

# **POL487H1S / 2206H1S: Civil War and Counterinsurgency**

Department of Political Science  
University of Toronto

Term: Spring 2018  
Time: Wednesdays, 10:00-12:00  
Room: Sid Smith 581  
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 12:00-2:00 or by appt.

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## **Course Overview**

This course provides a general overview on the origins, dynamics, and outcomes of civil war and counterinsurgency. It aims to provide a theoretical and empirical foundation for understanding these forms of conflict, the logic of their violence, and the determinants of their duration and outcomes. An additional objective of the course is to consider questions of definition, empirical strategy, and methodology relevant to conducting rigorous research on these topics.

The course is organized in three parts. The first reviews the general concept of civil war and provides an overview of various theoretical approaches to understanding it. We will consider arguments concerning identity and ethnic conflict, the political economy of violence, and rationalist explanations for war. The second part of the course examines the dynamics of insurgency and counterinsurgency, including recruitment and rebel alliances, combatant strategies, third-party intervention, and other international dimensions. The final section considers the outcomes and aftermaths of civil war, including the determinants of conflict duration and the challenges of post-conflict peacekeeping and statebuilding.

## **Prerequisites**

This course is open to graduate and advanced undergraduate students with previous training in international relations, security studies, and/or comparative politics. Familiarity with quantitative methods is strongly recommended, as many of the assigned readings employ statistics, formal methods, or other quantitative approaches.

## **Assessment**

The course will be run as a seminar and students will be expected to have completed all required readings prior to class. Assessment in the course will be based on the following criteria:

**Participation in class discussion (20%):** student-led discussion is critical to the success of a seminar course. To those ends, students will be assessed on their attendance, their level of participation, and their degree of preparation for class discussions.

**Critical response papers based on assigned readings (15% x 2 = 30%):** two 5-page, double-spaced papers that critically engage with the required readings. Note that these papers should not be summaries of the week's assigned readings; rather, they should develop theoretical, empirical, or methodological critiques of one or more articles and/or highlight new directions for future research on the week's topic. Students will be assigned weeks during the first class, with the

expectation that they will review one week during Part 1 of the course, and one week during Part 2 of the course. Papers must be submitted via email *before midnight the day prior to class* for each week that is reviewed.

**Major research paper (50%):** a maximum 25 page, double-spaced paper that addresses a major question in the study of civil war or counterinsurgency. The paper should be written in the form of a first draft of a paper intended for publication, meaning it should include a brief literature review, a theoretical argument, and an empirical test of the theory. Paper topics must be approved in advance; a one-page proposal will be due prior to class on week 6 (14 February). The final papers will be due in hard copy before the beginning of class on week 12 (4 April).

## **Policies**

**Late or missed papers:** Late papers will be penalized 10% per calendar day, excepting only extraordinary personal emergencies. If you find yourself in such a situation, please email me *as soon as possible* to inform me. Substantiating documentation will be required and must be submitted within one week of the missed due date. Note that assignments or tests from other courses scheduled for the same day do not constitute acceptable reasons—please plan accordingly. In the absence of substantiating documentation, late or missed assignments will receive a mark of zero.

**Accessibility:** The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accessibility accommodations of any kind, please contact Accessibility Services at [accessibility.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:accessibility.services@utoronto.ca) as soon as possible.

**Academic Honesty:** Plagiarism is a major academic offense and will be treated accordingly. Students are required to familiarize themselves with and conform to the University of Toronto's policies on Academic Honesty, available at <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/newstudents/transition/academic/plagiarism>. In addition, students should consult Margaret Proctor's guide on "How Not to Plagiarize," available at <http://advice.writing.utoronto.ca/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

## **Readings**

Blackboard will be used to manage the course and readings. To access Blackboard you must have an active University of Toronto email address. All readings and other course information can be accessed at the following link: [portal.utoronto.ca](http://portal.utoronto.ca)

## **PART I: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS**

### **Week 1 (10 January): Organizational Session and Preview of the Course**

*No readings.*

### **Week 2 (17 January): Concepts and Overview**

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

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

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

Pettersson, Therése; Peter Wallensteen. 2015. "Armed Conflicts, 1946-2014," *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (4): 536-550.

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press): chapters 1, 2, and 3.

Hegre, Håvard; Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50 (4): 508-535.

Anderson, Noel; Alec Worsnop. *Forthcoming*. "Fatality Thresholds, Causal Heterogeneity, and Civil War Research: Reconsidering the Link Between Narcotics and Conflict," *Political Science Research and Methods*.

### **Week 3 (24 January): Identity and Ethnic Conflict**

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

Petersen, Roger. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press): chapter 2.

Cederman, Lars-Erik; Andreas Wimmer; Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis," *World Politics* 62 (1): 87-119.

Fearon, James; David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, 97 (1): 75-90.

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Mueller, John. 2000. "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'," *International Security* 25 (1): 42-70.

Fearon, James; David Latin. 2000. "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54 (4): 845-877.

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars," *International Security* 20 (4): 136-175.

### **Week 4 (31 January): The Political Economy of Violence**

Collier, Paul; Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4): 563-595.

Rubin, Barnett. 2000. "The Political Economy of War and Peace in Afghanistan," *World Development* 28 (10): 1789-1803.

Ahmad, Aisha. 2015. "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War

Somalia," *International Security* 39 (3): 89-117.

Berman, Eli; Joseph Felter; Jacob Shapiro. 2011. "Do Working Men Rebel? Insurgency and Unemployment in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Philippines," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55 (4): 496-528.

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Ross, Michael. 2004. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases," *International Organization* 58 (1): 35-67.

Angrist, Joshua; Adriana Kugler. 2008. "Rural Windfall or a New Resource Curse? Coca, Income, and Civil Conflict in Colombia," *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 90 (2):191-215.

Bazzi, Samuel; Christopher Blattman. 2014. "Economic Shocks and Conflict: Evidence from Commodity Prices ," *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* 6 (4): 1-38.

### **Week 5 (7 February): Rationalist Explanations and the Bargaining Model of War**

Fearon, James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49 (3): 379-414.

Reiter, Dan. 2003. "Exploring the Bargaining Model of War," *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (1): 27-43.

Powell, Robert. 2004. "Bargaining and Learning While Fighting," *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (2): 344-361.

Walter, Barbara. 2009. "Bargaining Failures and Civil War," *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (1): 243-261.

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Slantchev, Branislav. 2003. "The Power to Hurt: Costly Conflict with Completely Informed States," *American Political Science Review* 97 (1): 123-133.

Toft, Monica. 2006. "Issue Divisibility and Time Horizons as Rationalist Explanations for War," *Security Studies* 15 (1): 34-69.

Cunningham, Kathleen. 2013. "Actor Fragmentation and Civil War Bargaining: How Internal Divisions Generate Civil Conflict" *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (3): 659-672.

## **PART II: DYNAMICS OF INSURGENCY AND COUNTERINSURGENCY**

### **Week 6 (14 February): Recruitment, Support, and Rebel Alliances**

Kalyvas, Stathis; Matthew Kocher. 2007. "How "Free" Is Freeriding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem," *World Politics* 59 (2): 177-216.

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

Lyall, Jason; Graeme Blair; Kosuke Imai. 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants during

Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan," *American Political Science Review* 107 (4): 679-705.

Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press): chapter 2.

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Gates, Scott. 2002. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1): 111-130.

Weinstein, Jeremy. 2005. "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (4): 598-624.

Thomas, Jakana; Kanisha Bond. 2012. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations," *American Political Science Review* 109 (3): 488-506.

### **Week 7 (28 February): Insurgent Violence**

Arreguín-Toft, Ivan. 2001. "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26 (1): 93-128.

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press): chapter 7.

Toft, Monica; Yuri Zhukov. 2015. "Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counterinsurgency in Russia's North Caucasus," *American Political Science Review* 109 (2): 222-238.

Worsnop, Alec. 2017. "Who Can Keep the Peace? Insurgent Organizational Control of Collective Violence," *Security Studies* 26 (3): 482-516.

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Humphreys, Macartan; Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 100 (3): 429-447.

Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2): 291-313.

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

### **Week 8 (7 March): Counterinsurgent Strategies**

Biddle, Stephen; Stathis Kalyvas; Wendy Brown; Douglas Ollivant. 2008. "Review Symposium: The New U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual as Political Science and Political Praxis," *Perspectives on Politics* 6 (2): 347-360.

Byman, Daniel. "'Death Solves All Problems': The Authoritarian Model of Counterinsurgency," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39 (1): 62-93.

Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Repression Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53 (3): 331-362.

Biddle, Stephen; Jeffrey Friedman; Jacob Shapiro. 2012. "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* 37 (1): 7-40.

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Long, Austin. 2006. *On Other War: Lessons from Five Decades of RAND Counterinsurgency Research* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND): chapter 4.

Downes, Alexander. 2007. "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy," *Civil Wars* 9 (4): 420-444.

Kocher, Matthew; Thomas Pepinsky; Stathis Kalyvas. 2011. "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War," *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2): 201-218.

### **Week 9 (14 March): Third-Party Intervention**

Walter, Barbara. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51 (3): 335-364.

Luttwak, Edward. 1999. "Give War a Chance," *Foreign Affairs* 78 (4): 36-44.

Regan, Patrick. 2002. "Third-party Interventions and the Duration of Intrastate Conflicts," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (1): 55-73.

Salehyan, Idean; Kristian Gleditsch; David Cunningham. 2011. "Explaining External Support for Insurgent Groups," *International Organization* 65 (4): 709-744.

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Betts, Richard. 1994. "The Delusion of Impartial Intervention," *Foreign Affairs* 73 (6): 20-33.

Balch-Lindsay, Dylan; Andrew Enterline. 2000. "Killing Time: The World Politics of Civil War Duration, 1820-1992," *International Studies Quarterly* 44 (4): 615-642.

Pape, Robert. 2012. "When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention," *International Security* 37 (1): 41-80.

### **Week 10 (21 March): Spillovers and Other International Dimensions**

Salehyan, Idean; Kristian Gleditsch. 2006. "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War," *International Organization* 60 (2): 335-366.

Kathman, Jacob. 2010. "Civil War Contagion and Neighboring Interventions," *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (4): 989-1012.

Gleditsch, Kristian; Idean Salehyan; Kenneth Schultz. 2008. "Fighting at Home, Fighting Abroad: How Civil Wars Lead to International Disputes," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52 (4): 479-506.

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

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Posen, Barry. 1996. "Military Responses to Refugee Disasters," *International Security* 21 (1): 72-111.

Salehyan, Idean. 2010. "The Delegation of War to Rebel Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54 (3): 493-515.

Burke, Marshall; Edward Miguel; Shanker Satyanath; John Dykema; David Lobell. "Warming Increases the Risk of Civil War in Africa," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106 (49): 20670-20674.

### PART III: OUTCOMES AND AFTERMATHS

#### **Week 11 (28 March): Duration and Outcomes**

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

Lyall, Jason. 2010. "Do Democracies Make Inferior Counterinsurgents? Reassessing Democracy's Impact on War Outcomes and Duration," *International Organization* 64 (1): 167-192.

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

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2015. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes," *International Organization* 69 (3): 519-556.

#### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Walter, Barbara. 2004. "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War," *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 371-388.

Cunningham, David. 2006. "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4): 875-892.

Toft, Monica. 2010. "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34 (4): 7-36.

#### **Week 12 (4 April): The Challenges of Peacekeeping and State Building**

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War," *International Studies Quarterly* 48 (2): 269-292.

Beber, Bernd; Michael Gilligan; Jenny Guardado; Sabrina Karim. 2017. "Peacekeeping, Compliance with International Norms, and Transactional Sex in Monrovia, Liberia," *International Organization* 71 (1): 1-30.

Menkhaus, Ken. 2007. "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping," *International Security* 31 (3): 74-106.

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

### **Additional Recommended Readings**

Beardsley, Kyle. 2011. "Peacekeeping and the Contagion of Armed Conflict," *Journal of Politics* 73 (4): 1051-1064.

Costalli, Stefano. 2014. "Does Peacekeeping Work? A Disaggregated Analysis of Deployment and Violence Reduction in the Bosnian War," *British Journal of Political Science* 44 (2): 357-380.

Hultman, Lisa; Jacob Kathman; Megan Shannon. 2014. "Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Peacekeeping Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting," *American Political Science Review* 108 (4): 737-753.