

**PLSC 26800: Insurgency, Terrorism, and Civil War**  
Department of Political Science  
University of Chicago

Winter 2018  
Time: TUTH, 9:30-10:50  
Room: Stuart 105  
Office Hours: Thursday, 2-4 pm and by appt.

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TAs: Isaac Hock (hock@uchicago.edu) and Joe Karas (jkaras@uchicago.edu)

### **Course Description**

This course provides an introduction to asymmetric and irregular warfare. From Colombia to Afghanistan, non-state armed organizations are crucially important actors. The course explores how they organize themselves, extract resources, deploy violence, attract recruits, and both fight and negotiate with states. It also examines government counterinsurgency and counterterrorism policies, building peace after conflict, and international involvement in internal wars. We will conclude with the “blurry edges” of civil war, including state-building, electoral violence, the aftermath of revolutions, and political violence in developed countries.

Readings deal with a variety of conflicts and cover a number of distinct topics. Because of the amount of material we need to cover, both the quantity and sophistication of the readings are high for a lecture course. This is a step up from the “Intro to X” courses in the Political Science major. You will primarily read peer-reviewed journal articles and excerpts from academic books, with the goal of introducing you to a wide range of recent research. This is not a class about current events, though we will frequently refer to contemporary cases in relation to the readings and topics of the class.

The readings will be touched on during lectures and more carefully analyzed in discussion sections. I reserve the right to change readings as necessary; these changes will be conveyed to you if they occur. There is a Canvas site for this class where some readings can be found. There are mandatory weekly TA discussion sections, in which participation is necessary. Please feel come to my office hours: it’s hard to get to know the class in a big lecture and I enjoy talking directly with students. I will also be offering an “Ask Me Anything” review session sometime in Week 10.

### **Course Components**

**Two analytical essays (45%).** You will be asked to write two 5-7 page essays that grapple with key concepts and theories we examine in the first 2/3rds of the course. These are not research papers, but instead exercises in identifying, assessing, and integrating arguments and perspectives from the readings. Late papers will be penalized (you lose a full letter grade per day late). We will only grant extensions if there is a compelling personal reason that your College adviser is aware of.

I strongly recommend you read this how-to guide on writing a social science paper:  
<http://blogs.bu.edu/jgerring/files/2013/06/Adviceonessaywriting.pdf>

**Final exam (25%).** The comprehensive written final will cover material from the entire quarter. The registrar has scheduled the exam for TBD. There will be an early exam on Thursday of reading period in our normal room TBD (note: if there turns out to be a logistical problem with that space, I will let you know). You can take either - they will have different but equivalent material - but you must let your TA know 1 week ahead of time if you plan to do the early exam. Unless there is illness or some other serious personal issue, there will not be any make-up exams.

**Participation in weekly discussion sections (30%).** The TAs will lead a weekly discussion section in which the readings will be discussed in more detail. Attendance at and involvement in discussion sections are required. It is expected that every student will do all the reading and be prepared to discuss it. Grappling with arguments, concepts, and evidence is essential to learning. Not taking this part of the course seriously will result in a low overall grade.

**Pass/Fail.** You can take the course Pass/Fail by informing your TA by the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> week. After this point, your only options are to take it for a grade or to withdraw.

**Long Paper Eligibility.** Papers in this course cannot be converted into Long Papers for the Political Science major.

### **Electronic Etiquette**

Students should not use their laptops, cell phones or other mobile devices during lectures for any reason. TAs have the discretion to determine these guidelines in their sections. If you need an accommodation, please be in touch with me.

We 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. All correspondence should be appropriately professional.

### **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 or your TA, and consult Charles Lipson's *Doing Honest Work in College* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). Any violations will be automatically passed on to the relevant College authorities.

## **Course Schedule and Readings**

Readings with an asterisk (\*) can be found through the University of Chicago Library e-journals and databases. I assume you know how to use these resources already; if not, consult library staff at the Regenstein. Readings marked with (Canvas e-reserves) can be found in the course's Canvas Library e-reserves section; those marked with (Canvas documents) can be found in the course's Canvas site. If you are having trouble finding a reading, contact your TA or Professor Staniland as soon as possible: this is the first time this class will be on Canvas rather than Chalk, so there will definitely be some growing pains.

### **Part I. The Origins of Civil Wars**

#### Week 1

*January 2: Quarter has not yet begun*

*January 4: Introduction*

#### Week 2

*January 9: Concepts, Trends, and Comparisons in Internal War*

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (October 2001): 99-118.\*

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.\*

Allansson, Marie, Erik Melander & Lotta Themnér (2017) "Organized violence, 1989-2016." *Journal of Peace Research* 54(4).\*

Staniland, Paul, 'Armed Politics and the Study of Intrastate Conflict', *Journal of Peace Research*, 54 (2017), 459-67.\*

*January 11: The State*

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75-90.\*

Posen, Barry R. "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict." *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27-47. (Canvas documents)

Goodwin, Jeff. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*.

Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Chapters 1 and 2. (Canvas e-reserves)

Week 3*January 16: Economics and Resources*

- Ross, Michael L. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (2004): 35-67.\*
- Reno, William. *Warlord Politics and African States*. Boulder, Colo: Lynner Rienner Publishers, 1998. Chapters 1 and 2. (Canvas e-reserves)
- Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (October 2004): 563-595.\*
- Bahney, Benjamin W., Radha K. Iyengar, Patrick B. Johnston, Danielle F. Jung, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Howard J. Shatz. 2013. "Insurgent Compensation: Evidence from Iraq." *The American Economic Review* 103 (3):518-22.\*

*January 18: Ethnicity and Identity*

- Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Chapter 5. (Canvas e-reserves)
- Hassner, Ron. "To Halve and to Hold: Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility," *Security Studies*, Vol. 12, No.4 (Summer 2003), pp.1-33.\*
- 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.\*

**Part II. Dynamics of Violence**Week 4*January 23: Joining an Insurgency*

- Petersen, Petersen, Roger. *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), Chapters 1 and 6 (Canvas e-reserves – this book has an electronic version you can access through the library)
- Mueller, John. "The Banality of 'Ethnic War'." *International Security* 25, no. 1 (Summer 2000): 42-70.\*
- 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.\*
- Lyall, Jason, Graeme Blair, and Kosuke Imai. 2013. "Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review* 107(4): 679-705.\*

Paper #1 Assigned*January 25: Insurgent Organization and Mobilization*

- Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Introduction and Chapter 1 (Canvas e-reserves)
- Ahmad, Aisha. "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia." *International Security* 39, no. 3 (January 1, 2015): 89-117.\*
- Walter, Barbara F. 2017. "The Extremist's Advantage in Civil Wars." *International Security* 42 (2):7-39.\*

Week 5*January 30: Counterinsurgency*

Krepinevich, Andrew F. *The Army and Vietnam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, Chapters 6, 7. (Canvas e-reserves)

Day, Christopher R., and William S. Reno. 2014. In Harm's Way: African Counter-Insurgency and Patronage Politics. *Civil Wars* 16 (2): 105–126.\*

Biddle, Stephen, Jeffrey A. Friedman, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. Testing the Surge: Why Did Violence Decline in Iraq in 2007? *International Security* 37 (1): 7–40.\*

Long, Austin. 2014. Whack-a-Mole or Coup de Grace? Institutionalization and Leadership Targeting in Iraq and Afghanistan. *Security Studies* 23 (3): 471–512.\*

Paper #1 due at beginning of class on January 26*February 1: Alliances and Alignment in Civil War*

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, Fotini. *Alliance Formation in Civil Wars*. Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Chapters 1, 3 (Canvas e-reserves).

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.\*

Week 6*February 6: Militias & the State*

Reno, William. *Warfare in Independent Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Chapters 1, 6 (Canvas e-reserves).

Carey, Sabine C., Michael P. Colaresi, and Neil J. Mitchell. “Governments, Informal Links to Militias, and Accountability.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 5 (August 1, 2015): 850–76.\*

Staniland, Paul. “Militias, Ideology, and the State.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 5 (August 1, 2015): 770–93.\*

Read all four of the (short) pieces of this series on militias in Iraq; see links at the bottom of the linked page: <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/?fa=61016>.

*February 8: Conflict Outcomes*

Mack, Andrew. “Why Big Nations Lose Small Wars: The Politics of Asymmetric Conflict.” *World Politics* 27, no. 2 (January 1975): 175–200.\*

Lyall, Jason, and Isaiah Wilson III. “Rage against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars.” *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (Winter 2009): 67–106.\*

Staniland, Paul. “States, Insurgents, and Wartime Political Orders.” *Perspectives on Politics* (June 2012).\*

Week 7*February 13: Dynamics of Terrorism*

Pape, Robert A. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (August 2003): 343-361.\*

Fortna, Virginia Page. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69, no. 03 (June 2015): 519-56.\*

Pearlman, Wendy. "Spoiling Inside and Out: Internal Political Contestation and the Middle East Peace Process." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (Winter 2008/2009): 79-109.\*

Krause, Peter. "The Political Effectiveness of Non-State Violence: A Two-Level Framework to Transform a Deceptive Debate." *Security Studies* 22, no. 2 (April 1, 2013): 259-94.\*

*February 15: Mass killing in war*

Valentino, Benjamin A. *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004. Chapters 2 and 3. (Canvas e-reserves)

Straus, Scott. *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006, Chapters 3 and 5. (Canvas e-reserves)

Finkel, Evgeny. 2017. *Ordinary Jews: Choice and Survival During the Holocaust*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017, chapters 1 and 7 (Canvas e-reserves).

Staniland, Paul. 2017. "Myanmar: Understanding the Rohingya Insurgency." *IAPS Dialogue*. <https://iapsdialogue.org/2017/10/04/rohingya-insurgency-in-comparative-perspective/>.

Paper #2 assignedWeek 8*February 20: Varieties of Violence*

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics & Society* 37, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 131-161.\*

Mitchell, Neil. *Agents of Atrocity: Leaders, Followers, and the Violation of Human Rights in Civil War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), pp. 29-56. (Canvas e-reserves)

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.\*

**Part III. The End, Aftermath, and Blurry Edges of Civil War***February 22: Negotiations*

Stedman, Stephen John. "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes." *International Security* 22, no. 2 (Autumn 1997): 5-53.\*

Walter, Barbara F. "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement." *International Organization* 51, no. 3 (Summer 1997): 335-364.\*

Greenhill, Kelly M., and Solomon. Major. "The Perils of Profiling: Civil War Spoilers and the Collapse of Intrastate Peace Accords." *International Security* 31, no. 3 (2007): 7-40.\*

Paper #2 due at beginning of class on Feb. 23

Week 9

*February 27: International Interventions*

- Kuperman, Alan. "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans." *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (March 2008): 49-80.\*
- Lischer, Sarah Kenyon. "Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict." *International Security* 28, no. 1 (2003): 79-109.\*
- Edelstein, David M. "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail." *International Security* 29, no. 1 (2004): 49-91.\*
- Menkhaus, Kenneth John. "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building, and the Politics of Coping." *International Security* 31, no. 3 (2007): 74-106.\*

*March 1: After the War*

- Paris, Roland. *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Chapters 9 and 10. (Canvas e-reserves)
- Lake, Milli. 2017 "Building the Rule of War: Postconflict Institutions and the Micro-Dynamics of Conflict in Eastern DR Congo," *International Organization*, 71 (2017), 281–315.\*
- Matanock, Aila M. 2017. 'Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict', *International Security*, 41 (2017), 93–132.\*
- Daly, Sarah Zukerman. 2014. "The Dark Side of Power-Sharing: Middle Managers and Civil War Recurrence." *Comparative Politics* 46 (3): 333–53.\*

Week 10

Sometime early in this week I am aiming for the AMA final exam review session – I will let you know once I figure it out.

*March 6: Reversing the Gaze – Politics and Violence in the "Developed World"*

- Sheri Berman. 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49 (3): 401-439.\*
- 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.\*
- Obert, Jonathan. 2017. "A Fragmented Force: The Evolution of Federal Law Enforcement in the United States, 1870–1900." *Journal of Policy History* 29 (4):640–75.\*
- Shane Bauer, "I went undercover with a border militia," *Mother Jones*, November/December 2016, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/10/undercover-border-militia-immigration-bauer>

*March 9: Reading Period and No Class* [Early final offered]

**Final Exam:** TBD