

Civil Wars and their Aftermath

POLI 294

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Tuesdays & Thursdays
Time: 9:40–11:10am
Classroom: Olin Rice 100



Course Summary

Welcome to Civil Wars and their Aftermath. Civil war is the most widespread and deadly manifestation of political violence in our time. Civil wars vary dramatically: some are fought with mechanized weapons on conventional battlefields, while others are fought by guerrilla insurgencies that blend into the countryside; some are waged by groups motivated by utopian political and religious ideologies, while others are waged over plunder or ethnic resentments; sometimes rebels win and impose revolutionary governments, while sometimes regimes rely on genocidal violence to stay in power. In this course we will try to answer questions such as: Why do civil wars cluster in certain countries, in certain regions, and at certain times? Are individuals motivated to form and join rebel organizations due to greed, grievances, opportunities, or their social environments? Why do some rebels resort to terrorism against civilians (Ireland's IRA) while others build schools and hospitals (Sri Lanka's LTTE—which also employed terrorism)? Why do states intervene in distant civil wars, and how do they promote their interests or attempt to build peace? When do rebels lay down their arms to enter democratic politics (El Salvador's FMLN), when do they transition to violent crime (Colombia's BACRIMes), and what does this mean for the survival of peace? There are two vitally important reasons for studying civil war: first, because making sense of conflict processes (instead of simply dismissing them as senseless) helps us develop tools to prevent, mitigate, and end civil war violence; and second, because in studying civil war we gain an understanding of—and empathy for—human nature in extreme circumstances.

1 Required Books

- William Reno (2011). *Warfare in Independent Africa*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press
- Roger Petersen (2001). *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press. 339 pp.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. 373 pp.
- Fotini Christia (2012). *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge University Press. 356 pp.

2 Other Readings

All of the other readings are available in one of two places: either posted on the class Moodle page as a PDF, or (for academic articles) on Google Scholar. Macalester provides internet access to most academic journals, and if you don't already know how, I'd like you to learn how to search for them. So try this:

Step 1: Connect to Wi-Fi while you are on the Macalester campus (or through [Mac's VPN service](#) if you are off-campus)

Step 2: Go to <http://scholar.google.com>.

Step 3: Search for the reading: e.g. "Sambanis What Is Civil War".

Step 4: Find our article and click on "MACLINKS FULL TEXT".

Step 5: Read the article, while taking careful notes filled with brilliant insights.

3 Expectations

The most important expectation is simple: be respectful of everyone in the class, and of each other's views. In an environment as diverse as Macalester's, everyone has a different perspective to offer, to teach, and to learn. Engage with the course fully and listen as carefully to your fellow students as you would to your professor.

This course necessarily deals with violence on a weekly basis. We will read about and discuss terrorism, mass violence, genocide, as well as intimate and sexual violence. We will read accounts by survivors, and see photographs and videos that may contain some graphic content. With this in mind, let me first reiterate the above rule: be *respectful* of those in class. Keep in mind that your classmates may themselves be survivors or have experience with some of the difficult themes we will cover. Second, **if at any time you need to do so, you may stand up and walk out of the class**. You do not need to ask for my permission or explain yourself. Come back when you feel ready, or go home if you would prefer. If you would feel better talking over your reaction to the course material at a later time, I am always available to talk—but you are under no obligation to do so.

This is an upper-division class, and it has a high reading load—between 40–70 pages per class, and sometimes more. Thus, you will need to *leap* into the readings with enthusiasm from the very

first class. If we all do that, we'll have a lively classroom discussion. I also expect you to read *intelligently*. There won't be a final exam testing how well you've memorized each detail, and I don't expect you to puzzle your way through every statistical test each author presents. Rather, engage with the **big ideas**: read the important themes *closely* and *critically*, master the theories, understand (and critique) each author's use of evidence, but skim details and less central elements where appropriate.

It's essential to take notes as you read. Different methods work for different students: some try to create an outline of the main points, others may write a summary paragraph of the reading as soon as they finish it, while others might pull out five to seven quotes that capture key ideas. It would be a good idea to experiment with different styles throughout the course to learn what works best for you.

Arrive on time and ready to participate. **If you will be late or absent, please email me at least 30 minutes before class.** I will notice repeated absences and penalize your class participation grade accordingly.

I will ask a lot from you in this course, but you can expect to receive a lot from me in return. I hope that by the end of the semester, you will conclude that this was one of your most challenging courses at Macalester, and one of your best.

4 Evaluation

Format and Required Citation Style: Submit written work online through our Moodle (you will get my feedback through the Moodle as well) and use the [APSA style guide](#) to format citations and bibliography.

On-Time Work Policy: Setting and meeting deadlines is an important professional skill. The syllabus provides "default" deadlines for assignments. I expect you to either meet these deadlines or set alternate deadlines in advance. College is an important time to develop a reputation as someone who gets things done and gets things done on time. If you cannot meet a deadline, it is your responsibility to *communicate* about when you will complete your work.

Drafts and Writing Workgroups: For your two large assignments, the Analytical Paper and Research Paper, you'll be meeting up with a small group of peers to "workshop" your papers together. This means you must have your first draft of each paper written a week before the final due date. I'll divide you into groups and it will be up to you to arrange a meeting. I recommend that you begin the meetings by exchanging hard copies of your papers, and writing comments in the margins. Then you can talk over your comments and recommendations. Note that the due dates for these assignments below are presented as first draft/final draft.

Summary of Assignments

1. **Class participation:** Do the readings before class! On many occasions I will lecture, but more often, we will engage in class and group discussions in which students are expected to share their thoughts, ideas, and questions with the class. We also will engage in a handful of classroom simulations, each of which is based on the theories covered in the readings.

Students who fail to do the readings will be at a decisive disadvantage in these simulations. But don't worry! There will be lots of opportunities—and different ways—to be engaged with the class, and I am happy to give feedback and discuss your participation during office hours. 25% of course grade.

2. **Two single point papers:** This short paper is your response to an individual reading or set of readings. Think about the key ideas that you see emerging from your reading or your reading notes. Advance a single argument or assertion, which may be substantive, analytic, methodological, theoretic, or any combination of these. The first will be due on February 1st; the second at any point during the quarter. 250 words. 5% of course grade each.
3. **Analytic paper:** This paper should demonstrate your ability to synthesize and—naturally—analyze the material that we've covered in this class. I will present a set of possible topics, and will also give you the opportunity to develop your own. This paper will be graded on its argumentation, evidence, and written communication. Due on February 25th / March 4th. 4–5 pages. 25% of course grade.
4. **Simulation debriefing:** This paper will discuss our classroom simulation on Control & Collaboration. What was your role? Describe your interests, incentives, and the reasons for the choices that you made. How did the differences in the structure of each simulation change the way that you played? What emotions accompanied your decision-making and how did you feel as a result of the outcomes of the simulations? Due on April 1st. 500 words. 10% of course grade.
5. **Research paper:** Ask a question about political violence in a country, a region, or the world. How have conflict scholars tried to answer this question? What do you think is the answer to this question? What evidence would you need to collect to answer it? We will talk much more about how to conduct a comparative politics research project throughout the course. Due on April 27th / May 3rd. 8–10 pages. 30% of course grade.

5 Academic Integrity

The academy is an ancient tradition founded on the pursuit of truth at all costs. Honesty, personal responsibility, and integrity are therefore core values indispensable to any academic pursuit. You will be judged, justly, on the extent to which you uphold these values for the rest of your life, and your integrity is far more important than your final grade in this course.

One common form of academic dishonesty will result in an automatic failure of any assignment, or more likely, an F in the course along with a referral to the university honor board: plagiarism, presenting another person's words, ideas, or work as if it were your own. Plagiarism is more than simply copying and pasting language found on the internet into your paper (although this is certainly plagiarism). Plagiarism also consists of taking someone's ideas, or paraphrasing their language, without proper attribution. That is, you must always cite the original author, even when not using their original words. Citing your sources does not detract from the originality of your argument; rather, it situates your contribution within a long conversation with other scholars. This long conversation, including your contribution, is the academic pursuit.

As a final note, Macalester punishes academic dishonesty severely. Professors count on extremely sophisticated data analysis tools to detect most forms of plagiarism, and after thousands of exams and essays, most of us are able to spot plagiarism and other forms of cheating at a glance.

The consequences may include expulsion from the college—a serious penalty in exchange for the possibility of a minor advantage on an assignment.

6 Laptop Policy

Students are permitted laptops in this course. However, I strongly discourage them. Electronic devices, with all their flashy lights and noises, distract your attention from where it belongs: your professor, your fellow students, and the incisive arguments flying around the classroom. It would be best to write notes in your notebook with pen and ink. If you would like your notes digitized, you can always photograph them after class. Great political thinkers from Aristotle to Hobbes to Skocpol made do with pen and ink (or in Aristotle's case, most likely a wax tablet and stylus), and you can too. Your most important role in the classroom is not passive notetaker, but active interlocutor. **The best way to incorporate a laptop in the classroom—if you must—is to tilt the screen down whenever you are not using it.** If you require the use of any electronic device for accessibility reasons, I'm more than happy to accommodate your needs in this regard.

7 Other Resources for Students

Writing Help

The Macalester Academic Excellence (MAX) Center, located in Kagin Commons, has peer tutors available for assisting students in all stages of their writing. Hours are 9:00am– 4:30pm Mon-Fri and 7-10pm Sun-Thur. Becky Graham and Jake Mohan also provide writing assistance to students during the daytime hours, Mon-Fri. You may drop in for help or call x6121 (day) or x6193 (evening) to schedule an appointment.

Students with Special Needs

I am committed to providing assistance to help you be successful in this course. Students seeking accommodations based on disabilities should meet with Lisa Landreman, Associate Dean of Students. Call x6220 for an appointment. I encourage you to address any special needs or accommodations with me as soon as you become aware of your needs. More info [here](#).

8 Schedule of Classes and Assignments

Thursday, January 18th

Introduction to the Course

- No reading

Tuesday, January 23rd

What is Civil War?

- Nicholas Sambanis (2004). "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48.6, pp. 814–858

Thursday, January 25th
Data and Challenges

- Marie Allansson, Erik Melander, and Lotta Themnér (2017). “Organized Violence, 1989–2016”. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 54.4, pp. 574–587
- Stathis N. Kalyvas (2001). ““New” and “Old” Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” In: *World Politics* 54.01, pp. 99–118

Tuesday, January 30th
Concepts and Challenges

- Paul R Brass (1997). *Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3
- James C Scott (1985). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Chapter 5

Thursday, February 1st
Two Routes to War

- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin (2003). “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War”. In: *American Political Science Review* 97.01, pp. 75–90
- Barry R. Posen. “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict”. In: *Survival* 35.1, pp. 27–47
- **DUE before class on February 1st: Single-Point Paper #1**

Tuesday, February 6th
State Collapse

- William Reno (2011). *Warfare in Independent Africa*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 and 5

Thursday, February 8th
Economic Forces

- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler (2004). “Greed and Grievance in Civil War”. In: *Oxford Economic Papers* 56.4, pp. 563–595
- Benjamin W. Bahney et al. (2013). “Insurgent Compensation: Evidence from Iraq”. In: *The American Economic Review* 103.3, pp. 518–522

Tuesday, February 13th
Ethnic Conflict

- Donald L Horowitz (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 5

Tuesday, February 15th

Exclusion

- Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min (2010). "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel?: New Data and Analysis". In: *World Politics* 62.1, pp. 87–119
- John Mueller (2000). "The Banality of "Ethnic War"". In: *International Security* 25.1, pp. 42–70

Thursday, February 20th

Insurgent Mobilization

- Roger Petersen (2001). *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Cambridge University Press. 339 pp., 1–27, Chapter 6
- **In-class simulation: Threshold Models of Revolution**

Thursday, February 22nd

Women in Mobilization and War

- Jocelyn S. Viterna (2006). "Pulled, Pushed, and Persuaded: Explaining Women's Mobilization into the Salvadoran Guerrilla Army". In: *American Journal of Sociology* 112.1, pp. 1–45, READ ONLY 1–31, 37–41
- Sarah Elizabeth Parkinson (2013). "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War". In: *American Political Science Review* 107.03, pp. 418–432

DUE at NOON on Sunday, February 25th: First Draft of Analytical Paper

- **Schedule and attend writing workgroup meeting.**

Tuesday, February 27th

Islamist Mobilization

- Aisha Ahmad (2015). "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia". In: *International Security* 39.3, pp. 89–117
- Barbara F. Walter (2017). "The Extremist's Advantage in Civil Wars". In: *International Security* 42.2, pp. 7–39

Thursday, March 1st

Mobilization in Syria

- Eric S Mosinger (2017). "Unity and Fragmentation in Syria's Rebellions"

DUE at NOON on Sunday, March 4th: Analytic Paper Final Draft

Tuesday, March 6th

Desertion

- Ben Oppenheim et al. (2015). "True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why". In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.5, pp. 794–823

- Theodore McLaughlin (2014). “Desertion, Terrain, and Control of the Home Front in Civil Wars”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, p. 0022002714547901

Thursday, March 8th
Experiencing War

- Wendy Pearlman (2017). *We Crossed a Bridge and It Trembled: Voices from Syria*, Parts V and VI
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Spring Break

Tuesday, March 20th
The Military Dynamics

- Stathis N. Kalyvas (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. 373 pp., Chapters 4 and 5

Thursday, March 22nd
Discipline and Violence

- Jeremy M. Weinstein (2007). *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. Cambridge University Press. 16 pp., 1–16, 20–22, 42–53, and 80–95
- Jessica A. Stanton (2016). *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 3: skim, but make sure you take in the main arguments and evidence

Tuesday, March 27th
The Logic of Violence

- Kalyvas 2006, Chapters 6, 7, and 8
- **In-class simulation: Control & Collaboration**

Thursday, March 29th
Mass Violence

- Benjamin A Valentino (2004). *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, Chapters 2 and 3

DUE at NOON on Sunday, April 1st: Simulation Debriefing

Tuesday, April 3rd
Gendered Violence

- Dara Kay Cohen (2013). “Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War”. In: *World Politics* 65.03, pp. 383–415

- Lee Ann Fujii (2013). “The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence”. In: *Perspectives on Politics* 11.02, pp. 410–426

Thursday, April 5th

Counterinsurgency

- Eli Berman, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter (2011). “Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq”. In: *Journal of Political Economy* 119.4, pp. 766–819
- Christopher R. Day and William S. Reno (2014). “In Harm’s Way: African Counter-Insurgency and Patronage Politics”. In: *Civil Wars* 16.2, pp. 105–126

Tuesday, April 10th

Politics Within War

- Fotini Christia (2012). *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge University Press. 356 pp., Chapters 2, 3, and 4

Thursday, April 12th

Politics Within Rebel Groups

- Eric S Mosinger (2018). “Can’t Tear Us Apart: Explaining Leadership Disputes in the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional”

Tuesday, April 17th

Ending War

- Barbara F. Walter (1997). “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement”. In: *International Organization* 51.03, pp. 335–364
- Monica Duffy Toft (2010). “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” In: *International Security* 34.4, pp. 7–36

Thursday, April 19th

International Intervention

- Virginia Page Fortna (2004). “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War”. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 48.2, pp. 269–292
- Séverine Autesserre (2009). “Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention”. In: *International Organization* 63.02, pp. 249–280

Tuesday, April 24th

Violent Electoral Orders

- Anna Getmansky and Thomas Zeitzoff (2014). “Terrorism and Voting: The Effect of Rocket Threat on Voting in Israeli Elections”. In: *American Political Science Review* 108.03, pp. 588–604

- Abbey Steele (2011). “Electing Displacement: Political Cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia”. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55.3, pp. 423–445

Thursday, April 26th
Building Peace

- Aila M. Matanock (2017). “Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict”. In: *International Security* 41.4, pp. 93–132

DUE at NOON on Friday, April 27th: Research Paper Rough Draft

- Schedule and attend writing workgroup meeting.

DUE at NOON on Friday, May 3rd: Research Paper Final Draft