

SYLLABUS 08/2011

CAUSES OF INTRASTATE ARMED CONFLICTS: DOMINANT THEORIES AND EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Henrikas Bartusevičius
Department of Political Science and Government
Aarhus University
Bartholins Alle 7, building 1331, office 217
8000 Aarhus C
Tlf: + 45 8942 1295
E-mail: henrikas@ps.au.dk

Class meetings:

Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, 12:00 – 15:00
[First meeting starts at 11:00 and ends at 13:00]

Location:

Building 1231, room 224 [see Aarhus University map: <http://www.au.dk/en/about/organisation/map/>]

Office hours:

Between 15:00 and 16:00 every day or by appointment!

Dear participant,

I look forward to meet you in the course on intrastate armed conflicts and their causes! Below you will find a detailed description of the course that will guide you through your readings and home preparations. I hope you will find this syllabus interesting and informative.

I would like to note in the very beginning that you will benefit most if you have a look at reading materials before the start of the course.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me or drop by my office!

I. Course Summary

This course addresses causes of intrastate armed conflicts or civil wars (further conflicts). The primary aims of the course are: (I) to provide you with knowledge of the dominant theories of causes of conflicts and (II) competences necessary for the application of these theories in empirical analyses of conflicts. Accordingly, the course is divided into two main parts. The first part is focused on the dominant theoretical models of conflict onset. We will analyze, compare and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of well established theories and concepts such as 'relative deprivation', 'grievance', 'greed', 'state weakness', and 'opportunity'.

The second part is focused on empirical research based on the theories and concepts introduced in the first part of the course. The main aim of this part is to evaluate the theoretical approaches on the basis of empirical evidence. We will analyze theories in the context of particular conflicts. The focus will be both on quantitative and qualitative studies: 'What patterns do the findings of statistical studies show?'; 'Are there any theoretically-grounded factors at the macro level that are present in the countries that have experience conflicts?'; 'Are there any factors at the micro level of particular conflicts that are in congruence with one or other theoretical approach?'

[Note: This course explicitly deals with the initiation and onset of conflict. The dynamics and termination of conflict are not within the scope of this seminar. Therefore, issues related to conflict prevention, settlement, management, and resolution will not be addressed in the seminar.]

II. Intended Learning Outcomes

By the end of the course you should be able to:

1. Describe the basic concepts and elements of the following theoretical approaches on the causes of conflicts: 'grievance', 'greed', and 'state weakness'.
2. Explain the theoretical strengths and weaknesses of these approaches.
3. Evaluate these approaches on the basis of their usefulness to explain particular cases of conflicts.
4. Synthesize and employ them in empirical analysis of causes of conflicts.
5. Generate original hypotheses and explanations of causes of particular conflicts.

III. Course Materials

Most of the course readings are composed of articles available online (see links below). The rest of the readings will be available in the form of compendium, which will appear in *Stakbogladden* (see location here: <http://www.au.dk/en/about/organisation/map/bldg1420/>) at the end of July. Therefore, there is no necessity to purchase any particular book for the course.

IV. Course requirements

(a) Readings. The syllabus lists required readings below. You are responsible for completing all of these readings before every class and coming to class prepared to discuss issues indicated for every session. [Please pay attention to the page numbers indicated in the brackets]. See also optional readings at the end of this syllabus.

(b) Active Participation in Class Discussions. The course will be mainly run as a seminar. For seminar to be successful, it is necessary that you take active participation in class discussions. For the first five sessions I have indicated broad topics/questions that should guide you through the readings and discussions.

(c) *Home preparations.* You are responsible for preparing a list of 3-5 comments or questions based on the readings for every session [you do not need to do this for the introductory session on 1 August]. Comments/questions should reflect your critical understanding of the materials:

- ‘What do the readings contribute to our understanding of causes of conflicts?’
- ‘What are the strengths and weaknesses of their theoretical models?’
- ‘Which elements of the theories sound unconvincing? Why?’
- ‘What are their methodological strengths/shortcomings?’

Your questions/comments will be distributed to the class [please send me the questions at least 1 hour before the start of every session so that I could make copies for everyone] and serve as a starting point for discussions.

(d) *Class activities.* The course is a mixture of short lectures, group work, and discussions [we will talk about these in detail during the introductory session]. We will also watch and discuss documentaries related to one of the topics in the syllabus.

(e) *Assessment.* The assessment method is a 6-hour written exam. We will talk about the details of exam in the first session. We will also have two hours of exam preparation during the last session of the course.

V. Calendar

Session	Place	Date	Time
Introductory Session	Building 1231, room 224	1 August	11:00 – 13:00
Session I: Relative Deprivation and Grievance		3 August	12:00 – 15:00
Session II: Greed and Feasibility		4 August	12:00 – 15:00
Session III: Regime-type and state weakness		8 August	12:00 – 15:00
Session IV: Alternative theories		10 August	12:00 – 15:00
Session V: Case studies I		12 August	12:00 – 15:00
Session VI: Case studies II		15 August	12:00 – 15:00
Session VII: Case studies III		17 August	12:00 – 15:00
Session VIII: Cross-country evidence		19 August	12:00 – 15:00
Summary and Exam Preparation		22 August	12:00 – 16:00
Exam (place and time will be announced later)		26 August	

VI. Course outline and schedule

I. Introductory session (Monday, 1 August, 11:00-13:00).

First session is an introduction to the course. We will quickly look over formalities and requirements of the course (seminar form, readings, exam, etc.). In addition, we will have a brief discussion on the definitions of intrastate armed conflict and have a look at general patterns of conflicts over time and space.

Focus:

- ‘What is ‘intrastate armed conflict’?’ – Definitions and measurement.
- ‘How many? Where? How lengthy?’ – Trends and patterns since 1945.

Readings:

1. Sambanis, Nicholas (2004) What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(6): 814-858.
< <http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/48/6/814.abstract> >.
[Focus on 814-831; 853-857]
2. Harbom, Lotta & Peter Wallensteen (2010) Armed Conflicts, 1946-2009. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(4): 501-509.
< <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/47/4/501.abstract> >.
3. Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (2009) *Conflict Barometer: Crises, wars, coups d'etat, negotiations, mediations, peace settlements*. Heidelberg: Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict.
< <http://www.hiik.de/en/konfliktbarometer/index.html> >.
[Do not spend much time on the details. Look at the tables and graphs. Focus only on violent forms of intrastate conflicts – crisis, severe crisis and war]
4. Smith, Dan (2004) Trends and Causes in Armed Conflict. In Austin et al. (eds.) *Transforming Ethno-Political Conflicts: The Berghof Handbook*. Berlin: Berghof Center for Constructive Conflict Management.
< <http://www.berghof-handbook.net/articles/section-ii-analysing-conflict-and-assessing-conflict-transformation/> >.

pp. 158

PART I – THEORIES OF INTRASTATE ARMED CONFLICT CAUSES

There will be four sessions in the first part of the course. Sessions 1 and 2 focus on *grievance* and *greed* – two of the most influential theoretical approaches in the current debate on causes of conflicts. These approaches have been often treated as opposing and competing. However, recently, researchers have shown that conflicts could be driven by grievance and greed at the same time. Therefore, we will look at these theories both as separate approaches and as two elements of the same approach.

I. Session: *Grievance and Relative Deprivation* (Wednesday, 3 August):

The first session focuses on the grievance approach and theory of relative deprivation. Although introduced in 1970s, the theory of relative deprivation remains one of the most comprehensive and well developed theories on protest and violent conflict. The seminal work, *Why Men Rebel?*, by Ted Robert Gurr will serve as the primary source of the theory. We will also deal with Gurr's later work (2000), which includes elements of 'identity' and 'opportunity' into grievance approach. In addition, we will look at one of the recent examples of application of the grievance approach in empirical analysis of conflict causes (Cederman's, Weidmann's, and Gleditsch's article).

Focus:

- 'What is "relative deprivation" and how does it explain causes of conflicts?'
- 'Which aspects of conflicts could not be explained by grievance approach?'
- 'How can we employ grievance approach to empirically analyze causes of conflicts?'

Readings:

1. Gurr, T. Robert (1970) *Why Men Rebel?* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[Introduction; Chapters 1 and 2; pp. 16-21 are optional]
2. Gurr T. Robert (2000) *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*. Washington, D. C.: United States Institute of Peace.
[Chapter 3]
3. Cederman, Lars-Erik; Nils B. Weidmann, & Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2010) Horizontal Inequalities and Ethno-nationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison. *Paper Presented at the 105th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, USA 2-5 September*.
[Main focus on 1-13; 25-26]
< <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1641730> >.

pp. 136

II. Session: *Greed and Feasibility* (Friday, 5 August):

Session Two addresses the greed approach or so-called 'Collier-Hoeffler model of conflict onset' (Further CH model). Since the introduction in early 2000s, the model received enormous attention of scholarly community and the media. *Greed and Grievance in Civil War* has been one of the most often cited

articles in the studies of intrastate conflicts. The model has been covered in the mainstream media (*The Economist*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*) as well. In this session we will look both to the early CH model and its later modification – ‘Feasibility’ model. We will also deal with the issue of [in] compatibility of grievance and greed approaches.

Focus:

- ‘Greed’, ‘financial opportunities’, and causes of conflicts.
- ‘What are the main differences between ‘greed’ and ‘feasibility’ approaches?’
- ‘Greed and grievance – two sides of the same coin?’

Readings:

1. Collier, Paul & Anke Hoeffler (2004) Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4): 563-595.
< <http://oep.oxfordjournals.org/content/56/4/563> >.
[Main focus on 563-572; 587-589]
2. Collier, Paul (2007) Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy. In Chester A. Crockett; Den Osler Hampson & Pamela Aall (eds.) *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 197-218.
3. Collier, Paul; Anke Hoeffler, & Dominic Rohner (2009) Beyond Greed and Grievance: Feasibility and Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 61(1): 1-27.
< <http://oep.oxfordjournals.org/content/61/1/1.abstract?sid=94e0e20a-17f0-4021-9de9-4d1464d00daa> >.
[Main focus on 1-10; 24]
4. Murshed, S. Mansoob & Mohammad Zulfan Tadjoeeddin (2009) Revisiting the Greed and Grievance Explanations for Violent Internal Conflict. *Journal of International Development*, 21(1): 87-111.
< <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/jid.1478/abstract> >.

pp. 107

III. Session: Regime-type and ‘State weakness’ (Monday, 8 August)

The third session focuses on the role of regime-type and state institutions. There is no comprehensive theory explaining the onset of conflict solely on the grounds of regime-type or institutions. However, there are number of influential studies that offer theoretical insights into relationship between regime-type and institutions on the one hand and the onset of conflicts on the other hand. In this section we will deal with some of the most important arguments developed in these studies.

Focus:

- ‘State weakness’, ‘political opportunities’, and causes of conflict.
- ‘Democratic civil peace?’
- ‘Are democracies more peaceful than autocracies?’

Readings:

- Gurr T. Robert (2000) *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century*. Washington, D. C.: United States Institute of Peace.
[Chapter 5]
- Hegre, Håvard et al. (2001) Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy, Political Change, and Civil War, 1816-1992. *American Political Science Review*, 95(1): 33-48.
< <http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=92181> >.
- Goldstone, A. Jack et al. (2010) A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability. *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(1): 190-208.
< <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2009.00426.x/abstract> >.
- Fearon, James & David Laitin (2003) Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *American Political Science Review*, 97(1): 75-90.
<<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=142717&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0003055403000534> >

pp. 78

IV. Session: Alternative Theoretical Approaches (Wednesday, 10 August)

In the last session of the first part we will examine a number of influential alternative approaches to causes of conflicts:

- ‘Peaceful Woman and Aggressive Man?’ – Feminist explanations of conflict.
- ‘A Clash of Generations?’ – Demographics and conflict.
- ‘Conflict is all about females?’ – Evolutionary psychology foundations of conflicts.
- ‘Favouring kin over non-kin?’ – Ethnic nepotism and conflict.
- ‘Fighting for survival?’ – Neo-Malthusian explanations of conflict.

Readings:

- Caprioli, Mary (2003) Gender Equality and State Aggression: The Impact of Domestic Gender Equality on State First Use of Force. *International Interactions*, 29(3): 195-214.
< <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03050620304595> >.
- Urdal, Henrik (2006) A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50(3): 607-629.
< <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2006.00416.x/abstract> >.
- Kanazawa, Satoshi (2009) Evolutionary Psychology Foundations of Civil Wars. *The Journal of Politics*, 71(1): 25-34.
<<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=3501852&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S0022381608090026> >
- Vanhanen, Tatu (1999) Domestic Ethnic Conflict and Ethnic Nepotism: A Comparative Analysis. *Journal of Peace Research*, 36(1): 55-73.
< <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/36/1/55.abstract> >.

- Homer-Dixon, F. Thomas (1999) Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases. *International Security*, 19(1): 5-40.
< <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539147> >.

pp. 108

PART II – CONFLICTS AND THEIR CAUSES – EMPIRICS

Part II shifts to empirical research and aims to examine ‘how well do the theories explain the onset of particular conflicts?’ In order to evaluate the applicability of the theories in diverse contexts, we will focus on six cases from different regions: Nepal, Bougainville, Burundi and Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Bosnia, and Colombia.

V. Session: Case Studies I (Asia and Pacific) (Friday, 12 August)

Nepal:

- Do, Quy-Toan & Lakshmi Iyer (2010) Geography, Poverty and Conflict in Nepal. *Journal of Peace Research*, 47(6): 735-748.
< <http://jpr.sagepub.com/content/47/6/735.abstract> >.
- Murshed, S. Mansoob & Scott Gates (2005) Spatial-Horizontal Inequality and the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal. *Review of Development Economics*, 9(1): 121-134.
< <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9361.2005.00267.x/abstract;jsessionid=86143C4F581B711FDF3EC643ADD2C1D9.d03t04> >.
- Sharma, Kishor (2006) The Political Economy of Civil War in Nepal. *World Development*, 34(7): 1237-1253.
< <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305750X06000623> >.

Bougainville:

- Regan J. Anthony (2003) The Bougainville Conflict: Political and Economic Agendas. In Karen Ballentine & Jake Sherman (eds.) *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 133 – 166.
- Hilson, J. Christopher (2007) Mining and Civil Conflict: Revisiting Grievance at Bougainville. *Mineral & Energy – Raw Materials Report*, 21(2): 23-35.
< <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14041040601047937> >
- *The Coconut Revolution* (2000) video recording, Stampede Films, Luton.
[We will watch this documentary in the class]

pp. 92

VI. Session: Case Studies II (Africa) (Monday, 15 August)

Rwanda and Burundi:

- Ngaruko, Floribert & Janvier D. Nkurunziza (2005) Civil War and Its Duration in Burundi. In Paul Collier & Nicholas Sambanis. *Understanding Civil War*. Volume 1: Africa, 35-63.
[Available online at <http://www.statsbiblioteket.dk/>]
- Uvin, Peter (1999) Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence. *Comparative Politics*, 31(3): 253-271.
< <http://www.jstor.org/stable/422339?origin=JSTOR-pdf> >.
- Mueller, John (2000) The Banality of 'Ethnic War'. *International Security*, 25(1): 42-70
< <http://www.mitpressjournals.org/action/doSearch?searchText=the+banality+of+ethnic+war> >.
[Main focus on 42-44; 58-70]

Sierra Leone:

- Alao, Abiodun (1999) Diamonds are Forever...But so also are Controversies: Diamonds and the Actors in Sierra Leone's Civil War. *Civil War*, 2(3): 43-64.
< <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13698249908402414> >.
- Humphreys, Macartan & Jeremy M. Weinstein (2008) Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War. *American Journal of Political Science*, 52(2): 436-455.
< <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2008.00322.x/abstract> >.
- Silberfein, Marilyn (2004) The Geopolitics of Conflict and Diamonds in Sierra Leone. *Geopolitics*, 9(1): 213-241.
<<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14650040412331307892?prevSearch=the%2Bconflict%2Bin%2Bsierra%2Bgeopolitics&searchHistoryKey=> >.

pp. 148

VII. Session: Case Studies III (Europe and South America) (Wednesday, 17 August)

Bosnia:

- Kalyvas N. Stathis & Nicholas Sambanis (2005) Bosnia's Civil War: Origins and Violence Dynamics. In Paul Collier & Nicholas Sambanis. *Understanding Civil War*. Volume 2: Europe, Central Asia, and Other Regions, 191-231.
[Available online at <http://www.statsbiblioteket.dk/>]
- Kunovich, M. Robert & Randy Hodson (2002) Ethnic Diversity, Segregation, and Inequality: A Structural Model of Ethnic Prejudice in Bosnia and Croatia. *Sociological Quarterly*, 43(2):185-212.
< <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2002.tb00046.x/abstract> >.
- *The Death of Yugoslavia* (1995), Part 3 and part 4, video recording, BBC documentaries.
[We will watch these documentaries in the class]

Colombia:

Sanchez, Fabio; Andres Solimano, & Michel Formisano (2005) Conflict, Violence, and Crime in Colombia. In Paul Collier & Nicholas Sambanis. *Understanding Civil War*. Volume 2: Europe, Central Asia, and Other Regions, 119-159.

[Available online at <http://www.statsbiblioteket.dk/>]

- Guaqueta, Alexandra (2003) The Colombian Conflict: Political and Economic Dimensions. In Karen Ballentine & Jake Sherman (eds.) *The Political Economy of Armed Conflict: Beyond Greed and Grievance*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 73-106.

pp. 144

VIII. Session: Cross-country Evidence (Friday, 19 August)

Readings:

- Ross, L. Michael (2004) How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases. *International Organization*, 58(1):35-67.
<<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=197304&fulltextType=RA&fileId=S002081830458102X> >.
- Stewart, Frances (2002) Horizontal Inequalities: A Neglected Dimension of Development. *QEH Working Paper Number 81*, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford.
< http://www.qeh.ox.ac.uk/pdf/wpDetail?jor_id=239 >.
- Dixon, Jeffrey (2009) What Causes Civil Wars? Integrating Quantitative Research Findings. *International Studies Review*, 11(4): 707-735.
< <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2009.00892.x/abstract> >.

pp. 102

IX. Summary and Exam Preparation Session (Monday, 22 August)

VII. Optional Readings

If you would like to familiarise yourself with the basics of conflict analysis beforehand, I would recommend:

- Ramsbotham, Oliver; Tom Woodhouse & Hugh Miall (2011) *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [Focus on first four chapters; you could also read earlier editions]
- Jeong, Ho-Won (2000) *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*. Aldershot: Ashgate Pub Ltd.

If you are searching for a good read (related to conflicts, of course) for the summer, have a look at:

- Kalyvas, N. Stathis (2006) *The Logic of Violence in Civil Wars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, J. Elisabeth (2003) *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.