GOV 360N: Civil Wars and Ethnic Violence, Fall 2012
Department of Government, University of Texas at Austin

1 Instructor Information

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Office Hours: T/Th 11–12; Th 8:30–9:30; or by appt.
Class Location: JES A218A

2 Course Overview, Format, and Objectives

Ethnic conflicts and civil wars pose one of the greatest threats to international peace and security today. Recent conflicts in contexts as diverse as Rwanda, Libya, Russia, Syria, Colombia, and India demonstrate the devastating consequences of violent civil conflict. Indicative of this broader trend in the outbreak and continuation of civil violence is the fact that 90% of UN peacekeeping operations since 1989 have been deployed to disputes that have a significant internal conflict component. Despite the threat posed by such conflicts, recent advances toward peace in areas such as Namibia, El Salvador, Cambodia, and Mozambique as well as some of the Arab Spring cases offer encouragement about the prospects for averting or resolving long-standing civil conflicts.

This course is structured to consider various theoretical approaches in the study of civil wars and their management. Throughout, we will sample from numerous cases of civil war and violence paying close attention to the conflicts in South Africa, Rwanda, and the former Yugoslavia. The first segment of the course explores the basic dimensions of civil wars and ethnic violence. In particular, we examine the origins and development of ethnic and political identities and how they structure the parameters of conflict. Core questions include: What do we mean by “ethnicity”? Is a given identity inherent in individuals, or is it subject to change? If manipulable, do “instrumental” elites use ethnicity to their advantage? Is there an ethnic dimension to all civil violence?

The second section of the course is devoted to the process by which conflict among individuals and groups turns violent, with an emphasis on civil wars in Africa. Key questions include: What political incentives do leaders have to drum up support through violence? How do economic factors such as natural resources affect a group’s opportunity or willingness to engage in violence? What causes internal violence to “spill over” into other countries or regions?

The third and final section addresses strategies of conflict management and resolution. We consider some of the following questions: Does a feasible set of preventive solutions to civil wars exist? What is successful conflict management? Which strategies employed by international actors are most successful, and why? What are the obstacles to implementing conflict resolution measures?

The course will enable students to develop an understanding of: the nature of various identities, how identity contributes (or not) to civil war, what other dimensions shape civil war, and how such wars are resolved. In addition to considering various theoretical approaches, three detailed case studies, and brief examinations of many other cases, by writing the research
paper you will carry out research on civil wars of your choice and should develop a solid understanding of them. These activities and assignments should help you (1) gain a knowledge of countries and wars, theoretically and factually, (2) write professional research papers, (3) give oral presentations, and (4) think critically, analytically, and synthetically.

I hope that our sessions will be engaging, informative, and participatory. I eschew a strict lecture format. Instead, we will engage in a variety of activities including lectures, personal writing exercises, partner and group work, class discussions, video clips, demonstrations, problem-solving activities, and other critical thinking exercises. I value and will solicit your input on class activities both at the beginning of the semester as well as around midterm. I will make every reasonable effort to incorporate these ideas in the classroom.

3 Requirements

3.1 Required Readings

Three books are required for purchase, but other articles will be placed on blackboard and you will also be responsible for them.


3.2 Attendance and Participation

Attendance and participation are worth 10% of your grade. I expect all students to attend class regularly. On many days, we will spend a few minutes writing about various topics from the text or lecture. Frequently, you will hand in these writings for credit. These writing activities will enable us to think critically and they will also guide some of our discussion. I also encourage you to ask questions and make germane comments at any time during class. Furthermore, please finish the assigned readings by the date they appear in the syllabus. Read critically and be prepared to comment on the readings in class.

Your attendance and participation grade will be based extensively on “Readings Emails”. For each class session, each of you is required to submit a short email of two paragraphs (750 words or less). I must receive the email before midnight on the Monday and Wednesday before we meet in class on Tuesday and Thursday to discuss the relevant reading. The first paragraph should synthesize the main arguments from the readings as well as the main findings.

The second paragraph needs to be some specific questions or anecdotes connecting to policy or to your germane personal experiences. Samples of questions you could ask or answer include: What in this reading could you affect through a job or otherwise? What are the most interesting ideas based on your personal experiences? What stories from wars does this most resonate with? What did you expect most or least and why? What advice would you give to a policymaker after having read this piece? Any other questions making personal or policy connections should be fine.
I will provide feedback on how you are doing on the emails at a few points in the semester, but a far better way to have them evaluated is to print them, bring them to class, and use them as the basis for our discussions. In addition to enriching our discussions, they are a great way for us to prepare for class — they help me see which points came across well and which did not and need emphasis. Finally, they are also a chance to explore ideas without the pressure of expanding them into full papers, though it is likely that great papers may well get their start as smart emails.

You should submit emails for each reading assignment every day that readings are assigned in the syllabus, though each student can skip one email without penalty. You should feel free to discuss the readings together before composing the emails. Collaboration and discussion is encouraged. However, you will be graded on your independence of thought in your analysis, so copying each other’s work will be penalized severely. Please engage the readings thoughtfully, critique them, ask questions of them, suggest new directions. Note that for the second paragraph I am not after a “right answer”. Rather I would like to see that you are reflecting on the readings and applying them in some way.

Important Note: I receive many emails in a given day, and I will need you to help me sort yours out of the mix. In the email’s subject line, please type “GOV 360N” followed by the last name(s) of the author(s) so that I can better keep track of your emails. If you do not do this, I may inadvertently fail to give you credit for your email. Do not put anything else in the subject line. That way, if you need to email me regarding something else, I won’t mistake it for an assignment email. In other words, please have a subject line that reads like this: “GOV 360N: Smith, Doe”

3.3 Assignments

Students are required to complete two writing assignments. You will analyze some broad trends in civil wars and ethnic violence and, because many of you have specific interests in a certain country or region of the world, you will be able to focus your writing on some particular conflicts of interest. The assignments build on each other and require extensive library research. Assignments 1 and 2 are worth 15% and 20% of your final grade respectively. Details are located at the end of the syllabus.

I strongly encourage you to submit a draft of your paper at least one week prior to the due date. I am happy to provide initial feedback on the direction of the paper if you get it to me far enough in advance. I will also post detailed guidelines as well as tips for doing the assignment well as we get closer. Please note that if you are considering using any part of a paper/exam from a previous (or concurrent) class, you must talk with me prior to beginning the assignment. In some limited cases, this will be acceptable, but only if you can document that substantial new work will be carried out and completed in this course.

Note: If you are interested in undertaking a research project in which you do original research on a topic that could be used for a conference presentation or publication, I encourage you to consider this option. It could be more challenging to complete such a paper, but I would be happy to assist you in identifying a topic and guiding you through some of the research decisions that you will need to make. Please see me about this if you would prefer to take this option.

In addition to the two writing assignments, you will also give a ten-minute oral presentation with other members of the class (depending on enrollment). You must turn in a detailed outline/paper (3–4 pages) summarizing your presentation. This is due at least two days prior to your presentation. You will be graded on the paper, the presentation, and on a peer evaluation.
This assignment is worth 10% of your grade. Details appear at the end of the syllabus.

3.4 Exams

The midterm and final exams account for 45% of your final grade (20% for the midterm and 25% for the final). Both exams will consist of multiple choice, identifications, and essays. Closer to the exam dates, I will hand out more detailed information about preparing for, and taking, the exams.

3.5 Schedule of Important Dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>% of Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep 7</td>
<td>Email about syllabus</td>
<td></td>
<td>Required</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 25</td>
<td>Obtain presentation assignment</td>
<td>In class</td>
<td>Required</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 16–18</td>
<td>Midterm Exam</td>
<td>In class</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 18</td>
<td>Assignment 1</td>
<td>Beginning of class</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 23</td>
<td>Assignment 2</td>
<td>Beginning of class</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 29</td>
<td>Final Exam</td>
<td>9:00am–12:00pm</td>
<td>25%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4 Course Policies

4.1 Make-up Exams and Assignments

No make-up exams or quizzes will be given unless either prior consent is obtained from the instructor or a documented and valid excuse is provided. I will consent to give makeup exams only in the case of a documented emergency or some other commensurate event.

Assignments are due by the beginning of class on the date indicated in the schedule. Papers arriving late will be subject to a 1/3 grade reduction (i.e., an A will be lowered to an A−, an A− to a B+, and so on). DO NOT turn in your papers (whether late or on time) by email.

4.2 Assignment of Grades

Grades are assigned on the following scale: A = 94–100; A− = 90–93; B+ = 87–89; B = 84–86; B− = 80–83; ... F = 63 or lower. If you have a complaint about how your exam (or paper) was graded, I am happy to take a second look. You must type a formal appeal addressing the problem and explain clearly what you originally wrote, why you wrote it, and how you think your original response correctly answered the original question. Additionally, you must turn in the original exam (or paper) along with your typed appeal.

4.3 Online Resources

The syllabus, all grades, paper topics, lecture outlines, and more will be posted on Blackboard. Although the lecture outlines will be posted here, do not assume that this exempts you from
taking notes in class. The outlines will facilitate your note taking, but will not provide sufficient
detail from which to study for exams.

4.4 Academic Integrity

UT students should seek to be totally honest in their dealings with others. They should
complete their own work and be evaluated based upon that work. They should avoid academic
dishonesty and misconduct in all its forms, including plagiarism, fabrication or falsification,
cheating, and other academic misconduct. Students are expected not only to be honest but also
to assist other students in fulfilling their commitment to be honest.

While students should make a general commitment to proper academic conduct, there are
still specific skills most students need to master over time in order to correctly cite sources,
especially in the age of the internet, as well as deal with the stress and strain of college life
without resorting to cheating. Please know that as your professor I will notice instances of
cheating on exams or plagiarizing on papers.

Writing submitted for credit at UT must consist of the student’s own ideas presented in
sentences and paragraphs of his or her own construction. The work of other writers or speakers
may be included when appropriate (as in a research paper or book review), but such material
must support the student’s own work (not substitute for it) and must be clearly identified by
appropriate introduction and punctuation and by footnoting or other standard referencing.

The substitution of another person’s work for the student’s own or the inclusion of another
person’s work without adequate acknowledgment (whether done intentionally or not) is known
as plagiarism. It is a violation of academic, ethical, and legal standards and can result in a
failing grade not only for the paper but also for the course in which the paper is written. In
extreme cases, it can justify expulsion from the University. Because of the seriousness of the
possible consequences, students who wonder if their papers are within these guidelines should
visit a writing lab or consult a faculty member who specializes in the teaching of writing or who
specializes in the subject discussed in the paper. Useful books to consult on the topic include
the current Harbrace College Handbook, the MLA Handbook, and James D. Lester’s Writing
Research Papers.

Please also see the University Honor Code site for more information at:
http://registrar.utexas.edu/catalogs/gi09-10/ch01/index.html.

4.5 Classroom Civility

Regrettably, a handful of students occasionally demonstrate insensitivity to other students and
to instructors by disrupting classes unnecessarily. Arriving late for class, reading newspapers in
class, packing up bags prior to the end of class, and cell phone use are all disruptive activities.
Browsing the internet, checking email, and playing games on laptops are also inappropriate in
class because you should be listening and participating. Certainly, taking notes on a laptop is
appropriate, but do not waste your time or mine by getting distracted by other activities on the
web. Moreover, I will not tolerate incivility of one opinion to another. It is exciting and healthy
to exchange a diversity of opinions, but in no case should anyone demean another because of his
or her viewpoint. If you have any questions about what classroom civility entails, please contact
me.
4.6 Syllabus

Each of you needs to email me by September 7 to let me know that you have read through the syllabus and that you understand all that is required of you. Also, readings for this course may be changed on an ad hoc basis. For the most part this will not happen, but if so, I will give as much notice as possible. I will likely assign short conflict summaries on a regular basis so that we can discuss specific civil wars in class.

4.7 Other Policies

Access: The University of Texas at Austin is committed to providing a working and learning atmosphere that reasonably accommodates qualified persons with disabilities. If you have any disability which may impair your ability to complete this course successfully, please contact the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259, [http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/](http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/).

Religious Holidays: By UT Austin policy, you must notify me of your pending absence at least fourteen days prior to the date of observance of a religious holy day. If you must miss a class, an examination, a work assignment, or a project in order to observe a religious holy day, you will be given an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

Emergencies: Please also see the following recommendations regarding emergency evacuation from the Office of Campus Safety and Security, 512-471-5767. [http://www.utexas.edu/safety/](http://www.utexas.edu/safety/)

1. Occupants of buildings on The University of Texas at Austin campus are required to evacuate buildings when a fire alarm is activated. Alarm activation or announcement requires exiting and assembling outside. 2. Familiarize yourself with all exit doors of each classroom and building you may occupy. Remember that the nearest exit door may not be the one you used when entering the building. 3. Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructor in writing during the first week of class. 4. In the event of an evacuation, follow the instruction of faculty or class instructors. 5. Do not re-enter a building unless given instructions by the following: Austin Fire Department, The University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office. 6. Behavior Concerns Advice Line (BCAL): 512-232-5050. 7. Link to information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at: [www.utexas.edu/emergency](http://www.utexas.edu/emergency).

5 Tentative Course and Reading Schedule

5.1 Syllabus and Trends in Armed Conflict (08/30)

- Read Syllabus
- Hewitt, 2008 (21–26 and 107–118; Blackboard)
- Harbom and Wallensteen, 2007 (623–634; Blackboard)
- Kalyvas and Balcells, 2010 (415–429; Blackboard)

What is Civil War? (9/4 – 9/6)

- Sept 7: Email about the syllabus
Mueller, 2000 (42–70; Blackboard)
Kalyvas, 2003 (475–494; Blackboard)
Sambanis, 2004 (814–858; Blackboard)
Blattman and Miguel, 2010 (3–57; Blackboard)
Farmer, 2004 (Chp 1; Blackboard)

**Identity Formation (9/11 – 9/13)**
- Taras & Ganguly, 2006 (11–13; Blackboard)
- Chandra, 2006 (Blackboard)
- Brubaker, 2004 (34–52; Blackboard)

**Case Study — South Africa (9/18 – 9/20)**
- Ross, 1999 (5–20; Blackboard)
- Harris and Findley, 2012 (Blackboard)
- McLaughlin, 2007 (435–456; Blackboard)

### 5.2 From Conflict to Violence

**General Reading & Introduction (9/25 – 9/27)**
- Watch the documentary: “Ghosts of Rwanda” prior to 9/25 class
- Sep 25: Obtain presentation assignment
- Lake and Rothchild, 1998 (3–23; Blackboard)
- Ehrenreich, 1997 (Chp 1; Blackboard)
- Stephan and Chenoweth, 2008 (7–44)

**Political Dimensions of Civil War (10/2 – 10/4)**
- Wilkinson, 2004 (1–18, 236–242; Blackboard)
- Posen, 1993 (27–47; Blackboard)
- Lake and Rothchild, 1998 (23–32; Blackboard)
- Hegre et al, 2001 (16–33; Blackboard)
Economic Dimensions of Civil War (10/9 – 10/11)

- King, 2001 (524–552; Blackboard)
- Ross, 2004 (337–356; Blackboard)
- Collier and Sambanis, Chp 1
- Nielsen, et al, 2011 (219–232; Blackboard)

Applications of the Collier/Hoeffler Model (10/16 – 10/18)

- Assignment 1 due 10/18
- Collier and Sambanis, Chp 2 and 3, Burundi and D.R.C.
- Collier and Sambanis, Chp 4 and 5, Nigeria and Kenya
- Collier and Sambanis, Chp 6 and 7, Mozambique and Sudan
- Collier and Sambanis, Chp 8 and 9, Algeria, Senegal, and Mali

Midterm Exam, 10/23, In Class

5.3 From War to Resolution

Case Study: Rwanda (10/25)

- Davenport and Stam, 2009 (Working Paper on Rwanda; Blackboard)
- Gourevitch, 1998 (all; Gourevitch book)

Conflict Management Overview (10/30 – 11/1)

- Walter, 2002 (3–18; Walter book)
- Harff & Gurr, 2004 (181–195; Blackboard)
- Fearon, Humphreys, and Weinstein, 2009 (287–291; Blackboard)

Negotiated Settlements (11/6 – 11/8)

- Downes, 2006 (49–61; Blackboard)
- Höglund, 2008 (95–122; Blackboard)
Prevention, Mediation, & Peacekeeping (11/13 – 11/15)

- Walter, 2006 313–330
- Zartman, 2004 (141–159; Blackboard)
- Stedman, 1995 (14–20; Blackboard)
- Esman, 1995 (21–47; Blackboard)
- Doyle and Sambanis, 2006 (197–223 & 243–256; Blackboard)

Challenges to Peace Processes (11/20 – 11/27)

- Stedman, 1997 (5–53; Blackboard)
- Greenhill and Major, 2007 (7–40; Blackboard)
- Findley, (Various readings on blackboard)
- Stepanova, 2006 (78–104; Blackboard)

Case Study: Bosnia (11/29)

- Assignment 2 due 11/29
- Woodward, 1999 (73–115; Blackboard)
- Cousens, 2002 (531–566; Blackboard)
- Weidmann, Forthcoming (JOP; Blackboard)

5.4 Conclusions

Consequences and Future Directions (12/4 – 12/6)

- Gurr, 2000 (52–64; Blackboard)
- Salehyan and Gleditsch, 2006 (335–366; Blackboard)
- Plümper Eric Neumayer, 2006 (723–754; Blackboard)
- Wood, 2006 (307–341; Blackboard)

Final Exam, Tues, Dec 18 (9:00am–12:00pm)

References


Assignments

In what follows, I describe the assignments that you will need to complete for this course. Note that these may change somewhat, but I will give you advance notice. Before you work on each assignment, I will hand out any updates to clarify things that might be unclear in this version. The purpose of providing this now is so that you get a good sense of where we are going. I will also give other handouts throughout the semester on guidelines for writing and giving oral presentations. All papers need to be turned in by the beginning of class on the date they are due. I do not care what citation style you use, just be complete, consistent, and accurate. You need to upload each paper and assignment to blackboard and submit a hard copy.

Writing Assignment 1

The first writing assignment requires you to examine some data on civil wars to understand trends over time as well as some important, but under appreciated, facts about civil wars. The maximum page limit for this paper is 6 pages and it is worth 15% of your grade.

To begin, you need to obtain a data set on civil wars from the web page of Nicholas Sambanis at Yale University. You should download the data and codebook and learn about the civil wars coded there. The data are in a zipped file under the subheading “What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition.” The link is titled “Data and Replication Material.” Obtaining the data might be a bit challenging, because you need to download it, open the data, and convert to a file format you prefer (if the current file is not in that form). An important step in the research process is to deal with data in whatever format it comes in. I am happy to help you by answering questions or working through the problem, but only after you have tried it on your own. Once you figure out how the data are provided, you are free to convert them to whichever software you desire, so long as you can compute some basic statistics. (Note: answering the questions does not require any intermediate or advanced statistics knowledge. These questions ask for very basic information.)

For the assignment, you need to obtain the following information from the data (and document the answers):

1. How is civil war defined and measured in this data set?
2. How many civil war onsets occur according to any two of the civil war onset measures?
3. Which 3 countries had the most civil war onsets?
4. Which region is the most civil-war prone?
5. Which decade had the most civil wars?

Once you obtain these specific pieces of information, then I would like you to learn three other trends about civil wars in the world. You can choose other trends yourself, so long as they are not isolated facts. Please write an 8 page paper that reports the results of your data searches both in brief tables as well as in the text. You should talk about each result and discuss what you thought about the trend prior to seeing the data, what your impressions are now that you have examined the trends, and why you think the trend exists. Finally, please identify three possible research questions that you could address with these data.

Grading Criteria:
Writing Assignment 2

The second writing assignment requires you to analyze the determinants of internal conflict in at least two countries that you choose. If you prefer analyzing all of the civil wars in the data set from assignment 1 statistically, then I encourage you to do that. You can look at a wide range of domestic turmoil including civil wars, revolutions, terrorist acts, and riots among others, but you should emphasize civil war. The maximum page limit for this paper is 10 pages and it is worth 20% of your grade.

This is primarily an analytical assignment. You must offer a discussion of why the internal conflicts have occurred followed by a prognosis for future conflict over the next decade or two. Whether you regard the probability of future conflict as high or low, your analysis must include the rationale for the assessment as a central piece of the assignment.

Based on your analysis in the first half of this assignment, offer a detailed set of suggestions on how to minimize the chances for internal conflict. If you analyze only a limited number of wars, then the suggestions should be for the government facing the civil wars. If you analyze all of the wars statistically, then make recommendations to the United Nations. These policy ideas should be plausible and described in some detail (that is, do not merely offer goals, but the policy means to achieve those goals).

Grading Criteria:

- Reasonableness of assessment
- Quality of rationale/justification
- Plausibility & innovation of proposals
- Level of specificity
- Writing style and clarity
- Supporting references/research

5.5 Presentation

The presentation requires you to apply the Collier/Hoeffler model of civil war onset to a particular civil war. Depending on the number of students in class, you will likely partner with one other person and report on one of the substantive civil war chapters from the Collier and Sambanis book. From the dates and list below, please let me know what your top three choices are for a terrorist group. Also, let me know what your top three choices are for a date to present.

1. Presentation Dates: Oct 16–18

2. Civil war chapters:
   - Burundi
• Democratic Republic of Congo
• Nigeria
• Kenya
• Mozambique
• Sudan
• Algeria
• Senegal/Mali

3. Substance of the presentation:

• Describe the background to the war (very short — everyone will have read the chapter)
• Analyze whether the Collier and Hoeffler model fits well (the bulk of the presentation)
• Discuss other potential explanations for the war(s)
• Initiate and lead a class discussion about the causes of the war (and future likelihood of war)

4. Logistics

• 8–10 minute presentation followed by class discussion
• You need to be very professional
• Distribute a handout
• See Edwards reading on giving talks
• Turn in 3–4 page outline/paper
• Email me independently (within 48 hours) with a peer evaluation of your group
• The presentation is worth 10% of your grade