

POL416/2241H1F: Civil War and Counterinsurgency

Department of Political Science
University of Toronto

Term: Fall 2020

Time: Wednesdays, 2:00pm-4:00pm

Professor: Noel Anderson

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 4:00pm-6:00pm

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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 of war. The second part of the course examines the dynamics of insurgency and counterinsurgency, including recruitment and rebel alliances, combatant strategies, and third-party intervention. The final section considers the outcomes and aftermaths of civil war, including conflict duration and recurrence, the challenges of peacekeeping and state building, and the future prevalence of armed conflict in the international system.

PREREQUISITES

This course is open to advanced undergraduate and graduate students only. Previous training in international relations, security studies, and/or comparative politics is required. In addition, familiarity with quantitative methods is strongly recommended, as many of the assigned readings employ statistics and/or formal methods.

TECHNOLOGY REQUIREMENTS

The course will be managed via Quercus (<https://q.utoronto.ca/>). To access Quercus, you must have an active University of Toronto email address. It is expected that students will set their email and Quercus accounts to receive notifications for all course announcements. Students are also required to register for a University of Toronto Zoom account (<https://utoronto.zoom.us>) prior to the first week of classes. Only authenticated users can join Zoom meetings—please follow the instructions to ensure that your account is authenticated. Students will also need stable internet access, a working webcam, and microphone capabilities on their computers to participate in discussions. Students are expected to review and be in compliance with the University's requirements for online learning (<https://www.vicereprovoststudents.utoronto.ca/tech-requirements-online-learning>).

MODES OF INSTRUCTION

Seminar meetings: In light of the COVID-19 pandemic and associated disruptions, seminars will meet *synchronously* and *online* during the regularly scheduled course times for all meetings. We

will use Zoom for all class meetings.

Office hours: Weekly office hours will be held *synchronously* and *online* via Zoom during the times noted above. Office hours will be held as one-on-one private meetings. Weekly sign-ups will be organized via the course Quercus calendar.

ASSESSMENT AND GRADING

The course will be run as a discussion-based seminar and students will be expected to have completed all required readings prior to class. Course assignments seek to foster learning, engagement, and original thinking. To those ends, assessment in the course will be based on the following criteria:

Engagement and participation in seminar discussions (15%): student-led discussion is critical to the success of a seminar course. To those ends, students will be assessed on their attendance (5%), their level of engagement (5%), and their degree of preparation for class discussions (5%).

Paper proposal (20%): a 5 page, double-spaced research paper proposal that provides the foundation for a major research paper. The proposal should clearly define a research question, identify the relevant literature, advance a preliminary theoretical argument, derive hypotheses, overview a rigorous research design, specify variables and their measurement, and articulate a realistic plan for the project. Proposals will be due at the beginning of class on Week 5 (14 October).

Presentation (15%): a pre-recorded, 10 minute video presentation that overviews the major research paper's main findings and contributions. It can take the form of a mock policy briefing for government or an academic conference presentation. Students will be assessed both on their own presentation (10%) as well as the constructive feedback they provide for others (5%). Presentations will be due at the beginning of class on Week 9 (18 November).

Research paper (50%): a 20 page, double-spaced paper that builds off the paper proposal and presentation to address a major question in the study of civil war and counterinsurgency. The paper should be written in the form of a first draft of a paper intended for publication, meaning it should include a research question, a clear thesis statement, a brief literature review, a theoretical argument, and an empirical test of the theory. The research papers will be due before the beginning of class on Week 12 (9 December).

POLICIES

Late assignments: Late assignments will be subject to a late penalty of 5% per day (including weekends) of the total marks for the assignment. Assignments submitted five calendar days beyond the due date will be assigned a grade of zero. Assignments handed in after the work has been returned to the class cannot be marked for credit.

Extensions on assignments: Extensions on assignments will *not* be granted, excepting only extraordinary personal circumstances. If you find yourself in such a circumstance, you must formally apply for an extension by sending a written request to me via email as soon as possible. Note that I will not grant extensions requested after a deadline has already past. Your request must include the following information:

- Information identifying which assignment you need an extension for
- An explanation of the extraordinary personal circumstances that necessitate an extension
- Any documentation you have to legitimate the request

- A new proposed due date

I will consider your request and write you back with a new due date. If you are granted an extension, it is *final* and is *non-negotiable*.

Academic honesty and Turnitin.com: 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 Integrity](#). In addition, students should consult Margaret Proctor's guide on "[How Not to Plagiarize](#)." Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

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 as soon as possible, and well in advance of assignment deadlines.

Communication and email: Students are strongly encouraged to ask questions and voice concerns during seminar discussions or during office hours. If email is *strictly required*, you must use your U of T email address in all correspondence. I will aim to respond to emails within 24 hours during weekdays. But please keep in mind the inefficiency of email communication—it is often much easier and more helpful to have a discussion during office hours.

READINGS AND SCHEDULE

All required readings are available at the following link: <https://q.utoronto.ca/>. Students do *not* need to purchase any books or materials for this class.

PART I: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

Week 1 (16 September): Organizational Session and Preview of the Course

No readings.

Week 2 (23 September): Concepts and Measurement

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. 2019. "Fatality Thresholds, Causal Heterogeneity, and Civil War Research: Reconsidering the Link Between Narcotics and Conflict," *Political Science Research and Methods* 7 (1): 85-105.

Week 3 (30 September): 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.

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

Additional Recommended Readings

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

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

Paine, Jack. 2019. "Ethnic Violence in Africa: Destructive Legacies of Pre-Colonial States," *International Organization* 73 (3): 645-683.

Week 4 (7 October): The Political Economy of Violence

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

Le Billon, Philippe. 2001. "Angola's Political Economy of War: The Role of Oil and Diamonds, 1975-2000," *African Affairs* 100 (398): 55-80.

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.

Ahmad, Aisha. 2015. "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia," *International Security* 39 (3): 89-117.

Additional Recommended Readings

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

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.

Fjelde, Hanne. 2015. “Farming or Fighting?: Agricultural Price Shocks and Civil War in Africa,” *World Development* 67: 525-534.

Week 5 (14 October): 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.

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

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

Additional Recommended Readings

Slantchev, Branislav. 2003. “The Principle of Convergence in Wartime Negotiations,” *American Political Science Review* 97 (4): 621-632.

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

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

PART II: DYNAMICS OF INSURGENCY AND COUNTERINSURGENCY

Week 6 (21 October): Recruitment, Rebel Alliances, and Fragmentation

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.

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

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

Woldemariam, Michael. 2018. *Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa: Rebellion and Its Discontents* (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.

Humphreys, Macartan; Jeremy Weinstein. 2008. “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation

in Civil War,” *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2): 436-455.

Bapat, Navin; Kanisha Bond. 2012. “Alliances between Militant Groups,” *British Journal of Political Science* 42 (4): 793-824.

Week 7 (28 October): Insurgent Violence

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.

Koren, Ore. 2017. “Why Insurgents Kill Civilians in Capital Cities: A Disaggregated Analysis of Mechanisms and Trends,” *Political Geography* 61: 237-252.

Additional Recommended Readings

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.

Koren, Ore; Benjamin Bagozzi. 2017. “Living Off The Land: The Connection between Cropland, Food Security, and Violence against Civilians,” *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (3): 351-364.

Week 8 (4 November): 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.

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.

Lyll, 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.

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

Byman, Daniel. 2016. “‘Death Solves All Problems’: The Authoritarian Model of Counterinsurgency,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 39 (1): 62-93.

Week 9 (18 November): Third-Party Intervention

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

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

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.

Biddle, Stephen; Julia Macdonald; Ryan Baker. 2018. “Small Footprint, Small Payoff: The Military Effectiveness of Security Force Assistance,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41 (1-2): 89-142.

Additional Recommended Readings

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

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

Anderson, Noel. 2019. “Competitive Intervention, Protracted Conflict, and the Global Prevalence of Civil War,” *International Studies Quarterly* 63 (4): 692-706.

PART III: OUTCOMES, AFTERMATHS, AND FORECASTS

Week 10 (25 November): Conflict Duration, Termination, and Recurrence

McLauchlin, Theodore. 2018. “The Loyalty Trap: Regime Ethnic Exclusion, Commitment Problems, and Civil War Duration in Syria and Beyond,” *Security Studies* 27 (2): 296-317.

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.

Karlén, Niklas. 2017. “The Legacy of Foreign Patrons: External State Support and Conflict Recurrence,” *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (4): 499-512.

Additional Recommended Readings

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

Toft, Monica. 2010. “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *International Security* 34 (4):

7-36.

Hegre, Håvard; Håvard Mogleiv Nygård. 2015. "Governance and Conflict Relapse," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (6): 984-1016.

Week 11 (2 December): 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.

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.

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

Stewart, Megan. 2018. "Civil War as State-Making: Strategic Governance in Civil War," *International Organization* 72 (1): 205-226.

Additional Recommended Readings

Gilligan; Michael; Ernest Sergenti. 2008. "Do UN Interventions Cause Peace? Using Matching to Improve Causal Inference," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3 (2): 89-122.

Karim, Sabrina; Kyle Beardsley. 2016. "Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions: The Role of Female Peacekeepers and Gender Equality in Contributing Countries," *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (1): 100-115.

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

Week 12 (9 December): The "Decline" of War and Forecasting the Future

Gleditsch, Nils; Steven Pinker; Bradley Thayer; Jack Levy; William Thompson. 2013. "The Forum: The Decline of War," *International Studies Review* 15 (3): 396-419.

Fazel, Tanisha. 2014. "Dead Wrong? Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War's Demise," *International Security* 39 (1): 95-125.

Burke, Marshall; Edward Miguel; Shanker Satyanath; John Dykema; David Lobell. 2009. "Warming Increases the Risk of Civil War in Africa," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 106 (49): 20670-20674.

Hegre, Håvard; Joakim Karlsen; Håvard Mogleiv Nygård; Håvard Strand; Henrik Urdal. 2013. "Predicting Armed Conflict, 2010-2050," *International Studies Quarterly* 57 (2): 250-270.

Additional Recommended Readings

Goldstone, Jack; Robert Bates; David Epstein; Ted Gurr; Michael Lustik; Monty Marshall; Jay Ulfelder; Mark Woodward. 2010. "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability," *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (1): 190-208.

Chiba, Daina; Kristian Gleditsch. 2017. "The Shape of Things to Come? Expanding the Inequality

and Grievance Model for Civil War Forecasts with Event Data” *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (2): 275-297.

Ward, Michael; Nils Metternich; Cassy Dorff; Max Gallop, Florian Hollenbach; Anna Schultz; Simon Weschle. 2013. “Learning from the Past and Stepping into the Future: Toward a New Generation of Conflict Prediction,” *International Studies Review* 15 (4): 473-490.