

PLSC 36100: Civil War
Department of Political Science
University of Chicago

Winter 2016
Time: Wednesday, 9:30 am-12:20 pm
Room: PSY-G 117
Office Hours: Tuesday, 2:00-4:00 pm and by appt.

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Course Description

Civil war is the dominant form of political violence in the contemporary world. This graduate seminar will introduce students to cutting edge scholarly work and to the task of carrying out research on internal conflict. We will study the origins, dynamics, and termination of civil wars, as well as international interventions, post-conflict legacies, and policy responses to war. A variety of research approaches will be explored, including qualitative, quantitative, and interpretive methods, micro- and macro-level levels of analysis, and sub- and cross-national comparative designs. The emphasis throughout is on designing rigorous research that persuasively addresses important questions.

Most of this course covers standard topics in the study of civil war, but the last two weeks provide an opportunity to think beyond the conventional boundaries toward new research agendas. One caveat: research on civil war has exploded beyond our ability to cover in a quarter and I have had to exclude a lot of important work. You are responsible for deeper study of specific topics for your research paper; the required readings are, at best, a starting point.

I strongly encourage you to take this course in sequence with Ben Lessing's "Crime, Conflict, and the State" (PLSC 48700). These two courses are near-prerequisites for anyone interested in taking PLSC 50801 in the spring (in addition to an MA or PhD thesis on political violence).

There will likely be some changes in the syllabus as the quarter goes along, and I will be sure to communicate them to you.

Course Requirements

Participation in class discussion is essential for a successful seminar. Students are expected to have carefully done all of the required reading and to be prepared to discuss it in detail. I realize that some weeks there is a heavy reading load, but the works assigned are important and worth your time. Participation will account for 20% of your grade.

Two response papers (each no more than 4 pages, doubled-spaced, 12-point font) will be assigned. In week 4 I will assign a paper due in week 5 and in week 8 I will assign a paper due in week 9. The paper topic will identify an important claim from our readings in the previous weeks and ask you to critically assess it in light of our reading and discussions. These are not opportunities for you to do a literature review or summary of readings, but instead to advance an

argument. Each paper will account for 10% of your grade. I will provide the topic at the end of class and the paper will be due in hard copy at the beginning of the next class meeting.

Research paper of no more than 30 pages total (doubled-spaced, 12-point font, 1-inch margins) due at the end of the quarter. It can be emailed to me or dropped off at my office by 5 pm CST, **Thursday, March 17, 2016** (which is also my birthday, so please make the papers good). This paper should address a major question in the study of civil war with a literature review, theoretical argument, and empirical evaluation of the theory relative to its competitors. This empirical evaluation can include a case or comparative case studies, quantitative analysis, or a mix of methods. Students can use this opportunity to lay the groundwork for a publishable article, develop research for a thesis, or “try out” a possible dissertation topic. The reason for requiring this paper is to force you to experience some of the transition from being a consumer and critic of research to becoming a producer who has to grapple with a different set of challenges. Please note that this is a hard space limit: the entire paper must not be more than 30 pages. I will reduce your grade for excess.

The paper will account for 60% of your grade. You must confirm your topic with me, in person or over email, before our Week 7 class meeting. Late papers will not be accepted.

Electronic Etiquette

I request that students not use their cell phones during class for any reason. This will allow more focused discussion and intellectual exchange. Laptops should only be used if this will facilitate bringing readings to class.

I aim to be responsive to email from students. However, please do not expect an answer to your question any sooner than 48 hours after it is sent. Last-minute email questions and requests are bad for everyone involved. I prefer that students use office hours rather than email for asking substantive questions.

Books to Purchase

- Autesserre, Severine. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Christia, Fotini. *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge University Press.
- Reno, William. 2011. *Warfare in independent Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Straus, Scott. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Book chapters that are not part of the required books will be posted in the Library Course Reserves section of the Chalk site and are marked with an asterisk. Journal articles can be found

through the University of Chicago library, unless the URL is specified on the syllabus. If you are having trouble accessing a reading, please let me know ASAP.

For each section below I have also included a set of recommended further readings. These can provide a starting point for your papers or other research. The required and recommended readings are intentionally eclectic, with a mix of new and old work from a wide variety of perspectives. I encourage you to read as widely as possible during this course, from economics to fiction to journalism, in order to generate new insights and puzzles. Creativity is hard to cultivate within strict disciplinary confines.

Academic Integrity

This is the University of Chicago's Academic Integrity statement:

“It is contrary to justice, to academic integrity, and to the spirit of intellectual inquiry to submit the statements or ideas of work of others as one's own. To do so is plagiarism or cheating, offenses punishable under the University's disciplinary system. Because these offenses undercut the distinctive moral and intellectual character of the University, we take them very seriously. Proper acknowledgment of another's ideas, whether by direct quotation or paraphrase, is expected. In particular, if any written or electronic source is consulted and material is used from that source, directly or indirectly, the source should be identified by author, title, and page number, or by website and date accessed. Any doubts about what constitutes "use" should be addressed to the instructor.”

If you have questions, ask me and/or consult Charles Lipson's *Doing Honest Work in College* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

I. January 6. Concepts and Data

Pettersson, Therése, and Peter Wallensteen. “Armed Conflicts, 1946–2014.” *Journal of Peace Research* 52, no. 4 (July 1, 2015): 536–50.

Sambanis, Nicholas. “What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (December 2004): 814-858.

Todd Landman and Anita Gohdes, “A Matter of Convenience: Challenges of Non-Random Data in Analyzing Human Rights Violations in Peru and Sierra Leone,” in Taylor Seybolt, Jay Aronson, and Baruch Fischhoff, eds., *Counting Civilian Casualties: An Introduction to Recording and Estimating Nonmilitary Deaths in Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (2013), Chapter 5.*

Brass, Paul R. 1997. *Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 20-31, chapter 3.*

Scott, James. 1985. *Weapons of the weak: everyday forms of peasant resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, chapter 2.*

II. January 13. Onset I: The State

- Skocpol, Theda. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. Chapter 1.*
- Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial Rule and the Politics of Nationalism: Anti-Colonial Protest in the French Empire*. Cambridge University Press, chapters 1, 4, and 5.
- Posen, Barry R. "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict." *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27-47.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75-90.
- Reno, *Warfare in Independent Africa*, chapters 1 and 5.

III. January 20. Onset II: Social and Economic Forces

- Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic groups in conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 5.*
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (2010): 87-119.
- Wimmer, Andreas. 2012. *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation, and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1.*
- Darden, Keith. "Resisting Occupation: Lessons from a Natural Experiment in Carpathian Ukraine," MS 2009 (<http://keithdarden.files.wordpress.com/2009/11/darden-natural-experiment.pdf>).
- Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach." *Journal of Political Economy* 112 (2004): 725--753.
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (October 2004): 563-595.

IV. January 27. Workshop

I will be hosting a small workshop with six outside speakers on "Ideas and Political Violence" on Wednesday the 27th. Instead of class that morning, **please come to the workshop** (location TBA). You are welcome to stay the entire day, meet the presenters, and offer feedback on papers.

V. February 3. Insurgent Mobilization

- Petersen, Roger. *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Chapters 1 and 6.*
- Kalyvas, Stathis N., 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.
- Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. 2013. Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War. *American Political Science Review* 107 (03): 418-432.

- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. 2013. Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan. *American Political Science Review* 107 (04): 679–705.
- Ahmad, Aisha. “The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia.” *International Security* 39, no. 3 (January 1, 2015): 89–117.*
- Oppenheim, Ben, Abbey Steele, Juan F. Vargas, and Michael Weintraub. “True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 5 (August 1, 2015): 794–823.*

[Response Paper #1 will be assigned at this class meeting]

VI. February 10. Military Dynamics

- Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence*, chapters 4 and 5.
- Weinstein, Jeremy. 2007. *Inside Rebellion : The Politics of insurgent Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.*
- Berman, Eli, Jacob Shapiro, and Joseph Felter. 2011. Can Hearts and Minds be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq. *Journal of Political Economy*.
- Day, Christopher R., and William S. Reno. 2014. In Harm’s Way: African Counter-Insurgency and Patronage Politics. *Civil Wars* 16 (2): 105–126.
- Long, Austin. 2014. Whack-a-Mole or Coup de Grace? Institutionalization and Leadership Targeting in Iraq and Afghanistan. *Security Studies* 23 (3): 471–512.
- Johnston, Patrick and Anoop Sarbahi. The Impact of U.S. Drone Strikes on Terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Working paper, 2014. <http://patrickjohnston.info/materials/drones.pdf>

[Response Paper #1 will be due at this class meeting]

VII. February 17. Intra-war Politics

- Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. 2011. Divide and Conquer or Divide and Concede: How Do States Respond to Internally Divided Separatists? *American Political Science Review* 105 (02): 275–297.
- Seymour, Lee J.M. “Why Factions Switch Sides in Civil Wars: Rivalry, Patronage, and Realignment in Sudan.” *International Security* 39, no. 2 (October 1, 2014): 92–131.
- Christia, *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Chapters 2, 3, 4.
- Arjona, Ana. “Wartime Institutions A Research Agenda.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58, no. 8 (December 1, 2014): 1360–89.
- Reno, *Warfare in independent Africa*, chapter 4.

VIII. February 24. Patterns of Violence

- Valentino, Benjamin A. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2004. Chapters 2 and 3.*
- Straus, *The Order of Genocide*. All.
- Kalyvas. *Logic of Violence*. Chapters 7, 8, 9.
- Balcells, Laia. 2010. Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil

- Wars. *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2): 291–313.
- Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. Female Combatants and the Perpetration of Violence: Wartime Rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War. *World Politics* 65 (3): 383–415.
- Fujii, Lee Ann. “The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence.” *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 02 (2013): 410–26.*

[Response Paper #2 will be assigned at this class meeting]

IX. March 2. Ending Wars

- Walter, Barbara F. “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement.” *International Organization* 51, no. 03 (1997): 335-364.
- Toft, Monica Duffy. “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *International Security* 34, no. 4 (2010): 7-36.
- Kreutz, Joakim. 2010. How and when armed conflicts end: Introducing the UCDP Conflict Termination dataset. *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (2): 243 –250.
- Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2014. The Dark Side of Power-Sharing: Middle Managers and Civil War Recurrence. *Comparative Politics* 46 (3): 333–353.
- Fortna, Page. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace After Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* Vol. 48, No. 2, June 2004, pp. 269-92.
- Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo*, chapters 1-5.

[Response Paper #2 will be due at this class meeting]

X. March 9. Elections and Conflict

- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2001. An Insurgent Path to Democracy Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador. *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (8): 862–888.
- Reno, *Warfare in Independent Africa*, chapters 6 and 7.
- Hidalgo, Daniel and Ben Lessing. 2016. “Endogenous State Weakness: Paramilitaries and Electoral Politics.” Working paper, MIT and Chicago.
- Eaton, Kent. “The Downside of Decentralization: Armed Clientelism in Colombia.” *Security Studies* 15, no. 4 (2006): 533.
- Frymer, Paul. “‘A Rush and a Push and the Land Is Ours’: Territorial Expansion, Land Policy, and U.S. State Formation.” *Perspectives on Politics* 12, no. 01 (March 2014): 119–44.*
- Getmansky, Anna, and Thomas Zeitzoff. “Terrorism and Voting: The Effect of Rocket Threat on Voting in Israeli Elections.” *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 03 (August 2014): 588–604.*

Recommendations for Further Reading

I. Concepts and Data (Recommended)

- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2007. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict." In *The Oxford handbook of comparative politics*, eds. Carles Boix and Susan Carol Stokes. Oxford University Press, p. 274-296.
- Guha, Ranajit. *Elementary aspects of peasant insurgency in colonial India*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars. *Perspectives on Politics* 1 (3): 475-494.
- Fazal, Tanisha M. 2014. Dead Wrong?: Battle Deaths, Military Medicine, and Exaggerated Reports of War's Demise. *International Security* 39 (1): 95-125.
- Tarrow, Sidney. "Inside Insurgencies: Politics and Violence in an Age of Civil War." *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 03 (2007): 587-600.
- Blattman, Christopher, and Edward Miguel. "Civil War." *Journal of Economic Literature* 48, no. 1 (3, 2010): 3-57.
- Brubaker, Rogers, and David D. Laitin. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 423-452.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (October 2001): 99-118.
- Eckstein, Harry. "On the Etiology of Internal Wars." *History and Theory* 4, no. 2 (1965): 133-163.
- Hegre, Håvard, and Nicholas Sambanis. "Sensitivity Analysis of Empirical Results on Civil War Onset." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 4 (August 2006): 508-535.
- David, Steven R. "Internal war: causes and cures." *World Politics* 49, no. 4 (1997): 552-576.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. "Civil Wars: What We Don't Know." *Global Governance* (April 2003) 247-260.
- King, Charles. "The Micropolitics of Social Violence." *World Politics* 56, no. 3 (2004): 431-455.
- Kaufmann, Chaim. "Rational Choice and Progress in the Study of Ethnic Conflict: A Review Essay." *Security Studies* 14, no. 1 (2005): 178-207.
- Lacina, Bethany, and Nils Petter Gleditsch. 2013. The Waning of War is Real A Response to Gohdes and Price. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57 (6): 1109-1127.

II. Onset I: The State (Recommended)

- Huntington, Samuel P. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Rubin, Barnett R. *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Brass, Paul R. *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Roessler, Philip. 2011. The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa. *World Politics* 63 (2): 300-346.
- Bates, Robert H. 2008. *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rotberg, Robert I, ed. *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2004.

- Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. 2012. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Political Instability Task Force. <http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/>
- King, Gary, and Langche Zeng. "Improving Forecasts of State Failure." *World Politics* 53, no. 4 (2001): 623-658.
- Goodwin, Jeff. 2001. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press.
- Hegre, Håvard et al. "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816–1992." *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 01 (2001): 33-48.
- Vreeland, James Raymond. "The Effect of Political Regime on Civil War: Unpacking Anocracy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 52, no. 3 (June 1, 2008): 401-425.
- Hendrix, Cullen S. "Measuring state capacity: Theoretical and empirical implications for the study of civil conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 3 (May 1, 2010): 273 -285.
- Bakke, Kristin M., and Erik Wibbels. "Diversity, Disparity, and Civil Conflict in Federal States." *World Politics* 59, no. 1 (2006): 1-50.
- Bunce, Valerie. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Brancati, Dawn. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?." *International Organization* 60, no. 03 (2006): 651-685.
- Kohli, Atul. *Democracy and discontent: India's growing crisis of governability*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Herbst, Jeffrey Ira. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co, 1978.
- Staniland, Paul. "Cities on Fire: Social Mobilization, State Policy, and Urban Insurgency." *Comparative Political Studies* (December 2010).
- Tajima, Yuhki. 2013. The Institutional Basis of Intercommunal Order: Evidence from Indonesia's Democratic Transition. *American Journal of Political Science* 57 (1): 104–119.
- Hechter, Michael. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Robinson, Geoffrey. "Rawan Is as Rawan Does: The Origins of Disorder in New Order Aceh." *Indonesia* 66 (October 1998): 127-157.
- Ganguly, Sumit. "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay," *International Security*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Autumn, 1996), pp. 76-107.

III. Onset II: Social and Economic Forces (Recommended)

- Kaufman, Stuart J. "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence." *International Security* 30, no. 4 (2006): 45-86.
- Mueller, John. "The Banality of "Ethnic War"." *International Security* 25, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 42-70.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality." *Perspectives on Politics* 1, no. 1 (2003): 85-99.
- Cederman, Professor Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Halvard Buhaug. 2013. *Inequality, Grievances, and Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Sambanis, Nicholas. "Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1)." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 3 (June 2001): 259-282.
- Petersen, Roger. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Review: Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity." *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 845-877.
- Hassner, Ron E. *War on Sacred Grounds*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009.
- Toft, Monica Duffy. *The Geography of Ethnic Violence*. Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Weiner, Myron. *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*. Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Mylonas, Harris. 2013. *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities*. 1st edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *The American Political Science Review* 90, no. 4 (December 1996): 715-735.
- Gagnon, V. P. *The Myth of Ethnic War: Serbia and Croatia in the 1990s*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2004.
- Walter, Barbara F. *Reputation and Civil War: Why Separatist Conflicts Are so Violent*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Brass, Paul. *The production of Hindu-Muslim violence in contemporary India*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003.
- Chandra, Kanchan, and Steven Wilkinson. "Measuring the Effect of "Ethnicity"." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, no. 4-5 (April 1, 2008): 515-563.
- Sidel, John. *Riots, Pogroms, Jihad: Religious Violence in Indonesia*. Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press, 2004.
- Horowitz, Donald L. *The deadly ethnic riot*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja. *Leveling crowds: ethnonationalist conflicts and collective violence in South Asia*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, Colo: Lynner Rienner Publishers, 1998.
- Humphreys, Macartan. "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (August 2005): 508-537.
- Ross, Michael. "A Closer Look at Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9, no. 1 (6, 2006): 265-300.
- Boix, Carles. "Economic Roots of Civil Wars and Revolutions in the Contemporary World." *World Politics* 60, no. 3 (2008): 390-437.
- Cramer, Christopher. "Homo Economicus Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War." *World Development* 30, no. 11 (November 2002): 1845-1864.
- Sanín, Francisco Gutiérrez. "Criminal Rebels? A Discussion of Civil War and Criminality from the Colombian Experience." *Politics & Society* 32, no. 2 (June 1, 2004): 257 -285.
- Ballentine, Karen, and Jake Sherman, eds. *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003.

- Keen, David. *The Economic Functions of Violence in Civil Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1998.
- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. *Economic origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Paige, Jeffery M. *Agrarian Revolution: Social Movements and Export Agriculture in the Underdeveloped World*. New York: Free Press, 1975.
- Aspinall, Edward. "The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51, no. 6 (December 1, 2007): 950-972.
- Collier, Paul, Anke Hoeffler, and Dominic Rohner. "Beyond greed and grievance: feasibility and civil war." *Oxford Economic Papers* 61, no. 1. Oxford Economic Papers (2009): 1-27.
- Ross, Michael L. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (2004): 35-67.
- Moore, Barrington. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.
- Kahl, Colin H. *States, Scarcity, and Civil Strife in the Developing World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Sidel, John. *Capital, coercion, and crime: bossism in the Philippines*. Stanford Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Hirshleifer, Jack. *The Dark Side of the Force: Economic Foundations of Conflict Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

IV. Mobilization and Recruitment (Recommended)

- Kuran, Timur. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44, no. 1 (October 1991): 7-48.
- Eck, Kristine. 2014. Coercion in Rebel Recruitment. *Security Studies* 23 (2): 364–398.
- Humphreys, Macartan, 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.
- Lee, Alexander. 2011. Who Becomes a Terrorist?: Poverty, Education, and the Origins of Political Violence. *World Politics* 63 (02): 203–245.
- Gould, Roger V. "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871." *American Sociological Review* 56, no. 6 (December 1991): 716-729.
- Popkin, Samuel L. *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam*. Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 1979.
- Scott, James C. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Lichbach, Mark Irving. *The Rebel's Dilemma*. University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Costa, Dora L, and Matthew E Kahn. *Heroes & Cowards: The Social Face of War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Gambetta, Diego. *Codes of the Underworld: How Criminals Communicate*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.
- Krueger, Alan B, and Jitka Malečková. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17, no. 4 (12, 2003): 119-144.
- Gould, Roger V. *Insurgent identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

- Browning, Christopher R. *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*. 1st ed. New York: HarperPerennial, 1998.
- Della Porta, Donatella. *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Shils, Edward A., and Morris Janowitz. "Cohesion and Disintegration in the Wehrmacht in World War II." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (Summer 1948): 280-315.
- Bartov, Omer. *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Rougier, Bernard. *Everyday Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam Among Palestinians in Lebanon*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Beissinger, Mark R. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Emirbayer, Mustafa, and Jeff Goodwin. "Network Analysis, Culture, and the Problem of Agency." *The American Journal of Sociology* 99, no. 6 (May 1994): 1411-1454.
- Siegel, David A. "Social Networks and Collective Action." *American Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 1 (2009): 122-138.
- Taylor, Michael, ed. *Rationality and Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1970.

V. Military Dynamics (Recommended)

- 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 (03): 415-429.
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