# Civil Wars POS 6933 3 credits

Meeting days and times: T 5-7

**Class location:** And 216 (we might be kicked out on one or two occasions for department events and, if so, we'll revert to our registrar-given room FLG 0275

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# **Course Description**

This course will introduce you to the study of civil wars—internal wars predominantly between states and domestic actors—and to the various approaches to this topic in political science. This research program spans the subfields of international and comparative politics and thus the course will explore civil war from both broad fields.

In addition to reading the course materials carefully and coming each week prepared to discuss them in detail, your major assignment will be writing. Exactly what you write, and in which format, are questions about which I am flexible. I want us to find ways to make your writing project in this course maximally productive to each of you and your own developing research agendas as scholars. To that end, I will meet each of you early in the semester to agree on the structure of your own writing plans. These could include a variety of different writing options and will be settled on during consultations between each of you and me. I am happy to accommodate different writing priorities, keeping in mind the central priority that is to help you develop a coherent and compelling research agenda.

#### Course Materials will be available through the following means:

Elizabeth Wood's book is available online through UF Libraries. Biddle's book is available for borrowing from Library West and for purchase. All other materials are available online and many are archived on the course Canvas page.

# **Course Objectives**

In this course we will cover an array of topics related to the social scientific study of civil conflict, from foundational concepts and measures to origins at multiple levels of analysis, to dynamics of conflict, to how civil wars end and what their legacies are.

### **Student Learning Outcomes**

A student who successfully completes this course will be able to write cogently on the causes, dynamics, and termination of civil wars, apply social scientific methods to explore those, and write original empirical research on civil wars.

# III. Graded Work

- (%): Participation: 15% (includes leading discussion during two weeks). I have structured this course keeping in mind the need to have a reading load that is manageably heavy; weekly readings run 200-300 pages in general, more for books, fewer for sets of articles (which generally take longer given a stand-alone argument in each). What this means is that I expect each of you to have done ALL of the readings in advance. The central aim of our PhD program is to train you in the profession of political science. In this profession, you will need to talk to present your own ideas and to comment on/challenge/encourage the improvement of your colleagues' ideas and your own, and so forth. As such, participation constitutes 15% of the grade in this course, and it is not a freebie. If you earned perfect grades on all written assignments but sat quietly throughout the semester, you would receive a B, a red flag grade in our doctoral program. I expect active and regular participation in all discussions.
- 1 comprehensive exam-style paper: 25%. This may be turned in during any meeting week but at least one must be submitted on or before February 21. These papers should be 1500-2000 words. I will give you a choice of questions to answer, and you will write original essays to answer them. While we now have a major paper option for first fields, this exercise will help you to organize your own scholarly position in the civil wars research program and to craft your own approach to it.
- **Research paper:** 60%. This paper will be based on your own original research. Keeping in mind that this is a residential seminar of 15 weeks, we will discuss ways to carry out, complete, and write up original research while on campus. This is not a research proposal/design: it is an article-style paper of ~10,000 words in keeping with most political science journal length limits. I am deeply ecumenical on choice of methods, but relentless about insisting on appropriateness rather than ease.

**Grading Scale** 

Grading Scare	
Letter Grade	Number Grade
A	100-92.5
A-	92.4-89.5
B+	89.4-86.5
В	86.4-82.5
B-	82.4-79.5
C+	79.4-76.5
С	76.4-72.5
C-	72.4-69.5
D+	69.4-66.5

Letter Grade	Number Grade
D	66.4-62.5
D-	62.4-59.5
E	59.4-0

#### A Note on Authorship, Honesty, and AI.

For all of us who teach in the academy, the onset of the AI era means that we can no more ban students from using AI tools than we can ban them from using the library website.

However, making use of them is not the same as using them to write for you, and there are enough AI text detection tools available to make that a risky choice. You will not make a career in political science by asking a large language model to do your work, and you WILL probably be found out and garner a reputation for intellectual dishonesty if you do.

So: written assignments that suggest AI did some, most, or all of the writing will be followed by an oral exam in which you will have an opportunity to speak to the arguments and evidence yourself. These oral exams will then comprise a significant part of the final grade for that assignment.

# Calendar

August 26. Conceptual Foundations.

- Lars-Erik Cederman and Manuel Vogt, "Dynamics and Logics of Civil War," Journal of Conflict Resolution 61, 9 (2017): 1992-2016.
- 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.
- Kalyvas, Stathis N. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." Perspectives on Politics 1, no. 3 (2003): 475–94.
- Staniland, Paul. "The Evolution of Civil Wars Research: From Civil War to Political Violence." *Civil Wars* 25, no. 2–3 (July 3, 2023): 187–207. https://doi.org/10.1080/13698249.2023.2250314.
- Harry Eckstein. On the etiology of internal wars. *History and Theory*, 4(2): read 133-140, 1965.

September 2. Origins in Identity.

- 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.
- Lewis, Janet I. 2017. "How Does Ethnic Rebellion Start?" Comparative Political Studies, October, 10414016672235. doi:10.1177/0010414016672235
- Monica Duffy Toft, "Getting Religion Right in Civil Wars," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 2021, Vol. 65(9) 1607-1634.

- Elaine Denny and Barbara Walter, "Ethnicity and Civil War," *Journal of Peace Research* 2014, Vol. 51(2) 199–212.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison," *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 3 (August 2011): 478–95,

# September 16. Origins in the State.

- Roessler, Philip, "The Enemy Within: Personal Rule, Coups, and Civil War in Africa,"
   World Politics 63, 2 (2011), 300-346.
- Skocpol, Theda. States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. Chapter 1.
- Goodwin, Jeff. No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Chapters 1 and 2.
- Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *The American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (February 2003): 75-90.
- James Raymond Vreeland. The effect of political regime on civil war: unpacking anocracy. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 52(3):401{425, 2008.

### September 23. Origins in Community, Movement, and Individual.

- SOCIAL ORIGINS OF MILITIAS: THE EXTRAORDINARY RISE OF "OUTRAGED CITIZENS" Gauthier Marchais, Christian M. Mugaruka, Raúl Sanchez de la Sierra, David Qihang Wu, Working Paper 28714
- Sarah Zukerman Daly. Organizational legacies of violence: Conditions favoring insurgency onset in Colombia, 1964-1984. *Journal of Peace Research*, 49(3):473{491, 2012.
- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham. Actor fragmentation and civil war bargaining: How internal divisions generate civil conflict. American Journal of Political Science, 57(3):659-672, 2013.
- Jennifer M Larson and Janet I Lewis. Rumors, kinship networks, and rebel group formation. *International Organization*, 72(4):871-903, 2018.
- Shesterinina, Anastasia. "Collective Threat Framing and Mobilization in Civil War."
   *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 3 (August 2016): 411–27.
   https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055416000277.

September 30 Origins in Community & Individual 2.

• Elizabeth Wood, Insurgency and Collective Action, all

October 7. Origins of Civil War in Resources, Climate and Geography.

- Ross, Michael L. "How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases." *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (2004): 35-67.
- Edward Aspinall, "The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Volume 51 Number 6 December 2007 950-972.
- Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Whither the weather? Climate change and conflict," *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1): 3–9.
- Cullen Hendrix and Idean Salehyan, "Climate change, rainfall, and social conflict in Africa," *Journal of Peace Research* 49(1) 35–50.
- Tor A Benjaminsen, Koffi Alinon, Halvard Buhaug, and Jill Tove Buseth. "Does climate change drive land-use conflicts in the Sahel?" Journal of Peace Research 2012 49(1):97-111

# October 14. Insurgents 1.

• Stephen Biddle, *Nonstate Warfare*, chapters 1-5 + appendix.

# October 21. Insurgents 2.

- Parkinson, Sarah E. "Practical Ideology in Militant Organizations." World Politics 73, no. 1 (January 2021): 52–81. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887120000180.
- Arjona, Ana. "Wartime Institutions: A Research Agenda." Journal of Conflict Resolution 58, no. 8 (December 1, 2014): 1360–89. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002714547904">https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002714547904</a>.
- Bakke, Kristin M., Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee J. M. Seymour. "A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 02 (2012): 265–83. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592712000667.
- Christia, Fotini, selections from Alliance Formation in Civil Wars.

#### October 28. Insurgents 3.

- Staniland, Paul. "Organizing Insurgency," *International Security*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Summer 2012), pp. 142–177
- Lawrence, Adria. "Triggering Nationalist Violence: Competition and Conflict in Uprisings against Colonial Rule," *International Security* (2010).
- Mampilly, Zachariah and Megan Stewart, "A Typology of Rebel Political Institutional Arrangements," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 65, 1 (2021), 15-45
- Ana Arjona, Rebelocracy chapter 1.

#### November 4. Dynamics of Civil Wars: Patterns of Violence.

• Dara Kay Cohen, "The Ties That Bind: How Armed Groups Use Violence to Socialize Fighters," *Journal of Peace Research*, 54, 5 (2017) 701-714.

- Laia Balcells, "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* (2010) 54, 291–313.
- Gutiérrez-Sanín, Francisco, and Elisabeth Jean Wood. "What Should We Mean by 'Pattern of Political Violence"? Repertoire, Targeting, Frequency, and Technique." Perspectives on Politics 15, no. 1 (March 2017): 20–41. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592716004114
- Fujii, Lee Ann. "The Puzzle of Extra-Lethal Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 11, no. 02 (2013): 410–26. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592713001060.

#### November 18. Ending Civil Wars.

- Matanock, Aila M. "Bullets for Ballots: Electoral Participation Provisions and Enduring Peace after Civil Conflict." *International Security* 41, no. 4 (April 1, 2017): 93–132. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00275.
- Landau-Wells, Marika. "High Stakes and Low Bars: How International Recognition Shapes the Conduct of Civil Wars." *International Security* 43, no. 1 (August 1, 2018): 100–137. https://doi.org/10.1162/isec\_a\_00321.
- 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.
- Howard, Lise Morjé, and Alexandra Stark. "How Civil Wars End: The International System, Norms, and the Role of External Actors." *International Security* 42, no. 3 (January 1, 2018): 127–71. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00305">https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC\_a\_00305</a>.

#### December 2. Legacies and Aftermaths

- García-Ponce, Omar, and Leonard Wantchekon. "Critical Junctures: Independence Movements and Democracy in Africa." American Journal of Political Science 68, 4 (2024) 1266-1285.
- Liu, Shelley. "Coercive Legacies: From Rebel Governance to Authoritarian Control." Journal of Politics, 86, 4 (2024): 1129-1145.
- Berman, Chantal, Killian Clarke, and Rima Majed. "From Victims to Dissidents: Legacies of Violence and Popular Mobilization in Iraq (2003–2018)." *American Political Science Review* 118, no. 1 (February 2024): 213–34.
- Schwartz, Rachel A. "Civil War, Institutional Change, and the Criminalization of the State: Evidence from Guatemala." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 55, no. 3 (September 1, 2020): 381–401.

#### **University Policies and Resources**

This course complies with all UF academic policies. For information on those polices and for resources for students, please see <u>this link</u>.