
Civil Conflict
PS711-002
Fall 2013

Course Time: Th 9:15-11:45am

Location: POT 1645

Instructor: Dr. Clayton Thyne

Office: 1625 Patterson Office Tower

Office Hours: Tu 10am-noon; Th 3:20-4:30pm (or by appointment)

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Learning Objectives

The purpose of this course is the systematic theoretical and empirical study of civil conflict. The readings are focused on the most recent empirical work in this area, though a handful of the more traditional and case-oriented research will arise throughout the course. A major component of this course is the production of a research paper, which will apply and extend the topics into an original piece of research.

Required Texts

All text needed for this course can be found online at:

<http://www.uky.edu/~clthyn2/CWreadings.zip>

Class Format

The students will play a key role in leading the class. Each reading/chapter will be assigned to a student in the week prior to class. The student will be expected to email me a written summary of his/her assigned chapter/article by the time class begins (1 page max). I will make copies of these summaries available to all of the students to help you prepare for the comprehensive exam. The student will also be responsible for leading the discussion for the article, so s/he should come to class prepared to pose at least 3 critical questions for class discussion.

In addition to weekly summaries, each week one student will present to the class about a dataset that s/he finds particularly interesting. The hope is that the data chosen for presentation will be the same as the data that the student will use with his/her research paper. Students can present the data in any format they wish (i.e., you do not need to write anything for this). Good places to start finding datasets include:

- Will Moore's syllabus: <http://mailer.fsu.edu/~whmoore/garnet-whmoore/syllabi/cpo5934.Spr13.pdf>
- PRIO: <http://www.prio.no/Data/Armed-Conflict/>
- UCDP: <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/>
- COW: <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>

Grading

Research Paper (75%)

Choose a research question on civil conflict for which a significant difference of opinion exists, and research this based on either the historical evidence of two or more cases, or else on the basis of existing statistical data sets. The final product should take the form of a conference paper or journal article. The paper should be about 25-30 pages in length, contain a review of the relevant literature, and be written in the professional style of the American Political Science Association. You may use whatever methodology you feel is most appropriate to the issue and which you feel qualified to implement. I will not be impressed by incompetent quantitative analysis, nor will I penalize competent historical or case-study approaches.

The paper will be due in several stages:

Friday, September 20th (by 3:00 p.m. in my inbox/email):

Research design, 5-7 pages identifying your research question, a brief description of the literature relevant to your question, the method of analysis you intend to employ, and any data or historical sources you will use to evaluate your hypotheses.

Friday, October 25th (by 3:00 p.m. in my inbox/email):

First draft, at least 15 pages in length with initial drafts of all of the front-end elements in the paper (i.e., the research question, literature review, and theory should be well-developed). This should include a good start on your empirical tests.

Friday, December 6th (by 3:00pm in my inbox/email):

Second draft, with all required elements of the paper due. I will distribute drafts to all students once they are collected. The reading assignment for 12/12/13 will be to read all student papers and provide them with at least one page of suggestions for revisions.

Thursday, December 12th:

Presentation of paper in class. Each presentation should last 10-12 minutes, leaving about 5 minutes for questions.

Monday, December 16 (by 5:00pm in my inbox/email):

You should address questions and comments raised during in-class presentations when preparing your final paper. The paper is due in multiple stages so that I and other students in the class will have an opportunity to give you some feedback along the way. The paper will be given a final grade when I read the final draft, but I will take into consideration the quality of the research design, first draft, second draft, and in-class presentation when determining the final paper grade.

Final paper grades will be calculated based on the following:

- A= Paper is ready for presentation at a good conference (e.g., ISA or APSA). Paper could be submitted to a journal with less than 20 hours of additional work.
- B= Paper might be ready for a small/weak conference, but would be somewhat embarrassing to present at a good conference. This could be published with considerable work.

- C= Paper is not ready to present anywhere. The likelihood of this ever being published is low.
- E= Not graduate-level work.

Class Participation and Attendance (25%)

The quality of a graduate level seminar depends to a large extent on the efforts of the students. I expect that you will come to class each week prepared to discuss the required readings. While you are reading the assigned course material, I encourage you to consider the following questions:

- a) What is the research question?
- b) What is the researcher's theoretical argument?
- c) What methods/approach does the author use to try to answer the question?
- d) Is this approach suitable for the question or theory?
- e) If the author provides empirical tests, are the operational measures of the concepts appropriate?
- f) What are the most significant research findings & how do these relate to other course readings?
- g) To what degree do you think the researcher has answered his/her research questions?

All course work must be completed at the end of the term. Students will not get an incomplete in this class for any reason. Students should not even ask about taking an incomplete or consider it as an option.

Disabilities/ Medical Conditions

If you have a documented disability that requires academic accommodations, please see me as soon as possible. In order to receive accommodations in this course, you must provide me with a Letter of Accommodation from the Disability Resource Center (Room 2, Alumni Gym, 257-2754, email address jkarnes@email.uky.edu) for coordination of campus disability services available to students with disabilities.

Missed exams and assignments

Make-up exams/assignments (for missed/late examinations/assignments) will only be given for documented excused absences as defined by the University (Senate Rule V.2.4.2) and are scheduled as needed. All missed work will result in a score of zero unless an acceptable written excuse is presented within 48 hours of the due date.

Plagiarism and Cheating

Students are advised to retain all notes and drafts for all work until after they receive their final grade. Students should also be aware that the instructor takes matters of plagiarism and cheating very seriously and is prone to imposing the most severe penalty allowed by university rules, which includes, but is not limited to, issuing an automatic grade of 0.0 for the entire course. All assignments, projects, and exercises completed by students for this class should be the product of the personal efforts of the individual(s) whose name(s) appear on the corresponding assignment. Misrepresenting others' work as one's own in the form of cheating or plagiarism is unethical and will lead to those penalties outlined in the [University Senate Rules](#) (6.3.1 & 6.3.2). The [Ombud](#) site also has information on plagiarism.

Course Schedule

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

Week 1

What is a civil war? Why should we care about civil wars? (08/29/13)

- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. "What is Civil War?: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operation 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.
- Kalyvas, Stathis, and Laia Balcells. 2010. "International systems and technologies of rebellion: How the end of the Cold War shaped internal conflict." *American Political Science Review* 104(3):415-429.
- Themnér, Lotta, and Peter Wallensteen. 2013. "Armed Conflicts, 1946-2012." *Journal of Peace Research*, forthcoming.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2006. "It's Official: There is now a Civil War in Iraq." *New York Times*, 23 July.
- Collier, Paul, Lani Elliott, Havard Hegre, Anke Hoeffler, Marta Reynal-Querol and Nicholas Sambanis (2003). *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank., pp. 13-49.
- Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2006. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 100(3):429-447.

Week 2

Other Types of Anti-government Action (09/05/13)

- Mahan, Sue, and Pamala Griset. 2007. "What is Terrorism?" In *Terrorism in Perspective*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Powell, Jonathan M., and Clayton L. Thyne. 2011. "Global Instances of Coups from 1950 to 2010: A New Dataset." *Journal of Peace Research* 48(2):249-259.
- Carey, Sabine C. 2006. "The dynamic relationship between protest and repression." *Political Research Quarterly* 59(1):1-11.
- Harff, Barbara. 2003. "No lessons learned from the Holocaust? Assessing risks of genocide and political mass murder since 1955." *American Political Science Review* 97(1):57-73.
- Goldstone, Jack. A. 2009. "Rethinking revolutions: Integrating origins, processes, and outcomes." *Comparative Studies in South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 29(1):18-32.
- Iqbal, Zaryab, and Christopher Zorn. 2006. "Sic Semper Tyrannis? Power, repression, and assassination since the second World War." *Journal of Politics* 68(3):489-501.

SECTION 2. WHAT CAUSES CIVIL WAR?

Week 3

Rebel Motivations I: Psychological and Grievance Explanations (09/12/13)

- Gurr, Ted. 1968. "Psychological Factors in civil violence." *World Politics* 20(2):245-278.
- MacCulloch, Robert. 2004. "The Impact of Income on the Taste for Revolt." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4):830-848.
- Murshed, S. Mansoob, and Scott Gates. 2005. "Spatial-horizontal inequality and the Maoist insurgency in Nepal." *Review of Development Economics* 9(1):121-134.
- Thyne, Clayton L. 2006. "ABC's, 123's, and the golden rule: The pacifying effect of education on civil war, 1980-1999." *International Studies Quarterly* 50:733-754.
- Jakobsen, Tor G., and Indra De Soysa. 2009. "Give me liberty, or give me death! State repression, ethnic grievance and civil war, 1981-2004." *Civil Wars* 11(2):137-157.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian S. Gleditsch. 2011. "Horizontal inequalities and ethnonationalist civil war: A global comparison." *American Political Science Review* 105(3):478-495.
- Buhaug, Halvard, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian S. Gleditsch. 2013. "Square pegs in round holes: Inequalities, grievances, and civil war." *International Studies Quarterly*, forthcoming.

Week 4

Rebel Motivations II: Ethnic and Economic Factors (09/19/13)

- Ellingsen, Tanja. 2000. "Colorful Community of Ethnic Witches' Brew? Multiethnicity and Domestic Conflict during and after the Cold War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44(2):228-249.
- Eck, Kristine. 2009. "From armed conflict to war: Ethnic mobilization and conflict intensification." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(2):369-388.
- Gubler, Joshua R., and Joel S. Selway. 2012. "Horizontal inequality, crosscutting cleavages, and civil war." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(2):206-232.
- Hoeffler, Anke. 2012. "On the causes of civil war." In *Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict*, Michelle Garfinkel and Stergios Skaperdas, eds. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- MacCulloch, Robert. 2004. "The Impact of Income on the Taste for Revolt." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4):830-848.
- Lujala, Paivi, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Elizabeth Gilmore. 2005. "A Diamond Curse? Civil War and Lootable Resources." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4):538-562.
- Sorli, Mirjam, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Havard Strand. 2005. "Why Is There So Much Conflict in the Middle East?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(1):141-165.
- Berman, Eli, Michael Callen, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2011. "Do Working Men Rebel? Insurgency and Unemployment in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Philippines." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(4):496-528.

Week 5
Opportunity Structures (09/26/13)

- Lichbach, Mark I. 1994. "Rethinking rationality and rebellion: Theories of collective action and problems of collective dissent." *Rationality and Society* 6(3):8-39.
- Moore, Will H. 1995. "Rational Rebels: Overcoming the Free-Rider Problem." *Political Research Quarterly* 48(2):417-454.
- Hegre, Havard, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott S. Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2001. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992." *American Political Science Review* 95(1):16-33.
- Fearon, James D., and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1):75-90.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56:563-595.
- Fjedle, Hanne, and Indra De Soysa. 2009. "Coercion, co-optation, or cooperation? State capacity and the risk of civil war, 1961-2004." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 28(1):5-25.
- Thyne, Clayton L., and Ryan D. Schroeder. 2012. "Social Constraints and Civil War: Bridging the Gap with Criminological Theory." *Journal of Politics* 74(4):1066-1078.

Week 6
International Dimensions (10/03/13)

- Moore, Will. H. 1995. "Action-Reaction or Rational Expectations? Reciprocity and the Domestic-International Conflict Nexus during the 'Rhodesia Problem.'" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 39(1):129-167.
- Cetinyan, Rupen. 2002. "Ethnic Bargaining in the Shadow of Third-Party Intervention." *International Organization* 56(3):645-677.
- Gleditsch, Kristian S, Kyle Beardsley. 2004. "Nosy Neighbors: Third-party Actors in Central American Conflicts." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(3):379-402.
- Barbieri, Katherine, and Rafael Reuveny. 2005. "Economic globalization and civil war." *Journal of Politics* 67(4):1228-1247.
- Salehyan, Idean, and Kristian Gleditsch (2006). Refugees and the Spread of Civil War. *International Organization* 60(2): 335-366.
- Thyne, Clayton L. 2006. "Cheap Signals with Costly Consequences: The Effect of Interstate Relations on Civil War, 1945—1999." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(6):937-961.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian S. Gleditsch, Idean Salehyan, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2013. "Transborder ethnic kin and civil war." *International Organization* 67(2):389-410.

SECTION 3. THE DURATION AND OUTCOME OF CIVIL WARS

Week 7

Civil War Bargaining (10/10/13)

- Walter, Barbara F. 2009. "Bargaining failures and civil war." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:243-61.
- Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Mans Söderbom. 2004. "On the Duration of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3):253-273.
- Fearon, James D. 2004. "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3):275-301.
- Jenne, Erin K., Stephen M. Saideman, and Will Lowe. 2007. "Separatism as a Bargaining Posture: The Role of Leverage in Minority Radicalization." *Journal of Peace Research* 44(5):539-558.
- Kirschner, Shanna A. 2010. "Knowing your enemy: Information and commitment problems in civil wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(5):745-770.
- Wolford, Scott. 2012. "Incumbents, successors, and crisis bargaining: Leadership turnover as a commitment problem." *Journal of Peace Research* 49(4):517-530.
- Hultquist, Philip. 2013. "Power parity and peace? The role of relative power in civil war settlement." *Journal of Peace Research*, forthcoming.

Week 8

Termination and Recurrence (10/17/13)

- Brandt, Paul, T. David Mason, Mehmet Gurses, Nicolai Petrovsky, and Dagmar Radin. 2008. "When and How the Fighting Stops: Explaining the Duration and Outcome of Civil Wars." *Defense and Peace Economics* 19(6):415-434.
- Mason, T. David, and Patrick J. Fett. 1996. "How Civil War Ends: A Rational Choice Approach." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40(4):546-568.
- DeRouen, Karl R. Jr. and David Sobek. 2004. "The Dynamics of Civil War Duration and Outcome." *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3):303-320.
- Walter, Barbara F. 2004. "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining recurring Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41:371-388.
- Quinn, J. Michael, T. David Mason, and Mehmet Gurses. 2007. "Sustaining the Peace: Determinants of Civil War Recurrence." *International Interactions* 33:167-193.
- Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Mans Soderbom. 2008. "Post-conflict risks." *Journal of Peace Research* 45(4):461-478.
- Glassmyer, Katherine, and Nicholas Sambanis. 2008. "Rebel-Military Integration and Civil War Termination." *Journal of Peace Research* 45(3):365-384.
- Mattes, Michaela, and Barcu Savun. 2010. "Information, agreement design, and the durability of civil war settlements." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2):511-524.

Week 9
Breaking the Two-player Set-up (10/24/13)

- Stedman, Stephen J. 1997. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." *International Security* 22(2):5-53.
- Cunningham, David E. 2006. "Veto Players and Civil War Duration." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4):875-892.
- Cunningham, David E., Kristian S. Gleditsch, and Idean Salehyan. 2009. "It Takes Two: A Dyadic Analysis of Civil War Duration and Outcome." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53(4):570-597.
- Justino, Patricia. 2009. "Poverty and violent conflict: A micro-level perspective on the causes and duration of warfare." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(3):315-333.
- Metternich, Nils W. 2011. "Expecting Elections: Interventions, Ethnic Support, and the Duration of Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(6):909-937.
- Akcinaroglu, Seden. 2012. "Rebel interdependencies and civil war outcomes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(5):879-903.
- Thyne, Clayton L. 2012. "Information, Commitment, and Intra-War Bargaining: The Effect of Governmental Constraints on Civil War Duration." *International Studies Quarterly* 56(2):307-321.

Week 10
International Factors (10/31/13)

- Aydin, Aysegul. 2010. "Where do states go? Strategy in civil war intervention." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 27(1):47-66.
- Salehyan, Idean, Kristian S. Gleditsch, and David E. Cunningham. 2011. "Explaining External Support for Insurgent Groups." *International Organization* 65(4):709-744.
- Walter, Barbara F. 1997. "The critical barrier to civil war settlement." 1997. *International Organization* 51(3):335-364.
- Balch-Lindsay, Dylan and Andrew J. Enterline. 2000. "Killing time: The world politics of civil war duration, 1820-1992." *International Studies Quarterly* 44(4):615-642.
- Regan, Patrick M., and Aysegul Aydin. 2006. "Diplomacy and other forms of intervention in civil wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50(5):736-756.
- Svensson, Isak. 2007. "Bargaining, bias and peace brokers: How rebels commit to peace." *Journal of Peace Research* 44(2):177-194.
- Cunningham, David E. 2010. "Blocking Resolution: How External States Can Prolong Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(2):115-127.
- Escribá-Folch, Abel. 2010. "Economic sanctions and the duration of civil conflicts." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(2):129-141.

SECTION 4. BUILDING AND SUSTAINING PEACE

Week 11

Power-sharing and Partition (11/07/13)

- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2000. "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52(4):437-483.
- Hartzell, Caroline, and Matthew Hodge. 2003. "Institutionalizing peace: Power sharing and post-civil war conflict management." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(2):318-332.
- Mukherjee, Bumba. 2006. "Why Political Power-Sharing Agreements Lead to Enduring Peaceful Resolution of Some Civil Wars, But Not Others?" *International Studies Quarterly* 50(2):479-504.
- Svensson, Isak. 2007. "Fighting with Faith: Religion and Conflict Resolution in Civil Wars." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51(6):930-949.
- Chapman, Thomas, and Philip G. Roeder. 2007. "Partition as a Solution to Wars of Nationalism: The Importance of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 101(4):677-691.
- Nilsson, Desirée. 2008. "Partial Peace: Rebel Groups Inside and Outside of Civil War Settlements." *Journal of Peace Research* 45(4):479-495.
- DeRouen Jr., Karl, Jenna Lea, and Peter Wallensteen. 2009. "The Duration of Civil War Peace Agreements." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26(4):367-387.
- Mattes, Michaela, and Barcu Savun. 2009. "Fostering Peace After Civil War: Commitment Problems and Agreement Design." *International Studies Quarterly* 53(3):737-759.

Week 12

Peacekeeping (11/14/13)

- Gilligan, Michael, and Stephen J. Stedman. 2003. "Where do the Peacekeepers Go?" *International Studies Review* 5(1):37-54.
- Fortna, Virginia P. 2004. "Does peacekeeping keep peace? International intervention and the duration of peace after civil war." *International Studies Quarterly* 48:269-292.
- Mullenbach, Mark J. 2005. "Deciding to Keep Peace: An Analysis of International Influences on the Establishment of Third-Party Peacekeeping Missions," *International Studies Quarterly* 49:529-555.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2008. "Short- and Long-Term Effects of United Nations Peace Operations." *World Bank Economic Review* 22(1):9-32.
- Beardsley, Kyle. 2011. "Peacekeeping and the Contagion of Armed Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 73(4):1051-1064.
- Wright, Thorin M., and J. Michael Greig. 2012. "Staying the Course: Assessing the Durability of Peacekeeping Operations." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29(2):127-147.
- Hultman, Lisa, Jacob Kathman, and Megan Shannon. 2013. "UN peacekeeping and civilian protection in civil war." *American Journal of Political Science*, forthcoming.
- Joshi, Madhav. 2013. "United Nations Peacekeeping, Democratic Process, and the Durability of Peace after Civil Wars." *International Studies Perspectives*, forthcoming.

SECTION 5. KILLING AND COUPS

Week 13

Killing during Civil Wars (11/21/13)

- Valentino, Benjamin A., Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare." *International Organization* 58(2):375-407.
- Downes, Alexander B. 2006. "Desperate Times, Desperate Measures: The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War." *International Security* 30(4):152-195.
- Wayman, Frank, and Atsushi Tago. 2010. "Explaining the Onset of Mass Killings." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(3):3-13.
- Wood, Reed M. 2010. "Rebel Capability and Strategic Violence against Civilians." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(5):601-615.
- Kathman, Jacob D., and Reed M. Wood. 2011. "Managing Threat, Cost, and Incentive to Kill: The Short- and Long-Term Effects of Intervention in Mass Killings." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(5):735-760.
- DeMeritt, Jacqueline H.R. 2012. "International Organizations and Government Killing: Does Naming and Shaming Save Lives?" *International Interactions* 38(5):597-621.
- DeMeritt, Jacqueline H.R. 2013. "Delegating Death: Military Intervention and Government Killing." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, forthcoming.

Week 14

Coups d'état (12/05/13)

- Londregan, John, and Keither Poole. 1990. "Poverty, the Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power." *World Politics* 42(2):151-183.
- Belkin, Aaron, and Evan Schofer. 2003. "Toward a Structural Understanding of Coup Risk." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47(5):594-620.
- Thyne, Clayton L. 2010. "Supporter of Stability or Agent of Agitation? The Effect of United States Foreign Policy on Coups in Latin America, 1960--1999." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(4):449-461.
- Powell, Jonathan M. 2012. "Determinants of the attempting and outcome of coups d'état." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(6):1017-1040.
- Leon, Gabriel. 2013. "Soldiers or politicians? Institutions, conflict, and the military's role in politics." *Oxford Economic Papers* 65(3):1-24.
- Thyne, Clayton L., and Jonathan M. Powell. 2013. "Coup d'état or Coup d'Autocracy? How Coups Impact Democratization, 1950-2008." *Foreign Policy Analysis*, forthcoming.
- Powell, Jonathan M. 2013. "Regime vulnerability and the diversionary threat of force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, forthcoming.

Week 15

Research Presentations (12/12/13)