

# Civil Wars

Gabriella Levy

Instructor: Gabriella Levy (gabriella.levy@duke.edu)  
Office Hours:

## Course Overview:

This course is aimed at graduate student in Political Science. Students will study the causes of civil war; consider conflict processes such as violence, governance, and armed group fragmentation; and examine how armed actors make and keep peace. We will also study the legacies of conflict and question the relationship between criminal groups and rebel groups. Throughout this course, we will examine explanations for a variety of phenomena from three levels: the micro-level (e.g. the individual), the meso-level (e.g. the armed group), and the macro-level (e.g. the country).

This is a discussion-based course, meaning that students will be expected to critically but respectfully evaluate arguments presented by authors, peers, and the professor. The course is also designed to help build students' skills as researchers and political scientists; students will conduct reviews of published papers, and they will put together a research proposal at the end of the semester.

## Required Readings:

You are expected to come to class having read the pages assigned for that day. All journal articles are available online via Duke's access to a wide range of academic journals. I have also assigned portions of the following books. You are welcome to purchase these books, though they are all available from Duke's libraries. I have noted which ones are available in their entirety online via Duke Libraries.

- Arjona, Ana. 2016. *Rebelocracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Available online
- Autesserre, Séverine. 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and The Failure of International Peacebuilding*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge University Press. → Available online
- Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2016. *Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huang, Reyko. 2016. *The Wartime Origins of Democratization: Civil War, Rebel Governance, and Political Regimes*. Cambridge University Press. → Available online
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lessing, Benjamin. 2017. *Making Peace in Drug Wars: Crackdowns and Cartels in Latin America*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

- Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2012. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. → Available online
- Petersen, Roger D. 2009. *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Available online
- Staniland, Paul. 2014. *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Cornell University Press. → Available online
- Staniland, Paul. 2021. *Ordering Violence: Explaining Armed Group-State Relations from Conflict to Cooperation*. Cornell University Press. → Available online
- Stanton, Jessica A. 2016. *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law*. Reprint edition. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. → Available online
- Straus, Scott. 2015. *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. → Available online
- Steele, Abbey. 2017. *Democracy and Displacement in Colombia's Civil War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. → Available online
- Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. 1st edition. Cambridge University Press. → Available online
- Wood, Elisabeth. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. 1st edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. → Available online
- Yashar, Deborah J. 2018. *Homicidal Ecologies: Illicit Economies and Complicit States in Latin America*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Available online

### Assignments:

<i>Assignment</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>How it will be assessed</i>	<i>Date</i>
Participation	20	Attendance & participation in weekly classes	Every week
Review 1	20	4-page critical review of a reading assigned for that week + a 5-minute presentation in class	24 hours before class; students will select their assigned weeks in the second class
Review 2	20	4-page critical review of a reading assigned for that week + a 5-minute presentation in class	24 hours before class; students will select their assigned weeks in the second class
Research Design	40	A 15-25-page research project proposal which 1) identifies a relevant question, 2) locates that question within the relevant literature, 3) proposes a theory which extends existing work 4) details a methodological approach which could be taken to test the theory	One week after the last class

## **Policies:**

You are expected to not only attend but to actively participate in class. This is a discussion-based class, and it requires your engagement. If you must miss class, please provide me with documentation of the reason for the absence in order for it to be excused. Each student can take one unexcused absence without a penalty, and all further unexcused absences will result in a 5% reduction of the class participation grade. Similarly, if you need an extension on an assignment, please reach out to me as soon as possible. I will accept late assignments for which I have not granted an extension, but each day that the assignment is late will result in a 5% reduction on the grade. All essays should be double-spaced, with 12-point Times New Roman font and 1-inch margins.

If you would like me to review a graded assignment, I will happily do so. Please submit your requests in writing. You must wait 48 hours between the time you receive the graded assignment and when you contact me. I reserve the right to raise or lower your grade.

I expect you to comply with the Duke Community Standard. You can find details at <https://studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/about-us/duke-community-standard>.

## **Resources and Support:**

- 1) My goal is to create a learning environment that supports a diversity of thoughts, perspectives, experiences, and identities.
  - The topics that we're covering in this class are often difficult, not just intellectually but also emotionally. While I expect rigorous discussion and even disagreement in the course of our class discussions, I ask that you engage in discussion with care and empathy for the other members in the classroom. I will not tolerate insults; gender or racial slurs; or any other form of bullying, intimidation, or hate speech. I expect all members of this class to contribute to a respectful, welcoming, and inclusive environment for every other member of this class.
  - If you have a name and/or set of pronouns that differ from those that appear in your official records, please let me know!
  - If you have already registered with the Student Disability Access Office, please meet with me early in the course to discuss, plan, and implement your accommodations in this course.
  
- 2) Resources:
  - a. I recommend that students take full advantage of the Thompson Writing Program's Writing Studio (<https://twp.duke.edu/twp-writing-studio>) as well as the office hours of myself and the TAs for the course.
  - b. Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) (<https://studentaffairs.duke.edu/caps> or 919-660-1000) can help students who are having difficulties managing stress, adjusting to graduate school, feeling anxious or depressed, or more.

- c. For tips on how to write a peer review, I recommend the following article:

Miller, Beth, Jon Pevehouse, Ron Rogowski, Dustin Tingley, and Rick Wilson. 2013. "How To Be a Peer Reviewer: A Guide for Recent and Soon-to-Be PhDs." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 46 (1): 120–23.

## Schedule:

### 1) Civil Wars: Trends and Definitions

- a. Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6): 814–58.
- b. Pettersson, Therése, and Magnus Öberg. 2020. "Organized Violence, 1989–2019." *Journal of Peace Research* 57 (4): 597–613.
- c. Walter, Barbara F. 2017. "The New New Civil Wars." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (1): 469–86.
- d. Kalyvas, Stathis N., and 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): 415–29.
- e. Staniland, Paul. 2021. *Ordering Violence: Explaining Armed Group-State Relations from Conflict to Cooperation*. Cornell University Press. → Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 2, Chapter 3

### 2) Macro-Level Causes

- a. Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97 (01): 75–90.
- b. Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4): 563–95.
- c. Cederman, Lars-Erik, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2011. "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison." *American Political Science Review* 105 (3): 478–95.
- d. Walter, Barbara. 2004. "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41 (3): 371–88.
- e. Maertens, Ricardo. 2021. "Adverse Rainfall Shocks and Civil War: Myth or Reality?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 65 (4): 701–28.
- f. Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2012. "Organizational Legacies of Violence: Conditions Favoring Insurgency Onset in Colombia, 1964–1984." *Journal of Peace Research* 49 (3): 473–91.

### 3) Micro-Level Causes

- a. Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (2): 436–55.

- b. Braun, Robert. 2016. "Religious Minorities and Resistance to Genocide: The Collective Rescue of Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust." *The American Political Science Review; Washington* 110 (1): 127–47.
  - c. Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *The American Political Science Review* 107 (3): 418–32.
  - d. Thomas, Jakana L and Kanisha D. Bond. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *The American Political Science Review; Washington* 109 (3): 488–506.
  - e. Gates, Scott. 2017. "Membership Matters: Coerced Recruits and Rebel Allegiance." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (5): 674–86.
  - f. Petersen, Roger D. 2009. *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 1, 2, 4, 9
- 4) Violence Against Civilians: Causes 1
- a. Gutiérrez-Sanín, Francisco, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2017. "What Should We Mean by 'Pattern of Political Violence'? Repertoire, Targeting, Frequency, and Technique." *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (01): 20–41.
  - b. Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars: Rivalry and Revenge." *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2): 291–313.
  - c. Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980–2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107 (03): 461–77.
  - d. Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 4-7
  - e. Steele, Abbey. 2017. *Democracy and Displacement in Colombia's Civil War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. → Chapters 1, 5, and 6
- 5) Violence Against Civilians: Causes 2
- a. Hoover Green, Amelia. 2016. "The Commander's Dilemma: Creating and Controlling Armed Group Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 53 (5): 619–32.
  - b. Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2006. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*. 1st edition. Cambridge University Press. → Introduction, Chapter 1, Chapter 2
  - c. Straus, Scott. 2015. *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. → Chapters 1-3
  - d. Stanton, Jessica A. 2016. *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law*. Reprint edition. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 1-3
  - e. Heger, Lindsay L. 2015. "Votes and Violence: Pursuing Terrorism While Navigating Politics." *Journal of Peace Research* 52 (1): 32–45.
- 6) Violence Against Civilians: Effects

- a. Kalyvas, Stathis N., and Matthew Adam Kocher. 2007. "How 'Free' Is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem." *World Politics* 59 (2): 177–216.
- b. Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Imai Kosuke. 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *The American Political Science Review* 107 (4): 679–705.
- c. Wood, Elisabeth. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. 1st edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 1, 7, 8
- d. Kaplan, Oliver. 2013. "Protecting Civilians in Civil War: The Institution of the ATCC in Colombia." *Journal of Peace Research* 50 (3): 351–67.
- e. Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2019. "Voting for Victors: Why Violent Actors Win Postwar Elections." *World Politics* 71 (4): 1–59.
- f. Schubiger, Livia Isabella. 2021. "State Violence and Wartime Civilian Agency: Evidence from Peru." *The Journal of Politics* 83 (4): 1383–98.

## 7) Fragmentation, Alliances, & Cohesion

- a. Staniland, Paul. 2014. *Networks of Rebellion: Explaining Insurgent Cohesion and Collapse*. Cornell University Press. → Chapters 1-3
- b. Christia, Fotini. 2012. *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 1-2
- c. Oppenheim, Ben, Abbey Steele, Juan F. Vargas, and Michael Weintraub. 2015. "True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (5): 794–823.
- d. Carey, Sabine C., Michael P. Colaresi, and Neil J. Mitchell. 2015. "Governments, Informal Links to Militias, and Accountability." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (5): 850–76.
- e. Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. 2013. "Actor Fragmentation and Civil War Bargaining: How Internal Divisions Generate Civil Conflict." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (3): 659–72.

## 8) Armed Group Governance

- a. Arjona, Ana. 2016. *Rebelocracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 1-3
- b. Mampilly, Zachariah Cherian. 2012. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. → Chapters 1-3
- c. Mampilly, Zachariah, and Megan A. Stewart. 2020. "A Typology of Rebel Political Institutional Arrangements." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*: 1-31.
- d. Matanock, Aila M., and Paul Staniland. 2018. "How and Why Armed Groups Participate in Elections." *Perspectives on Politics* 16 (3): 710–27.
- e. Huang, Reyko. 2016. *The Wartime Origins of Democratization: Civil War, Rebel Governance, and Political Regimes*. Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 1-4
- f. Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2021. "How Do Violent Politicians Govern? The Case of Paramilitary-Tied Mayors in Colombia." *British Journal of Political Science*, Forthcoming: 1–24.

## 9) Internationalization

- a. Fortna, Virginia-Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Work? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 269–92.
- b. Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2013. "United Nations Peacekeeping and Civilian Protection in Civil War." *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (4): 875–91.
- c. Prorok, Alyssa K. 2017. "The (In)Compatibility of Peace and Justice? The International Criminal Court and Civil Conflict Termination." *International Organization* 71 (2): 213–43.
- d. Autesserre, Séverine. 2010. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and The Failure of International Peacebuilding*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 1 and 6
- e. Buhaug, Halvard, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2008. "Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space." *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (2): 215–33.
- f. Walter, Barbara F. 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51 (3): 335–64.

## 10) Making Peace

- a. Prorok, Alyssa K. 2016. "Leader Incentives and Civil War Outcomes." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (1): 70–84.
- b. Tellez, Juan. 2019. "Peace Agreement Design and Public Support for Peace: Evidence from Colombia." *Journal of Peace Research* 56 (6): 827–44.
- c. Leventoğlu, Bahar, and Ahmer Tarar. 2008. "Does Private Information Lead to Delay or War in Crisis Bargaining?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (3): 533–53.
- d. Cunningham, David E. 2006. "Veto Players and Civil War Duration." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4): 875–92.
- e. Kydd, Andrew, and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization* 56 (2): 263–96.

## 11) Keeping Peace

- a. Hartzell, Caroline, and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. "Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management." *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2): 318–32.
- b. Matanock, Aila M. 2017. "Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict." *International Security* 41 (4): 93–132.
- c. Loyle, Cyanne, and Benjamin Appel. 2017. "Conflict Recurrence and Postconflict Justice: Addressing Motivations and Opportunities for Sustainable Peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 61 (3): 590–703.

- d. Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2016. *Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 2, 4, 5
- e. Blair, Robert A., Manuel Moscoso-Rojas, Andrés Vargas Castillo, and Michael Weintraub. 2022. "Preventing Rebel Resurgence after Civil War: A Field Experiment in Security and Justice Provision in Rural Colombia." *American Political Science Review*, Forthcoming: 1–20.

## 12) Legacies of Conflict

- a. Charnysh, Volha and Evgeny Finkel. 2017. "The Death Camp Eldorado: Political and Economic Effects of Mass Violence." *The American Political Science Review* 111 (4): 801–18.
- b. Osorio, Javier, Livia Isabella Schubiger, and Michael Weintraub. 2021. "Legacies of Resistance: Mobilization Against Organized Crime in Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(9): 1–32.
- c. Bateson, Regina. 2017. "The Socialization of Civilians and Militia Members: Evidence from Guatemala." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (5): 634–47.
- d. Lupu, Noam, and Leonid Peisakhin. 2017. "The Legacy of Political Violence across Generations." *American Journal of Political Science* 61 (4): 836–51.
- e. Hartman, Alexandra C., and Benjamin S. Morse. 2020. "Violence, Empathy and Altruism: Evidence from the Ivorian Refugee Crisis in Liberia." *British Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 731–55.

## 13) Criminal Groups?

- a. Barnes, Nicholas. 2017. "Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence." *Perspectives on Politics; Cambridge* 15 (4): 967–87.
- b. Trejo, Guillermo, and Sandra Ley. 2018. "Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Party Alternation, the Breakdown of Criminal Protection, and the Onset of Large-Scale Violence." *Comparative Political Studies* 51 (7): 900–937.
- c. Yashar, Deborah J. 2018. *Homicidal Ecologies: Illicit Economies and Complicit States in Latin America*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Chapter 4
- d. Magaloni, Beatriz, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, and Vanessa Melo. 2020. "Killing in the Slums: Social Order, Criminal Governance, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro." *American Political Science Review* 114 (2): 552–72.
- e. Lessing, Benjamin. 2017. *Making Peace in Drug Wars: Crackdowns and Cartels in Latin America*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press. → Chapters 1-4