

GVPT 459W: Civil Wars Spring 2017

Professor Kanisha Bond

Class Times & Location: Tuesday, Thursday 9:30-10:45a, Tydings 1114

Office Hours: Tuesday, Thursday 11:00a – 12:00p & by appointment

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** IMPORTANT: Subject any class-related emails to me as “GVPT459W: [subject]” **

Course Description

In this class, we will explore the politics of civil war (and civil war studies) by examining 1) differences and similarities between intrastate and interstate conflict in the world system; 2) sources of intrastate war; 3) within-conflict dynamics; 3) opportunities and challenges for conflict management and resolution, and 4) the social, political, and economic implications of civil war termination.

Course Policies

The policies for this course align with those of the university Office of Undergraduate Studies. For more information, visit www.ugst.umd.edu/courserelatedpolicies.html. I strongly encourage you to drop by my office hours for any clarifications of course policies, explanations of course materials/discussions, or to discuss any other concerns and/or difficulties that you encounter during this course. Be assured that our conversations will be held in the appropriate confidences and that I am genuinely interested in each of you getting that most you can out of this class. If you have a scheduling conflict during my usual office hours, do not hesitate to contact me for an appointment at some other time.

In all your email correspondence with me, be sure to include GVPT 459W: [subject] in the subject field. I will occasionally post announcements to the class through ELMS, but I cannot guarantee a timely response to direct emails sent to me through that medium.

It is your responsibility to read carefully the assigned readings before coming to class, to attend and participate in all class meetings, to write and turn in written assignments on time and in the appropriate format, and to take exams as scheduled. You should do your best to understand the material as it is presented and to form critical evaluations of it. There also may be occasional quizzes and/or short assignments to be completed in class for extra credit.

This is a discussion-intensive, advanced undergraduate seminar. Much of our class time will include collaborative group work and critical discussion of the day’s readings (and/or events). Be aware that if you come to class unprepared to participate in any of the day’s activities, you may be dismissed from class, with forfeiture of the day’s credit attached.

Prerequisites: GVPT 200 or an alternative as approved by me.

Copyright: The lectures I deliver in this class and the course materials I create and distribute are protected by federal copyright law as my original works. My lectures are delivered from written lectures in order to ensure copyright protection. You are permitted to take notes of my lectures and use course materials only for your personal use in this course. You may not record, reproduce, or distribute my lectures/notes/materials for any commercial purpose without my written consent. Persons who sell or distribute copies or modified copies of my course materials, possess commercial copies of my notes (i.e., Terpnotes), or assist another person or entity in selling or distributing those materials may be considered in violation of the University Code of Student Conduct.

Grading:

- (1) First short-answer exam: 30%
- (2) Second short-answer exam: 30%
- (3) Response papers (5): 25%
- (4) Map quizzes (5): 15%

Exams: You will be given two exams in this course. The first exam will be held on **March 14**, and the second exam will be on **April 25**. You will be allotted the full class period to complete the exams. They will not be cumulative. The exams are designed to demonstrate (1) how well you understand the material from the readings and our class discussions, and (2) your ability to analyze and critique arguments. There will be no final examination in this course. All exams must be written in blue or black ink; I will not grade exams written in pencil or any other color ink than blue or black.

Response Papers: Collectively, we will pay particular attention to six specific conflict cases: Lake Chad region of Africa (2003-present); Syria (2011-present); Colombia (1946-present); South Sudan (2011-present); Somalia (1992-1995); Rwanda (1990-1994). For each case, you will conduct your own background research on the conflict dynamics and come to class prepared to discuss it in light of our theoretical material. You will write a total of five (5) short papers (3-4 pages in length each) reflecting on how we might (or might not) apply that day's theoretical work to better understand/confront internal conflicts. The paper breakdown is: one on a conflict to which you have been assigned, three on conflicts of your choosing from the remainders on this list, and one on a conflict of your choosing **not** on this list.

Useful places to start your independent research include major local, regional, national and/or international news services in print, electronic, TV or radio format; popular periodicals (e.g., The Economist, Time Magazine or National Geographic Magazine); public news outlets (e.g., PBS or NPR); and/or research and reports by NGOs and IGOs around the world. Whether you use traditional media sources or other web-based material for information (e.g., blogs, Wikipedia, etc) please be careful about the quality of the sources (and vigilant in checking them). These sites can be

useful, but understand that *anyone* can create/edit entries and there is no guarantee on the quality of the information. All sources should be cited accordingly.

Map Quizzes: Given that a key feature of (civil) war studies is geography, you will be given 5 short quizzes on world political geography throughout the semester. Study maps will be available on ELMS.

Absences: Makeups for pre-scheduled exams or quizzes will be given only in case of a documented emergency or excused absence. There will be no makeups for missed in-class assignments/activities under any circumstances. You should make all reasonable attempts to let me know of circumstances that may impact your class attendance in advance. It is your responsibility to inform the professor of any absences due to the observance of religious holidays in writing within the first two weeks of the semester. In accordance with university policy, I will automatically excuse one one-day illness-related absence with receipt of a self-signed note from you. This does not apply to days where we have a Major Scheduled Grading Event. Use the self-signed note form distributed by the University at <http://www.health.umd.edu/sites/default/files/ClassExcuse.pdf>.

All students requesting excuse for consecutive days of medically-necessitated absence, for non-consecutive medically-necessitated absences, or for non—medically-necessitated absences must present to me a typed, dated and signed request, including the date of the class period (to be) missed and the reason for absence. It is your responsibility to provide detailed contact information for me to obtain corroborating evidence from any appropriate third party, if necessary. All requests for excused absence must contain an acknowledgement that the information is true and correct and that providing false information is prohibited under the Code of Student Conduct.

Academic Integrity: I, along with the Department of Government and Politics, the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences and the University, take violations of academic dishonesty very seriously. Observing basic honesty in one's work, words, ideas, and actions is a principle to which all participants in this class are required to subscribe. All course work by students is to be done on an individual basis unless I clearly state that an alternative is acceptable. Any reference materials used in the preparation of any assignment must be explicitly cited. Students uncertain about proper citation are responsible for checking with me. If laptops, MP3 devices, smart phones, phones, gaming devices, etc. are seen and/or used as an assignment is in progress (including exams), the assignment will be collected from the student immediately and the assignment will be scored as 0.

Lying to the instructor or purposely misleading any University of Maryland administrator shall also constitute a violation of academic integrity. All University of Maryland students are bound by the University Code of Academic Integrity and by your participation in this class you assume responsibility for honoring the prescriptions and proscriptions therein. Refer to <http://www.shc.umd.edu/SHC/HonorPledgeUse.aspx> for additional information.

Disability Accommodations: If you have a documented disability, anticipate needing any type of accommodation in this course, or have questions about physical access, please tell me as soon as possible. Reasonable accommodations will be made for all students with disabilities, but it is your

responsibility to inform me early in the term. If you have a documented disability you must be registered with Disability Support Service (DSS). Only written DSS documentation of the accommodation will be considered; any accommodations for disabilities must be arranged well in advance. This documentation must be current for this semester and it must be presented by the Schedule Adjustment deadline. It is your responsibility to discuss options for taking exams, etc. through DSS with me, and for providing me with the appropriate paperwork to schedule alternative test-taking arrangements. Please do not present me with accommodation documentation from your doctor.

Required Reading

There are no required texts for this course. Our reading list includes mostly scholarly articles and book chapters. In most cases you will be able to download the articles directly from the class ELMS site; occasionally I may distribute them during class. Occasionally I will also assign news articles, op-eds, or other popular media for you to read and digest before class. **It is your responsibility to bring all readings to class with you on the day for which they were assigned.**

Some of the material presented will be technically and theoretically challenging (e.g., some of the theoretical arguments utilize formal mathematical modeling and/or advanced statistics). I do not expect any of you to have any background in advanced political methodologies and, in most cases, my main concern is not in the technical details. Rather, my goal is for you to develop an intuitive understanding of the central arguments and conclusions and for you to be able to explain them.

While this is not a course on current events, we will explore civil war and internal conflict in both historical and contemporary contexts. For us to do so, you must be familiar with current events and issues in world politics. Even a minimal effort to familiarize yourself with current happenings is likely to greatly increase your returns from this course.

Course Schedule and Reading List

January 26: Introduction to the class; overview of requirements and assignments. No readings.

What is civil war? How should we study it?

January 31: Theoretical Definition(s).

- (1) Harry Eckstein. 1965. "On the Etiology of Civil Wars." *History and Theory* 4(2): 133-163

February 2: Empirical Definition(s).

- (1) Correlates of War Project: <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/COW-war>
 - a. Meredith Reid Sarkees. The COW Typology of War: Defining and Categorizing Wars (Version 4 of the Data)
- (2) Uppsala Conflict Data Program: <http://ucdp.uu.se/?id=1>

- a. <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/faq/>
 - b. Erik Melander. Organized Violence in the World, 2015.
- (3) Social Conflict Analysis Database: Database:
<https://www.strausscenter.org/ccaps/research/about-social-conflict.html>
- a. Idean Salehyan and Cullen Hendrix. 2014. Social Conflict in Analysis Database Version 3.1: Codebook and coding procedures.

Explanations for Civil War Onset

February 7: Emotions/psychological explanations.

- (1) Ted Gurr. 1968. "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence." *World Politics* 20(2): 245-278.

February 9: Resources/economic explanations.

- (1) Michael Ross. 2004. "What Do We Know about Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41(3): 337-356.

February 14: Ethnicity and nationality/social explanations. *Map Quiz: Africa*

- (1) Elaine K. Denny and Barbara F. Walter. 2014. "Ethnicity and Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 199-212.
- (2) Optional: James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75-90.

February 16: Colonialism and imperialism/institutional and evolutionary explanations.

- (1) Sumit Ganguly. 1996. "Explaining the Kashmir Insurgency: Political Mobilization and Institutional Decay." *International Security* 21(2): 76-107
- (2) Errol A. Henderson and J. David Singer. 2000. "Civil War in the Post-Colonial World, 1946-1992." *Journal of Peace Research* 37(3): 275-299.

Intra-war Dynamics

February 21: Rebel recruitment and retention.

- (1) Research: Boko Haram and civil violence in Lake Chad region.
- a. Start with: "Security Council demands Boko Haram 'immediately' end all violence in Lake Chad Basin." May 2016. Available at
<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=53937#.V8RIQ7grK00>
- (2) Jakana L. Thomas and Kanisha D. Bond. 2015. "Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations." *American Political Science Review* 109(3): 488-506.
- (3) Optional: Ben Oppenheim, et al. 2015. "True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(5): 794-823.

February 23: No Class – International Studies Association Annual Meeting.

February 28: War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity, and Civilian Victimization.

- (1) Benjamin Valentino, Paul K. Huth and Dylan Balch-Lindsay. 2004. "Draining the Sea: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare," *International Organization* 58: 375-407
- (2) Dara Cohen. 2013. "Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107(3): 461-477.

March 2: Film TBD.

March 7: Relationships among Combatant Groups. *Map Quiz: Middle East and Asia*

- (1) Navin A. Bapat and Kanisha D. Bond. 2012. "Alliances amongst Militant Groups." *British Journal of Political Science* 42: 793-824.
- (2) Fjelde, Hanne and Desiree Nilsson. 2012. "Rebels Against Rebels: Explaining Violence Between Rebel Groups." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

March 9: Terrorism in Civil War.

- (1) Research: Syrian Civil War (2011-present).
 - a. Start with: "From Arab Spring to 2016 Truce: RT's timeline of 5 year Syrian War." Available at <https://www.rt.com/news/335711-rt-syrian-war-timeline/>
 - b. Next watch: "A 5 minute history of Syria's war and the rise of ISIS." Available at <http://www.vox.com/2015/11/14/9735102/syria-isis-history-video>
- (2) Virginia Page Fortna. 2015. "Do Terrorists Win? Rebels' Use of Terrorism and Civil War Outcomes." *International Organization* 69(3): 519-556.

March 14: EXAM 1

Conflict management: duration and reach

March 16: Civil War Duration I (Barriers to Settlement).

- (1) Research: Internal war in Colombia (1964-2016).
 - a. Start with: "Q&A: Colombia's Civil Conflict." Available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-12447532>
- (2) Barbara F. Walter. 1997. "The critical barrier to civil war settlement." *International Organization* 51(3): 335-364.

March 21-23: No Class – SPRING BREAK

March 28: Civil War Duration II (Multiparty bargaining). *Map Quiz: Europe*

- (1) Kanisha D. Bond. 2015. "Rebel Alliances and Civil War Duration." Working paper.
- (2) David E. Cunningham. 2006. "Veto Players and Civil War Duration." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 875-892.

March 30: “Neighborhood Effects.”

- (1) Listen: “The Global Refugee Crisis & How Governments in the U.S. & around the World Are Responding,” *The Diane Rehm Show* (June 23, 2016). Available at <http://thedianerehmsshow.org/shows/2016-06-23/the-global-refugee-crisis-and-how-governments-in-the-us-and-around-the-world-are-responding>
- (2) Idean Salehyan and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2006. “Refugees and the Spread of Civil War.” *International Organization* 60: 335-366.
- (3) Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2007. “Transnational Dimensions of Civil War.” *Journal of Peace Research*

Conflict management: termination and post-war politics

April 4: Power-Sharing as a ‘Political solution?’

- (1) Research: Conflict in South Sudan, following 2011 independence referendum (secession from Sudan).
 - a. Start with: “South Sudan Profile: Timeline.” Available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14019202>
 - b. Next read: Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan, August 2015 (available on ELMS)
- (2) Caroline Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie. 2003. “Institutionalizing Peace: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Conflict Management.” *American Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 318-332.

April 6: No Class – Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting.

April 11: Foreign Intervention.

- (1) Research: Somali Civil War & the First Battle of Mogadishu (1986/1991-present)
 - a. Watch first: “Ambush in Mogadishu.” *Frontline* (2001). Available on ELMS.
 - b. Next read: “Al-Shabaab.” *Mapping Militant Organizations Project*, Stanford University. Available at <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/61>
- (2) Stephen John Stedman. 1992. “The New Interventionists.” *Foreign Affairs*.
- (3) Catherine Guicherd. 1999. “International Law and the War in Kosovo.” *Survival* 41(2): 19-34.

April 13: Conflict Recurrence. *Map Quiz: South America*

- (1) Research: Rwandan Civil War and Genocide (1990-1994).
 - a. Start with: “Rwanda: A Historical Chronology.” Available at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/rwanda/etc/cron.html>
- (2) Virginia Page Fortna. 2004. “Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War.” *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 269-292.

April 18: Effect on democracy/regime type.

- (1) Derick W. Brinkerhoff. 2005. "Rebuilding Governance in Failed States and Post-Conflict Societies: Core Concepts and Cross-Cutting Themes." *Public Administration and Development* 25: 3-15.

April 20: Effect on Human Security.

- (1) Siyan Chen, Norman V. Loayza, and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2008. "The Aftermath of Civil War." *World Bank Economic Review* 22(1): 63-85.
- (2) Hazem Adam Ghobarah, Paul Huth, and Bruce Russett. "The post-war public health effects of civil conflict." *Social Science and Medicine* 59(4): 869-884.

April 25: EXAM 2

April 27: Transitional Justice

- (1) Prakash Adhikari, Wendy L. Hansen, and Kathy L. Powers. 2012. "The Demand for Reparations: Grievance, Risk, and the Pursuit of Justice in Civil War Settlement." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(2): 183-205.

May 2: Truth and Reconciliation? *Map Quiz: North America and Caribbean*

- (1) Karen Brouneus. 2010. "The Trauma of Truth Telling: Effects of Witnessing in the Rwandan Gacaca Courts on Psychological Health." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 54(3): 408-437.
- (2) Mike Kaye. 1997. "The Role of Truth Commissions in the Search for Justice, Reconciliation and Democratisation: the Salvadorean and Honduran Cases." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29: 693-716.

May 4: Crime and Internal War.

- (1) Stathis Kalyvas. 2015. "How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime – and How They Do Not." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1517-1540.

May 9: Discussion based on final response papers (conflict of choice).

May 11: Final Day for Makeups/Assignment Hand-Ins