# Rebel Group Emergence: Domestic Conflict and International Pressures

#### Outline

- Introduction
  - Research Question
  - Importance
  - Existing Answers
- Theory
  - Structural Conditions and International Forces
- Empirical Implications
- Current Progress

#### Research Question

• What explains the variance in the number of rebel groups in civil wars?

Rebel Count	Observations
1	1,451
2	241
3	71
4	9
5	4
6	1
7	7

## Importance

- Number of rebel groups effects:
  - Outcomes
  - Intensity
  - Duration

# Expectations

#### • A United Rebellion

- Maximizes strength
- Improves bargaining position
- Blocks divide and conquer tactics

#### Fractured Resistance

- Goals not aligned
- Internal conflicts
- Credible commitment issues

#### Random

# Bapat and Bond (2012)

- Examines alliances between rebel groups
  - Assumes that rebels want to work together
  - Unable to because of credible commitment issues
  - Solved by foreign actors
- Do these assumptions represent reality?
  - No clear answer for when alliances would end
  - Their example is troublesome

# Findley and Rudloff (2011)

- Rebel fractionalization
  - Occurs in waves at predictable times
  - Demonstrates importance of civil war dynamics
  - Challenges orthodoxy
- Is fractionalization the whole story?
  - Does not account for group emergence
  - Gives no conclusive theory on causes

# My Theory

- Continue to expand bargaining theory of war
  - Information and commitment problems
  - Continuous process, doesn't end at onset
  - Complicated by N actor nature of civil war
    - Includes active rebels and latent groups
- Structural factors
- International Pressures

# The Bargaining Theory of War

- War is costly, so why do states fight?
  - Information problems
  - Commitment problems
- Applied to civil war
  - Same mechanisms apply
  - Often assumes rebels as unitary actor
  - Usually not ongoing, only covers onset

### **Explanations for Onset**

- Greed and Grievance
  - Potential rebels are financially motivated/constrained
  - When potential gains from rebellion are high enough, or opportunity costs low enough rebellion is more likely
  - Commodity prices often used as a measure

#### Concerns in the Field

- The data does not support the theory
  - Only works for natural resources which are generally controlled by the government
  - Depending on how the data is spliced all significant findings fall apart
  - State capacity is a better explanation

#### In C&H's Defence

- Data is the problem, not the theory
  - Commodities must be appropriate for a potential rebel
  - What is important differs regionally
  - Several case studies support the theory when regional differences are considered
  - State capacity is closely linked

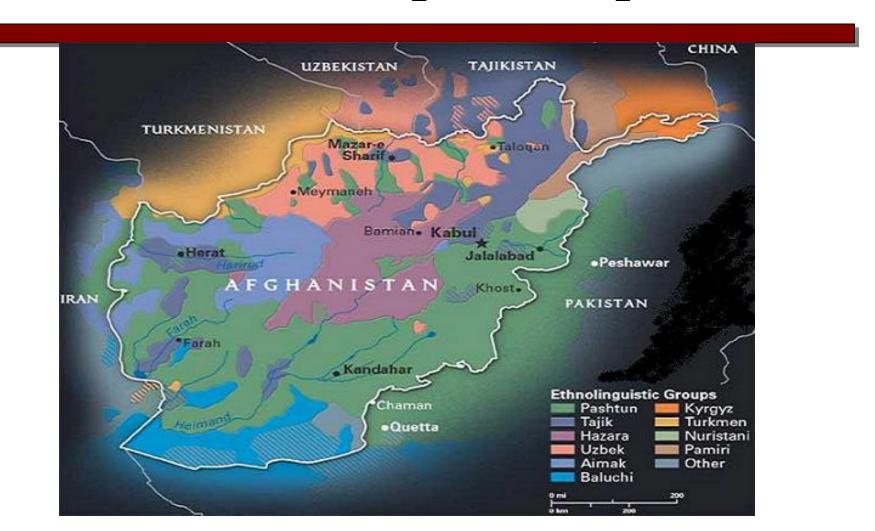
# Expansion to Ongoing Conflict

- Information problems seem unlikely
  - Battles have revealed resolve and capacity
- Potential sources of commitment shifts
  - Decisive or disastrous battles
  - Economic shocks
  - External intervention

## Latent Groups

- While a rebel group is potentially unitary, one group can not act for all
- Latent Groups can be divided along many axes
  - Ethnic
  - Religious
  - Class
  - Tribal
  - Ideology
- They often overlap

# Latent Groups Example



## Emergence Game

- Three player bargaining game
  - Government(G), Rebels(R) and a Latent Group(L)
- At time t R has already rebelled
  - L has not
- G always makes an offer to L and can either make an offer to R or opt to fight
  - If given a choice, both L and R either accept the offer or fight

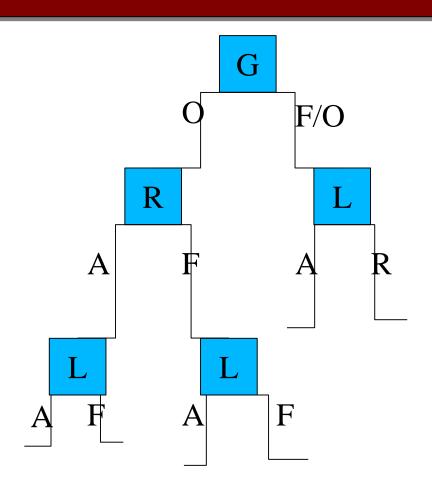
#### **Parameters**

Parameter	Definition
G, R, L, S	Players- Government, Rebels, Latent Group, Sponsor
P <sub>R</sub>	Probability the G defeats R ∈[0,1]
$P_{L}$	Probability the G defeats L ε[0,1]
P <sub>RL</sub>	Probability the G defeats R and L ε[0,1]
$\pi_{ m i}$	Offer made to R or L
Ci	Costs of fighting
$\beta_{i}$	Distribution of resources ε[0,1]

#### **Parameters**

- Costs include economic factors as well as destruction from battle
- P is a function of capability ratio
  - At time t both PR and PL are > .5
  - PRL can be < .5 but is not necessarily so
- Beta and Pi
  - Beta is the whole distribution of benefits
  - Pi is the proportion of this that G offers

#### Base Game



# Payoffs

#### • (O,A,A)

- $G: 1 O_R O_I$
- R:  $O_R$
- L: O<sub>L</sub>

#### $\bullet$ (O,A,F)

- $G: P_L(B_{GL}) C_{GL} O_R$
- R:  $O_R$
- L:  $(1-P_L)(B_{GL}) C_L$

#### $\bullet$ (O,F,A)

- $G: P_R(B_{GR}) C_{GR} O_L$
- $R: (1-P_R)(B_{GR}) C_R$
- L: O<sub>L</sub>

#### $\bullet$ (O,F,F)

- $G: P_{RL}(B) C_{GRL}$
- R:  $(1-P_R)(B_{GR}) C_R$
- L:  $(1-P_L)(B_{GL}) C_L$

#### Intuition From Base Game

- L will not rebel in time t
  - May rebel in t + 1 depending on battle outcomes
- If there is any cost involved with making offers to rebel groups, G will only offer when likely to be accepted

#### External Shock- Economic

- An exogenous downward shock in commodity prices will:
  - Decrease CL
  - Decrease either the offer G can make or G's capabilities
- If the shock is sufficiently large L will rebel

# External Shock-Foreign Aid

- If given to government:
  - Increases resources, allows government to make sufficient offers more often
- If given to rebels:
  - Effect is dependent on aid type
  - Can have spillover effect from R to L, or L to R
  - Generally increases number of rebel groups

# **Empirical Implications**

- Structural conditions may explain most variation
  - Population
  - Country Size
  - Latent Groups
    - Measurement issues
  - Conflict Length

#### International Pressures

- Commodity Price Shocks
  - Need to be appropriately measured
  - New data set forthcoming
    - May still not be appropriate
- Foreign Aid
  - Multiple versions of this data exist
  - Is often guess work