

POLITICAL SCIENCE 8489.10
CIVIL WAR
Department of Political Science
The George Washington University

Fall 2018
Time: W, 3:30 – 6:00PM
Room: 1957 E St. NW, #313
Office Hours: Tues., 10:30AM – 12:00PM

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Civil war is by far the most common form of state-based armed conflict today. Depending on how one counts, between 171 and 285 civil wars have been fought since the end of World War II, compared to around 40 interstate wars. Civil wars are also extremely deadly, causing the deaths of millions of people, the majority of them noncombatants. The end of the Cold War focused the attention of scholars of comparative politics and international relations on civil conflict, leading to a growing literature on all facets of civil war, including civil war onset, duration, outcome, and termination; causes and effectiveness of targeting civilians in civil wars; why people join rebel groups; the effectiveness of various forms of intervention in civil wars; counterinsurgency; and more.

This course explores some of the new literature on civil war, and is divided into four parts. The first part is mainly definitional: what is a civil war? What kinds of civil wars are there? What are insurgency and counterinsurgency? What is terrorism? These class sessions outline working definitions for each of these phenomena that we will use during the remainder of the course.

The second section of the course looks at the causes of civil war. War is a costly and risky endeavor, and rebels face particularly steep odds going up against states that are typically far more powerful. Why then do civil wars occur? Which kinds of factors increase the odds that civil conflict will break out? There are many ways to categorize the literature on this question. I have chosen a four-part division: state-centered explanations, theories based in economics and natural resources (commonly grouped together under the heading of “greed”), theories that focus on various types of grievances, and theories that look at more dynamic factors that trigger the outbreak of rebellion, such as intra-group competition, leader incentives, and external intervention.

The third part of the course turns to the conduct of civil wars with an emphasis on one particularly prevalent but unsavory practice: violence against civilians. Civil wars—the majority of which are waged as guerrilla insurgencies—place the civilian population directly in the middle of the contest: insurgents need civilian support to survive and thrive, while the government seeks to deny rebels access to the population. Both sides use violence as a resource to compel collaboration and deter defection. This type of “terrorism” is both very common and underappreciated. This part of the course will study the causes and effectiveness of this kind of violence, including not only homicide but rape. We will also look specifically at less violent strategies of counterinsurgency, including “hearts and minds” or “population-centric” approaches, as well as why individuals choose to join rebel groups, and why some rebel groups are more cohesive than others.

The final section of the course looks at what makes civil wars last so long and what eventually brings them to an end. Specific topics covered include civil war duration, civil war outcomes, and different ways of stopping civil wars. Of particular interest is the question of what (if anything) outsiders can do to facilitate the termination of civil wars and prevent their recurrence. To that end, we spend a class session on different types of settlements to civil wars and different methods of international engagement.

It is important to note that this class is not about any particular civil war(s). Rather, the course is devoted to explaining the causes, conduct, and termination of civil wars *in general*, or to explaining these phenomena in a handful of different types of civil wars. We will draw on examples from many different conflicts, including (but probably not limited to) civil wars in Afghanistan, Algeria, Chechnya, Colombia, DRC, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Iraq, India, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Mozambique, Pakistan, Palestinian Territories, Peru, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Uganda, United States, Vietnam, Yemen, and former Yugoslavia.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADE COMPUTATION

Students may elect either of two assignment tracks, one based on a literature review and the other based on a research paper. *Students must choose which track they will follow by September 19*, the date of the fourth class session. Grades will be based on the following criteria.

All Students

- **Class Attendance and Participation (25%):** Students are expected to attend every class session, do all of the required reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. Students will be asked to summarize at least one of the assigned readings (of their choice) orally in class. Missing more than one class session without an excuse will adversely affect the participation grade. Participation in discussion will be judged not only by the quantity of a student's remarks, but also by their quality.

Track I

- **Literature Review (75%):** 20-30 double-spaced pages, HARD COPY due in instructor's office by 5:00PM on Monday, December 17. Students must meet with the instructor to discuss their paper topic, *ideally by early October*. Papers should critically engage a question, subject, or literature of the student's choice on civil war. The required readings can serve as the core of the literature that is analyzed, but students will be expected to read well beyond them. All papers should summarize and organize the literature under discussion; identify the theoretical/empirical questions it attempts to answer; explain key concepts and arguments; discuss some of the major theoretical and empirical contributions; locate logical flaws, empirical or methodological shortcomings, and unanswered questions; suggest ways to repair those shortcomings or answer those unanswered questions; and suggest directions for future research. Alternative hypotheses, potential sources of additional data, or new research designs and strategies should be explored. Papers should also evaluate the extent to which research in the area is progressing or digressing.

Track II

- **Research Paper (75%):** 20-30 double-spaced pages on some aspect of civil war (broadly defined) to be chosen in consultation with the instructor; HARD COPY due in instructor's office by 5:00PM on Monday, December 17. Students electing this track must meet with the instructor at their earliest convenience to discuss their interests and potential topics *but no later than the first week of October*.

GOALS OF THE COURSE

The most important goal of the course is to impart to students a solid understanding of theories and empirical evidence regarding the causes, conduct, and termination of civil wars. This will be achieved by reading the required material, discussing it in class, and writing either short papers on assigned topics or a research paper. Additional goals include the following:

- Understand the different perspectives on why civil wars happen
- Educate students regarding the different types of civil wars that exist
- Unpack the different forms of violence that occur in civil wars
- Within the category of violence, evaluate the relative merits of selective versus indiscriminate violence
- Examine the different strategies that states use to combat insurgencies
- Evaluate the relative merits of strategies that use a lot of violence versus those that use minimal violence
- Understand why someone would join an insurgency, and why some insurgent groups are more cohesive than others
- Understand how civil wars end, and which endings prove more stable than others
- Discuss and critique the research designs of recent studies in the civil war literature
- Identify interesting questions or unresolved puzzles in the literature for potential research papers or dissertations

LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Distinguish among different types of civil wars
- Identify risk factors that make states vulnerable to civil war, and which make social groups more likely to launch a rebellion
- Determine which civil wars are more prone to violence and terrorism against noncombatants, and what type of violence it will be
- Evaluate the relative efficacy of different forms of violence used by actors in civil wars, and the conditions under which these strategies may be more or less effective
- Evaluate the merits of low versus high violence counterinsurgency strategies
- Make informed conjectures about which civil wars will last longer, and which side will prevail
- Critically evaluate social science theories, not only those about civil wars, but theories in general

BOOKS

The following books are required reading and are available for purchase at the GWU Bookstore or from many online outlets.

Lars-Erik Cederman, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Fotini Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Dara Kay Cohen, *Rape during Civil War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2016).

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Philip Roessler, *Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa: The Logic of the Coup-Civil War Trap* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Jessica A. Stanton, *Violence and Restraint in Civil War: Civilian Targeting in the Shadow of International Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

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

ARTICLES AND BOOK CHAPTERS

All of the journal articles and book chapters listed below in the required reading are available online through Blackboard on Electronic Reserves. To access them, click on “Blackboard” from the “My GW” page (<https://my.gwu.edu>), log in, go to the page for this class, and click on “Electronic Reserves.” There are folders for each lecture; inside the folders, readings are listed by the author’s last name and title of the article/chapter.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

I am preparing a list of recommended readings. Students may also wish to consult Paul Staniland’s various syllabi at the University of Chicago (<https://paulstaniland.com/students/>).

CLASS POLICIES AND UNIVERSITY RESOURCES

- **Attendance and Reading:** Students are expected to attend every class session, do all of the assigned reading before class, and come prepared to discuss it. Exceptions will of course be made for religious holidays. Students who know they will miss class owing to observance of a religious holiday should notify the instructor *in writing* during the first week of the semester.
- **Papers:** All papers for this course are expected to be double-spaced, written in 12-point font, have margins of at least 1 inch on all sides, and be stapled.
- **Late Papers:** Late papers will be accepted up to 24 hours after the deadline, but one letter grade will be deducted. Papers that are more than 24 hours late will not be accepted and will be assigned a grade of zero. Exceptions will be made only in cases of incapacitating illness or extraordinary personal or family emergency; if you find yourself in such a situation, consult the instructor as soon as possible to discuss an extension. You may also wish to consult GW's Counseling and Psychological Services (see below under "Mental Health") or the CARE Network (<https://students.gwu.edu/care>).
- **Electronic Devices:** The use of laptops, tablets, cell phones, and other electronic devices in class is prohibited except in cases of documented medical need. Although these devices can enhance some aspects of learning, they can also prove distracting to you and to those around you. Scientific studies have also found that students who take notes by hand perform better on exams and absorb material better than those who use computers. Please mute all electronic devices and put them away. If your cell phone rings during lecture, I will answer it.
- **Grade Appeals:** Grades in this course are not negotiable, but if you believe an error has been made in the grading of your assignment, you may appeal. Appeals must be made to the instructor *in writing* within one week of the date you receive your graded assignment. Appeals may result in a higher grade, no change, or a lower grade.
- **Plagiarism, Cheating, and Academic Integrity.** According to the university's Code of Academic Integrity, "Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information." The rest of the code is available at <https://studentconduct.gwu.edu/>. In general, I expect that you will not lie, cheat, steal, or otherwise conduct yourselves dishonorably, and will do something if you observe others engaging in such conduct. All work you submit for this course must be your own. **I will not tolerate any form of academic dishonesty.** Suspected cases will be referred to the Office of Academic Integrity. If you have questions about what constitutes proper use of published or unpublished sources, please ask the instructor.
- **Disabilities.** Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at (202) 994-8250 in Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information please refer to: <https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/>.
- **Mental Health.** The University's Counseling and Psychological Services (202-994-5300) offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: <https://healthcenter.gwu.edu/counseling-and-psychological-services>.
- **Security.** In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building where the class is located is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. If we have to leave the classroom, we will meet across E St. NW from the front entrance of the Elliott School in order to account for everyone and to make certain that everyone is safe. Please refer to Campus Advisories for the latest information on the University's operating status: <http://campusadvisories.gwu.edu/>.

- **Ideological Perspectives:** I do not care *what* you think, I care *that* you think. My mission is to get you to think critically about important issues in international relations, not convince you that my view is right. There are no right or wrong views, only better or worse arguments. Good arguments require sound logic, solid evidence, and a consideration of alternative explanations.

COURSE CALENDAR

Part I. Causes of Civil War

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|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. August 29 | Course Introduction and Definitions |
| 2. September 5 | The State |
| 3. September 12 | Greed, Economics, and Resources |
| 4. September 19 | Grievances |
| 5. September 26 | Triggers |

Part II. Conduct of Civil War

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| 6. October 3 | Violence in Insurgency |
| 7. October 10 | Violence in Conventional Civil War |
| 8. October 17 | Violence and Restraint |
| 9. October 24 | Rape |
| 10. October 31 | Effectiveness of Violence |
| 11. November 7 | Counterinsurgency |
| 12. November 14 | Rebel Recruitment/Cohesion |
| 13. November 21 | No Class: Thanksgiving Break |

Part III. Duration, Outcome, and Termination of Civil War

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|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| 14. November 28 | Civil War Duration/Alliances |
| 15. December 5 | Civil War Outcome |
| 16. December 11 | Civil War Termination ¹ |
| 17. December 17 | Research Paper Due |

¹ This is the university make-up day. This session may be rescheduled depending on students' schedules.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Part I. Causes of Civil War

1. Course Introduction and Definitions August 29
 - Therése Pettersson and Kristine Eck, “Organized Violence, 1989-2017,” *Journal of Peace Research* 55, no. 4 (July 2018): 535-47.
 - Nicholas Sambanis, “What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 2004): 814-858.
 - Stathis N. Kalyvas and Laia Balcells, “International System and Technologies of Rebellion: How the End of the Cold War Shaped Internal Conflict,” *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 3 (August 2010): 415-429.
 - Stathis N. Kalyvas, “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (October 2001): 99-118.
 - Paul Staniland, “Armed Politics and the Study of Intrastate Conflict,” *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 5 (2017): 459-467.
 - John A. Nagl, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 15-33.
 - Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 16-31.
 - Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 13-44.

2. The State September 5
 - Barry R. Posen, “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict,” *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27-47.
 - James D. Fearon, “Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict,” in *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*, ed. David Lake and Donald Rothchild (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 107-126.
 - Håvard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch, “Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992,” *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1 (March 2001): 33-48.
 - Jeff Goodwin, *No other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), chapters 1-2, especially 24-31 and 35-58.
 - James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75-90.
 - Matthew Adam Kocher, “State Capacity as a Conceptual Variable,” *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 5 (Spring/Summer 2010): 137-145.
 - Ore Koren and Anoop K. Sarbahi, “State Capacity, Insurgency, and Civil War: A Disaggregated Analysis,” *International Studies Quarterly* 62, no. 2 (June 2018): 274-288.

3. Greed, Economics, and Resources September 12
 - Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War,” *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (October 2004): 563-595.
 - James D. Fearon, “Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (August 2005): 483-507.
 - Michael L. Ross, “A Closer Look at Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9, no. 1 (2006): 265-300.
 - Michael L. Ross, *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012), 145-187.
 - Oeindrila Dube and Juan F. Vargas, “Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia,” *Review of Economic Studies* 80, no. 4 (2013): 1384-1421.
 - Edward Miguel, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti, “Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach,” *Journal of Political Economy* 112, no. 4 (2004): 725-53.

- Markus Bruckner and Antonio Ciccone, “International Commodity Prices, Growth and the Outbreak of Civil War in Sub-Saharan Africa,” *The Economic Journal* 120, no. 544 (May 2010): 519-34.
- Nicholas Sambanis, “Using Case Studies to Expand Economic Models of Civil War,” *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 2 (June 2004): 259-279.

4. Grievances September 19

- Ted Robert Gurr, “Psychological Factors in Civil Violence,” *World Politics* 20, no. 2 (January 1968): 245-278.
- Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 141-184.
- Roger Petersen, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 17-61.
- Cederman, Gleditsch, and Buhaug, *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*, Chapters 1-5.
- James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War,” *World Development* 39, no. 2 (February 2011): 199-211.

5. Triggers: Leaders, Competition, and External Factors September 26

- Roessler, *Ethnic Politics and State Power in Africa*, all.
- Adria Lawrence, “Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule,” *International Security* 35, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 88-122.
- Idean Salehyan, *Rebels without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009), 26-60.
- Alan J. Kuperman, “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (March 2008): 49-80.
- Alexander B. Downes, “Catastrophic Success: Foreign-Imposed Regime Change and Civil War,” unpublished ms., George Washington University, 2017.
- Jeremy Ferwerda and Nicholas L. Miller, “Political Devolution and Resistance to Foreign Rule: A Natural Experiment,” *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 3 (August 2014): 642-660.
- Matthew A. Kocher and Nuno P. Monteiro, “Lines of Demarcation: Causation, Design-Based Inference, and Historical Research,” *Perspectives on Politics* 14, no. 4 (December 2016): 952-975.

Part II. Conduct of Civil Wars

6. Violence in Insurgency October 3

- Kaylvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, all, especially chapters 4-5 and 7-9.
- Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion*, introduction and chapters 1-2, 6-9.

7. Violence in Conventional Civil War October 10

- Balcells, *Rivalry and Revenge*, all.
- Seung Joon Paik, “Territorial Changes, the Prospect of Victory, and Civilian Victimization: Evidence from the Korean War,” Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 2018, Chapters 1-2.
- Alexander B. Downes, *Targeting Civilians in War* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), Chapter 6.

8. Violence and Restraint October 17

- Stanton, *Violence and Restraint in Civil War*, all.
- Hyeran Jo and Katherine Bryant, “Taming of the Warlords: Commitment and Compliance by Armed Opposition Groups in Civil Wars,” in *The Persistent Power of Human Rights: From*

Commitment to Compliance, ed. Thomas Risse, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 239-258.

9. Rape

October 24

- Cohen, *Rape during Civil War*, all.
- Elisabeth Jean Wood, "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics and Society* 37, no. 1 (March 2009): 131-162.

10. Effectiveness of Violence

October 31

- Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, Chapter 6.
- Matthew Adam Kocher, Thomas B. Pepinsky, and Stathis N. Kalyvas, "Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War," *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (March 2011): 201-218.
- Jason M. Lyall, "Does Indiscriminate Repression Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 3 (June 2009): 331-362.
- Alexander B. Downes, "Draining the Sea by Filling the Graves: Investigating the Effectiveness of Indiscriminate Violence as a Counterinsurgency Strategy," *Civil Wars* 9, no. 4 (December 2007): 420-444.
- Jason Lyall, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai, "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan," *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 4 (November 2013): 679-705.
- Robert A. Pape, "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-361.
- Max Abrahms, "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security* 31, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 42-78.
- Virginia Page Fortna, "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes," *International Organization* 69, no. 3 (Summer 2015): 519-556.

11. Counterinsurgency

November 7

- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Praeger, 1964), 107-135.
- *FM 3-24: Counterinsurgency* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, December 2006), Chapter 1, available online at <http://www.fas.org/irp/doddir/army/fm3-24.pdf> (a.k.a., *The U.S. Army/Marine Counterinsurgency Field Manual*).
- Jason Lyall, "Are Coethnics More Effective Counterinsurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War," *American Political Science Review* 104, no. 1 (February 2010): 1-20.
- Eli Berman, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter, "Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq," *Journal of Political Economy* 119, no. 4 (August 2011): 766-819.
- Benjamin Crost, Joseph Felter, and Patrick Johnston, "Aid under Fire: Development Projects and Civil Conflict," *American Economic Review* 104, no. 6 (2014): 1833-1856.
- Andrew Beath, Fotini Christia, and Ruben Enikolopov, "Winning Hearts and Minds through Development: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan," unpublished ms.
- Stephen Biddle, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro, "Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007?" *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 7-40.
- Stephen Biddle, Julia Macdonald, and Ryan Baker, "Small Footprint, Small Payoff: The Military Effectiveness of Security Force Assistance," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 41, nos. 1-2 (2018): 89-142.

12. Rebel Recruitment, Individual Participation, and Rebel Cohesion

November 14

- Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion*, chapters 3-4.
- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War," *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2 (April 2008): 436-455.
- Barbara F. Walter, "The Extremist's Advantage in Civil War," *International Security* 42, no. 2 (Fall 2017): 7-39.
- Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 193-225.
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, and Matthew Adam Kocher, "How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem," *World Politics* 59, no. 2 (January 2007): 177-216.
- Evgeny Finkel, "The Phoenix Effect of State Repression: Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust," *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 2 (May 2015): 339-353.
- Paul Staniland, "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security* 37, no. 1 (Summer 2012): 142-177.
- Patrick Johnston, "The Geography of Insurgent Organization and its Consequences for Civil War: Evidence from Liberia and Sierra Leone," *Security Studies* 17, no. 1 (March 2008): 107-137.
- Alexander B. Downes, "Sources of Insurgent Resilience in the Face of Adversity," unpublished ms., GWU, February 2017.

Part IV. Duration, Outcome, and Termination of Civil War13. Civil War Duration and Alliances

November 28

- Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*, all.
- Lee J.M. Seymour, "Why Factions Switch Sides in Civil Wars: Rivalry, Patronage, and Realignment in Sudan," *International Security* 39, no. 2 (Fall 2014): 92-131.
- James D. Fearon, "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41, no. 3 (May 2004): 275-302.
- David E. Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 4 (October 2006): 875-892.
- David E. Cunningham, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Idean Salehyan, "It Takes Two: A Dyadic Analysis of Civil War Duration and Outcome," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 4 (August 2009): 570-597.
- David E. Cunningham, "Blocking Resolution: How External States Can Prolong Civil Wars," *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 2 (2010): 115-127.

14. Civil War Outcomes

December 5

- Andrew J. R. Mack, "Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict," *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January 1975): 175-200.
- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 93-128.
- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, III, "Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars," *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 67-106.
- Gil Merom, *How Democracies Lose Small Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3-32.
- Jeffrey A. Friedman, "Manpower and Counterinsurgency: Empirical Foundations for Theory and Doctrine," *Security Studies* 20, no. 4 (2011): 556-591.
- Stephen Gent, "Going in When it Counts: Military Intervention and the Outcome of Civil Conflicts," *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (2008): 713-735.
- Jenna Jordan, "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation," *Security Studies* 18, no. 4 (December 2009): 719-755.

- Patrick B. Johnston, “Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns,” *International Security* 36, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 47-79.

15. Civil War Termination

December 11 (Tuesday)

This session will be informal, with food and drink!

- Chaim Kaufmann, “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security* 20, no. 4 (Spring 1996): 136-175.
- Carter Johnson, “Partitioning to Peace: Sovereignty, Demography, and Ethnic Civil Wars,” *International Security* 32, no. 4 (Spring 2008): 140-170.
- Barbara F. Walter, “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement,” *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 335-364.
- Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie, *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 1-11, 21-42.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents’ Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008), 76-104.
- Michael J. Gilligan and Ernest J. Sergenti, “Do UN Interventions Cause Peace? Using Matching to Improve Causal Inference,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 2 (July 2008): 89-122.
- Lisa Hultman, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon, “Beyond Keeping Peace: United Nations Effectiveness in the Midst of Fighting,” *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 4 (November 2014): 737-753.
- Aila M. Matanock, “Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict,” *International Security* 41, no. 4 (Spring 2017): 93-132.

APPENDIX: LISTS OF CIVIL WARS

Good lists of civil wars may be found in the following articles, books, or locations on the web.

- Correlates of War Project Intrastate War Data, v. 4.1 (1816-2007)
<http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/COW-war>
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "A Revised List of Wars between and within Independent States, 1816-2002," *International Interactions* 30, no. 3 (July-September 2004): 231-262.
- James Fearon and David Laitin's list of civil wars (1945-1999) used in their 2003 *APSR* article
 - <https://fearonresearch.stanford.edu/paperspublished/journal-articles-2/> (pp. 7-10)
- UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, v. 18.1 (1946-2017)
 - <http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/>
 - These data contain four different conflict types: extrasystemic (1), interstate (2), internal (3), and internationalized internal (4). See the codebook for definitions. Only interstate wars (type = 2) are clearly not civil wars.
 - Note also the lower fatality threshold for a conflict to be included in the dataset
- Political Instability Task Force, State Failure Problem Set (1955-2016)
 - <http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html>
 - See also the list of episodes of political instability in Jack A. Goldstone et al., "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability," *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 1 (January 2010): 190-208.

Broadly similar lists of civil wars for the post-World War II period may be found in several books and articles:

- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 4 (December 2000): 779-801.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Finally, for a good general reference on armed conflict, see:

- Micheal Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and other Figures, 1494-2007*, 3rd ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008).