, so don't risk your grade or your academic reputation. To avoid any unintentional instance of plagiarizing you may familiarize yourself with the guidelines offered by the University of Toronto writing center available at: www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources. Each piece of written work submitted for the class should also be uploaded to www.turnitin.com. The login and password details for this course on Turnitin.com are: class ID: 3495968; password: POL2207.

Students agree that by taking this course all required papers will be subject to submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

ACCESSIBILITY NEEDS

The U of T is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please visit http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility as soon as possible.

PART 1. Introductory

September 16: Introduction

September 23: Definitions and Concepts of Civil Wars

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 75-90.

Charles Tilly. 2002. "Violence, Terror, and Politics as Usual." *Boston Review,* Summer: 21-4.

Stathis Kalyvas, "New' and 'Old' Civil Wars. A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54, Oct 2001, 99-118.

Sammy Smooha and Theodor Hanf. 1992. "The Diverse Modes of Conflict-Regulation in Deeply Divided Societies," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 33: 26-47.

September 30: Civil War Onset

Puzzles and Research Questions are Due in Class

James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, Jeremy Weinstein, et al., "Is Ethnic Conflict Inevitable? Parting Ways Over Nationalism and Separatism," *Foreign Affairs* 87.4 (Jul-Aug 2008), pp. 138-151(13)

Rogers Brubaker and David Laitin, "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 423-452.

Mark Lichbach, "Contending Theories of Contentious Politics and the Structure-Action Problem of Social Order," *Annual Review of Political Science* (1998).

Paul Collier, Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56: 663-95

PART 2. Recruitment Empirics and Theories

October 7: Empirical Analysis of Recruitment I

Macartan Humphreys, Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 2, April 2008, pp. 436–455.

Ana M. Arjona, Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Rebelling Against Rebellion: Comparing Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Recruitment," CRISE (Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, Oxford Department of International Development) Working Paper, May 2008

Hegre, Håvard; Gudrun Østby & Clionadh Raleigh, Economic Deprivation and Civil War Events: A Disaggregated Study of Liberia," presented at the 48th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago, IL, 28 February–3 March, 2007

Roger Petersen, "Postwar Lithuania," Ch. 6 (pp. 170-204) in Roger Petersen, *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2001) (this book is available in the electronic format at the U of T library)

October 14: Theories of Recruitment I (Incentives)

Bibliographies and Existing Explanations are Due in Class

Scott Gates, "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (2002): 111-130.

Steven Levitt and Sudhir Venkatesh, "An Economic Analysis of a Drug-Selling Gang's Finances," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115 (August 2000): 755-789.

Mark Lichbach, "What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary: Dilemma, Paradox, and Irony in Peasant Rebellion," *World Politics* 46.3 (1994): 383-418.

Russell Hardin, *One for All: The Logic of Group Conflict* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1995), Ch. 6 "Violent Conflicts"

October 21: Theories of Recruitment II (Relative Deprivation, Values, Norms, Indoctrination)

Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), 1-skim; 2-3 (more carefully), 4-5 (skim), 6-7 (more carefully)

(electronic book) Roger Petersen, *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Ch. 1, "Introduction," pp. 1-31 (skim); Ch. 2, "Mechanisms and Process," pp. 32-79 (read more carefully)

October 28: Empirical Analysis of Recruitment II

Student Presentations: Testing Recruitment Theories

PART 3: Topics

November 4: Recruitment of Children

Hypotheses and Methodologies are Due in Class

Jens Christopher Andvig, Scott Gates, "Recruiting Children for Armed Conflict," Working Paper, 2007

Bernd Beber and Christopher Blattman, "The Industrial Organization of Rebellion: The Logic of Forced Labor and Child Soldiering," Working Paper, October 2008

International Labor Office (ILO), *Wounded Childhood: The Use of Children in Armed Conflict in Central Africa* (Geneva: ILO, 2003)

Krijn Peters, *Re-Examining Voluntarism: Youth Combatants in Sierra Leone* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2004), pp. 1-31, at http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Monographs/No100/Contents.html

Professor Achvarina will present her research on child soldiers

November 11: Recruitment for Terrorist Movements

Thomas Hegghammer, "Terrorist Recruitment and Radicalization in Saudi Arabia," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, Winter 2006

Frances Stewart, "A Global View of Horizontal Inequalities: Inequalities Experienced by Muslims Worldwide," MICROCON Research Working Paper 13, June 2009

Ami Pedahzur, Leonard Weinberg, and Arie Perliger, "Altruism and Fatalism: The Characteristics of Palestinian Suicide Terrorists," *Deviant Behaviour*, Vol. 24, Issue 4, (2003)

Ethan Bueno de Mesquita, "The Quality of Terror," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 49, No. 3, July 2005, pp. 515-530

PART 4: Organizational Theories and Empirics

November 18: Organizational Theories and Empirics I

Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), Chs. 1-4

Yvan Guichaoua1, "Circumstantial Alliances and Loose Loyalties in Rebellion Making: The Case of Tuareg Insurgency in Northern Niger (2007-2009)," MICROCON Research Working Paper 20, December 2009

Kyle Beardsley, Brian McQuinn, "Rebel Groups as Predatory Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 53, No. 4, 624-645 (2009)

November 25: Presentations

Student will present their research papers

December 2: Organizational Theories and Empirics II

Research Papers Due in Class and in Turnitin.com

Abdul Kader Sinno, *Organizations at War in Afghanistan and Beyond* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca and London, 2008), Chs. 1-4

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Ethnic Defection in Civil War," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 8, (2008), pp. 1043-1068

Claire Metelits, "The Logic of Change: Pushing the Boundaries of Insurgent Behavior Theory," *Defense & Security Analysis*, 25: 2, 2009, pp. 105-118