



Political Science 9470

Theories of Civil War

W, 6:00 – 8:30pm, Professional Building, Room 104

Prof. Bryce Reeder

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This syllabus is subject to change at my discretion.

**Overview:** Civil war is the dominant form of political violence in the contemporary world. This graduate seminar will introduce students to cutting edge research on intrastate conflict. The course will cover the onset, dynamics, and legacies of violence.<sup>1</sup> In addition, we will explore many of the conceptual debates surrounding this research program, such as defining “civil war” and whether or not it should be studied as being a distinct form of political violence. Representative of the civil war literature, the work we engage will be diverse and include qualitative and quantitative methods, micro and macro levels of analysis, and sub and cross-national comparative designs.

**Expectations:** By selecting into graduate school you have signaled to our department that you are eager to learn and desire to be challenged so that you can develop the skills needed to become successful in this discipline. In the same vein, by selecting into a course on civil war you have signaled to me that you wish to acquire the ability to do research in this area. In my view, this constitutes a contract whereby you come prepared to contribute and I challenge you in such a way that helps you develop as a political scientist. In this spirit, a disinterested disposition will not be tolerated. In other words, respect me, your peers, and yourself enough to come to class prepared to be an active contributor.

Your grade in this course will be the product of two factors:

- I. *Participation (50%):* This course will be structured as a seminar and very little lecturing will take place. Students are expected to attend all classes, read all of the assignment material, and actively participate in our discussions. Those who miss class without an excuse, come unprepared, and fail to participate will be penalized. Note that participation does not mean “talking a lot.” Rather, participation involves making insightful observations about the readings and thinking critically about the civil war literature. I reserve the right to ask questions of specific students in order to keep the “flow” of the discussion moving in the right

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<sup>1</sup>We will not cover conflict management or settlement, as this topic is covered in another graduate seminar in the department entitled *Conflict Management and Peacekeeping*.

direction. This will help you refine your knowledge about the literature, and will also lead to the development of new research questions.

To promote participation, each student will be expected to bring 1-3 discussion topics/questions to class. These must be printed out and enough copies must be made for everyone in the class. In addition to providing copies, students must also email me the topics/questions **no later than 5pm Tuesday night**.

- II. *Research Project (50%)*: The primary requirement for this course is the completion of an original research paper, of a length and quality suitable for presentation at a professional conference. This paper can be done individually or jointly with another student(s) in the class. A portion of each class period will be devoted to discussions and decision making about the research projects. Students will present papers in a department forum during class or at another time during the final two weeks of the course. Half of the final course grade will be based on the final paper and associated presentation.

The research paper will be completed and revised according to the following schedule:

**02/07** Research Question

**02/21** Literature Review

**03/07** Theoretical Framework

**03/21** Research Design

**04/11** Data Collection Complete

**04/18** Findings

**05/02** Full Draft (with Introduction and Conclusion)

## University Policies

### I. *Students with Disabilities*

- If you anticipate barriers related to the format or requirements of this course, if you have emergency medical information to share with me, or if you need to make arrangements in case the building must be evacuated, please let me know as soon as possible.
- If disability related accommodations are necessary (for example, a note taker, extended time on exams, captioning), please register with the Office of Disability Services, S5 Memorial Union, 573-882-4696, and then notify me of your eligibility for reasonable accommodations.

### II. *Plagiarism and Other Violations of Academic Integrity*

- Academic integrity is fundamental to the activities and principles of a university. All members of the academic community must be confident that each person's work has been responsibly and honorably acquired, developed, and presented. Any effort to gain an advantage not given to all students is dishonest whether or not the effort is successful. The academic community regards breaches of the academic integrity rules as extremely serious matters. Sanctions for such a breach may include academic sanctions from the instructor, including failing the course for any violation, to disciplinary sanctions ranging from probation to expulsion. When in doubt about plagiarism, paraphrasing, quoting, collaboration, or any other form of cheating, consult the course instructor.

### III. *Intellectual Pluralism*

- The University community welcomes intellectual diversity and respects student rights. Students who have questions or concerns regarding the atmosphere in this class (including respect for diverse opinions) may contact the departmental chair or divisional director; the director of the Office of Students Rights and Responsibilities; the MU Equity Office, or [equity@missouri.edu](mailto:equity@missouri.edu).
- All students will have the opportunity to submit an anonymous evaluation of the instructor(s) at the end of the course.

### IV. *Intellectual Property Notice*

- All course materials including but not limited to the syllabus, course assignments, study guides, learning guides, online lecture videos and content, and lab book (i.e. course pack) are property of the instructor and University and may not be shared online or distributed in any manner to others. Students are prohibited from posting course materials or notes online and from selling notes to or being paid for taking notes by any person or commercial firm without the express written permission of the professor teaching this course. Doing so will constitute both an academic integrity violation and a copyright violation. Violations of copyright laws could subject you to civil penalties and criminal liability. Violations of academic integrity may subject you to disciplinary action under University policies.

## List of Topics

- What is Civil War?
- Civil War Data
- Inequality
- Regime Type and Institutions
- Ethnicity
- Role of Resources
- Climate and Environmental Factors
- Recruitment and Joiners
- Rebel Governance
- Wartime Dynamics (patterns of violence)
- External Actors and Diffusion
- Legacies of Civil War Violence

## Weekly Reading Schedule

### January 17 – Introduction to Seminar

### January 24 – What is Civil War?

Gutierrez-Sanin, Francisco and Elisabeth Wood. 2017. “What Should We Mean by ‘Pattern of Political Violence?’ Repertoire, Targeting, Frequency, and Technique.” *Perspectives on Politics* 15(1):20-41.

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2004. “What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (6):814-858.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2001. “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?” *World Politics* 54 (1): 99-118.

Barnes, Nicholas. 2017. “Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence.” *Perspectives on Politics* 15(4):967-987.

### January 31 – Civil War Data

Salehyan, Idean. 2015. “Best practices in the collection of conflict data.” *Journal of Peace Research* 52:105-109.

Weidmann, Nils B. 2015. “On the Accuracy of Media-based Conflict Event Data.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59:1129-1149.

von Borzyskowski, Inken and Michael Wahman. 2017. “The Causes and Consequences of Reporting Bias in Media-Based Conflict Event Data.” Paper presented at Uppsala University, Department of Peace and Conflict Studies, Brown bag Seminar, March 27, 2017.

Reeder, Bryce W. 2018 (forthcoming). “The Political Geography of Rebellion: Using Event Data to Identify Insurgent Territory, Preferences, and Relocation Patterns.” *International Studies Quarterly*. (focus on author’s attempt to cope with bias in event data)

*Notable Data Projects to Explore (not exhaustive)*

- [Correlates of War \(COW\) Intra-state War data set](#)
- [Uppsala Conflict Data Program \(UCDP\) Datasets](#)
  - Annual armed conflict data
  - Annual dyadic armed conflict data

- Annual civil war violence type data (one-sided, non-state, battles)
- Geo-referenced event data (GED)
- GED conflict polygons
- External support data
- Peace agreement data
- Conflict management efforts data
- [Minorities at Risk \(MAR\) Data](#)
- [Non-State Actor Data](#) (Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan)
- [Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project \(ACLED\)](#)
- [Social Conflict Analysis Database \(SCAD\)](#)
- [Cline Center Event Data](#)
  - Civil unrest data
  - Coup D’etat project data
- [Political Instability Task Force Worldwide Atrocities Dataset](#)

## February 7 – Inequality

Cramer, Christopher. 2003. “Does Inequality Cause Conflict?” *Journal of International Development* 15(4):397-412.

Boix, Carles. 2008. “Economic Roots of Civil Wars and Revolutions in the Contemporary World.” *World Politics* 60(3):390-437.

Buhaug, Halvard, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2014. “Square Pegs in Round Holes: Inequalities, Grievances, and Civil War.” *International Studies Quarterly* 58(2):418-431.

Buhaug, Halvard, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Helge Holtermann, Gudrun Ostby, and Andreas Foro Tollefsen. 2011. “It’s the Local Economy, Stupid! Geographic Wealth Dispersion and Conflict Outbreak Location.” 55(5):814-840.

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):478-495.

Chiba, Daina and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2017. “The Shape of Things to Come? Expanding the inequality and grievance model for civil war forecasts with event data.” *Journal of Peace Research* 54(2):275-297.

## February 14 – Regime Type and Institutions

Hegre, Havard, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott 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):33-48.

Hendrix, Cullen S. and Stephan Haggard. 2015. “Global Food Prices, Regime Type, and Urban Unrest in the Developing World.” *Journal of Peace Research* 52(2):143-157.

Walter, Barbara F. 2014. “Why Bad Governance Leads to Repeat Civil War.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(7):1242-1272.

Brancati, Dawn. 2006. “Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?” *International Organization* 60(3):651-685.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Simon Hug, Andreas Schadel, and Julian Wucherpfennig. 2015. “Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late?” *American Political Science Review* 109(2):354-370.

## February 21 – Ethnicity

Sambanis, Nicholas. 2001. “Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3):259-282.

Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2000. “Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity.” *International Organization* 54(4):845-877.

Walter, Barbara. 2006. “Building Reputation: Why Governments Fight Some Separatists but not Others.” *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2):313-330.

Bormann, Nils-Christian, Lars-Erik Cederman, and Manuel Vogt. 2015. “Language, Religion, and Ethnic Civil War.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(4):744-771.

Bormann, Nils-Christian and Jesse Hammond. 2016. “A Slippery Slope: The Domestic Diffusion of Ethnic Civil War.” *International Studies Quarterly* 60(4):587-598.

## February 28 – Role of Resources

Ross, Michael L. 2015. “What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 18:239-259.

Ross, Michael. 2004. “What do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?” *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3):337-356.

Berman, Nicolas, Mathieu Couttenier, Dominic Rohner, and Mathias Thoenig. 2017. ”This Mine

Is Mine! How Minerals Fuel Conflicts in Africa.” *American Economic Review* 107(6):1564-1610.

Lujala, Paivi. 2010. “The Spoils of Nature: Armed Civil Conflict and Rebel Access to Natural Resources.” *Journal of Peace Research* 47(1):15-28.

Findley, Michael G. and Josiah F. Marineau. 2014. “Lootable Resources and Third-Party Intervention into Civil Wars.” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 32(5):465-486.

Cornell, Svante E. 2005. “The Interaction of Narcotics and Conflict.” *Journal of Peace Research* 42(6):751-760.

### **March 7 – Theory-Building Discussions**

### **March 14 – Climate and Environmental Factors**

Homer-Dixon, Thomas. 1994. “Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases.” *International Security* 19(1):5-40.

Hendrix, Cullen S. and Idean Salehyan. 2012. “Climate Change, Rainfall, and Social Conflict in Africa.” *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 35–50.

Nardulli, Peter F., Buddy Peyton, and Joseph Bajjalieh. 2015. “Climate Change and Civil Unrest: The Impact of Rapid-onset Disasters.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59:310-335.

Kelley, Colin P, Shahrzad Mohtadi, Mark A. Cane, Richard Seager, and Yochanan Kushnir. 2015. “Climate change in the Fertile Crescent and implications of the recent Syrian drought.” *PNAS* 112(11):3241-3246.

Selby, Jan, Omar S. Dahi, Christine Frohlich, and Mike Hulme. 2017. “Climate change and the Syrian war revisited.” *Political Geography* 60:232-244.

Maystadt, Jean-Francois and Olivier Ecker. 2014. “Extreme Weather and Civil War: Does Drought Fuel Conflict in Somalia through Livestock Price Shocks?” *American Journal of Agricultural Economics* 96(4):1157-1182.

Hsiang, Solomon M. and Kyle C. Meng. 2013. “Reconciling disagreement over climate-conflict results in Africa.” *PNAS* 111(6):2100-2103.

### **March 21 – Recruitment and Joiners**

Weinstein, Jeremy M. 2005. “Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(4):598-624.



Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2):436-455.

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* 59:794-823.

Wood, Reed M. and Jakana L. Thomas. 2017. “Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women’s Participation in Violent Rebellion.” *Journal of Peace Research* 54(1):31-46.

Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. “Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War.” *American Political Science Review* 107(3):418-432.

#### **April 4 – Rebel Governance**

Kasfir, Nelson. 2015. “Rebel Governance – Constructing a Field of Inquiry: Definitions, Scope, Patterns, Order, Causes.” in *Rebel Governance in Civil War* (edited by Arjona, Ana, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly). Cambridge University Press.

Mampilly, Zachariah. 2011. *Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. (read Chapter 2: “Bandits, Warlords, Embryonic States, Black Spots, and Ungoverned Territories: The Unwieldy Taxonomy of Rebel-Governed Areas.”)

Stewart, Megan. 2018 (forthcoming). “Civil War as State Building: Strategic Governance in Civil War.” *International Organization*.

Sabates-Wheeler, Rachel and Philip Verwimp. 2014. “Extortion with Protection: Understanding the Effect of Rebel Taxation on Civilian Welfare in Burundi.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(8):1474-1499.

#### **April 11 – Wartime Dynamics**

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. 2006. “Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 100(3):429-447.

Hanne Fjelde and Lisa Hultman. 2014. “Weakening the Enemy: A Disaggregated Study of Violence against Civilians in Africa.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58:1230-1257.

Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. “Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009).” *American Political Science Review* 107(3):461-477.

Hammond, Jesse. 2017. “Maps of Mayhem: Strategic Location and Deadly Violence in Civil War.” *Journal of Peace Research* 55(1):32-46.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2015. "DO Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69(3):519-556.

Konig, Michael D., Dominic Rohner, Mathias Thoenig, and Fabrizio Zilibotti. 2017. "Networks in Conflict: Theory and Evidence from the Great War of Africa." *Econometrica* 85(4):1093-1132.

#### **April 18 – External Actors and Diffusion**

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede. 2017. "Civil War from a Transnational Perspective." in the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics* (edited by Thompson, William R.). Oxford University Press. (available here: <http://repository.essex.ac.uk/20067/>)

Buhaug, Halvard and Kristian Gleditsch. 2008. "Contagion or Confusion? Why Conflicts Cluster in Space." *International Studies Quarterly* 52(2):215-448.

Reeder, Bryce W. 2015. "Rebel Behavior in the Context of Interstate Competition: Exploring Day-to-Day Patterns of Political Violence in Africa." *International Interactions* 41(5):805-831.

Salehyan, Idean and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2006. "Refugees and the Spread of Civil War." *International Organization* 60(2):335-366.

Salehyan, Idean. 2007. "Transnational Rebels: Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Movements." *World Politics* 59:217-242.

Salehyan, Idean, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and David E. Cunningham. 2011. "Explaining External Support for Insurgent Groups." *International Organization* 65(4):709-744.

#### **April 25 – Legacies of Civil War Violence**

Lupu, Noam and Leonid Peisakhin. 2017. "The Legacy of Political Violence across Generations." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(4):621-641.

Charnysh, Volha and Evgeny Finkel. 2017. "The Death Camp Eldorado: Political and Economic Effects of Mass Violence." *American Political Science Review* 111(4):801-818.

Gilligan, Michael J., Benjamin J. Pasquale, and Cyrus Samii. 2013. "Civil War and Social Cohesion: Lab-in-the-Field Evidence from Nepal." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(3):604-619.

Lake, Milli. 2017. "Building the Rule of War: Post-conflict Institutions and the Micro-Dynamics of Conflict in Eastern DR Congo." *International Organization* 71(2):281-315.

#### **May 2 – Research Presentations (open to department)**