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Making Migrations: Population Displacement Strategies in Civil Wars

by

Adam G. Lichtenheld

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

Political Science

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Associate Professor Ron Hassner, Chair
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Associate Professor Aila Matanock

Summer 2019

Making Migrations: Population Displacement Strategies in Civil Wars

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Abstract

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University of California, Berkeley

Associate Professor Ron Hassner, Chair

Why do armed groups uproot civilians in wartime? This dissertation identifies variation across civil wars in three population displacement strategies – cleansing, depopulation, and forced relocation – and tests different explanations for their use. I develop a new "assortative" theory of displacement, which argues that while some strategies (cleansing) aim to expel undesirable or disloyal populations, others (forced relocation, and perhaps depopulation) seek to identify the undesirables or the disloyal in the first place. When combatants lack information about opponents' identities and civilians' loyalties, they can use human mobility to infer wartime sympathies through "guilt by location." Triggering displacement forces people to send costly and visible signals of loyalty based on whether, and where, they flee. This makes communities more "legible," enabling combatants to use people's movements as a continuous indicator of affiliation and allegiance; and to extract rents and recruits from the population. I therefore show that in some cases, displacement is attractive because it offers unique solutions to information and resource problems in civil wars by acting as a sorting mechanism and a force multiplier.

To evaluate my theory, I adopt a multi-method, multi-level research design that focuses on displacement by state actors, the primary perpetrators of these methods. I introduce a new dataset of population displacement strategies in 160 civil wars (1945–2008), disaggregated by type, and conduct a series of quantitative tests. The data show that strategic displacement has been much more common in wartime than previously thought. I also find that, consistent with my expectations, different displacement strategies occur in different contexts and appear to follow different logics. Cleansing is more likely in conventional wars, where territorial conquest takes primacy, and when counterinsurgents have access to group-level identifiers that link civilians to an armed group. Forced relocation – the most common displacement strategy – is more likely in irregular wars, where identification problems are most acute, and when counterinsurgents lack access to other group-level heuristics for inferring civilian loyalties. The evidence indicates that cleansing follows a logic of punishment. The results for relocation, however, are consistent with the implications of my assortative logic: it is more likely to be employed by resource-constrained incumbents fighting insurgencies in

"illegible" areas – rural, peripheral territories – and it correlates strongly with state efforts to mobilize the population into civilian defense forces.

While the cross-national analysis lends indirect support for my arguments, a series of case studies provide direct evidence for the assortative logic. Two in-depth case studies, of civil wars in Uganda and Syria, are based on extensive field research conducted between 2016 and 2019, including hundreds of interviews with perpetrators and victims of displacement. An additional chapter features three shorter case studies of conflicts in Burundi, Vietnam, and Indonesia.

As the most comprehensive study of strategic wartime displacement to date, this dissertation challenges some core assumptions about a devastating feature of modern conflict and an increasingly salient issue in world politics. My findings have important implications for research on forced displacement, civil war, and political violence, and can inform policy efforts to prevent, mitigate, and better respond to wartime migrations and their myriad consequences.

For the victims; for the uprooted.

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Acronyms

AI Amnesty International

ADF Allied Democratic Forces (Uganda)

CDF Civil defense forces

CNDD National Council for the Defense of Democracy (Burundi)

DRC Democratic Republic of Congo

FNL National Liberation Forces (Burundi)

FSA Free Syrian Army

ICC International Criminal Court

IDP Internally Displaced Person

ISIS Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

GAM *Gerakan Aceh Merdek* (Free Aceh Movement, Indonesia)

GDP Gross Domestic Product

HRW Human Rights Watch

HSM Holy Spirit Movement (Uganda)

JAN Jabhat al-Nusra (Syria)

LC Local Council

LRA Lord's Resistance Army (Uganda)

NLF National Liberation Front (Vietnam)

NRM National Resistance Movement (Uganda)

PITF Political Instability Task Force

PGM Pro-Government Militia

PIN Popular Intelligence Network (Uganda)

SAA Syrian Arab Army

SDCC Strategic Displacement in Civil Conflict Dataset

SNC Symmetric Non-Conventional

TNI *Tentara Nasional Indonesia* (Indonesian military)

UCDP Uppsala Conflict Data Program

UPA Uganda People's Army

UN United Nations

UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UN Refugee Agency)

UNRF II Uganda National Rescue Front

USAID United States Agency for International Development

UPDA Uganda People's Democratic Army

UPDA Ugandan People's Defense Forces

WNBF West Nile Bank Front (Uganda)

VDC Violations Documentation Centre (Syria)

VC Vietcong (Vietnam)

Acknowledgments

"To be rooted is perhaps the most important
and least recognized need of the human soul."

-Simone Weil

It is fitting that a dissertation on displacement and migration had such a peripatetic journey. I conceived this project in Berkeley and wrote the first words in downtown Oakland, and subsequent chapters were drafted in Gaziantep and Istanbul, Turkey; Kampala, Gulu, Kitgum, and Kasese, Uganda; Berlin, Germany; Al-Hassakah, Syria; Beirut, Lebanon; and Washington, D.C. Along the way, I met extraordinary people who had endured unimaginable suffering. They welcomed me to their towns, villages, offices, and homes. They opened up their lives and allowed me to trespass on their ordeals. The difficulty of being a social scientist studying violent conflict is knowing that your work will never adequately convey the anguish, courage, and perseverance of your subjects. During my time in the field I interviewed hundreds of refugees, displaced people, and other war victims, and had informal conversations with dozens of others. I hope the following pages do some justice to their experiences. While I fear they do not, I am deeply grateful for the willingness of these individuals to share their stories. This dissertation is dedicated to them, for all they have taught me – much of which does not appear in this volume.

This project also benefitted from the assistance and encouragement of numerous friends, colleagues, students, and mentors. I am indebted to the faculty and graduate students in the Travers Department of Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley, for giving me the tools and courage to pursue this project. I entered graduate school wanting to research a topic that is important but difficult to study. I was fortunate to be trained in a department that pushed its students to ask big, bold, interesting research questions, even at a time when the discipline is facing pressure to do the opposite. Ron Hassner taught me much about the style and substance of being a scholar, and showed me that the best in our profession excel as much in their teaching as in their research. I am far more skilled in both areas because of his mentorship. Aila Matanock and Leo Arriola read various drafts of my work and provided healthy doses of constructive criticism, thoughtful suggestions, and much-needed reassurance. My fellow graduate students were also instrumental in strengthening my arguments and ideas – and helping me maintain my sanity – particularly Rachel Bernhard, Gabrielle Elul, Jake Grumbach, Jason Klocek, Deirdre Martin, and Paul Thissen.

Beyond Berkeley, Abbey Steele at the University of Amsterdam took me under her wing and provided crucial guidance and assistance even though she was under no obligation to do so. Aili Tripp and Scott Straus at the University of Wisconsin were early stewards of my intellectual interests, acting as mentors when I was an undergraduate

and first took interest in the issue of forced displacement. I owe a particular debt to Scott for persuading me to pursue graduate study at Berkeley.

I am thankful to many others who offered comments and feedback on my work throughout the years, including Ariel Ahram, Alexander Betts, Alex Braithwaite, Allison Carnegie, Tiffany Chu, Ruth Collier, Kelly Greenhill, Karam Alhamad, Kim Howe, Stathis Kalyvas, Rana Khoury, Marc Lynch, Lama Mourad, Michaela Mattes, Saira Mohammed, Dipali Mukhopadhyay, Justin Schon, Rifaie Tammas, and Kai Thaler. I beg forgiveness from those whose names I have omitted. I also received valuable feedback at various stages from participants in seminars at the University of Amsterdam; Bahcesehir University in Istanbul; University of California, Berkeley; University of Hamburg; University of London; University of Oxford; University of Southern California; Yale University; the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre in Geneva; and the United States Institute of Peace in Washington.

My dissertation would not exist at all without excellent research assistants across multiple universities. Thank you to Gohar Abrahamyan, Harshil Bansal, Morgan Ivanoff, Kevin Klyman, Vincent Tran, and Angelica Zocchi at Berkeley; and Linda Fawaz and Courtland Vogeding at Georgetown for their diligence, organization, and courteousness while working on a difficult project. My field research in Uganda was facilitated by Stephen Oola from the Refugee Law Project, James Latigo from the NGO Trocaire, and Phil Wilmot. I had the opportunity to work with brilliant, energetic research assistants who helped with data collection and translation during my fieldwork. They included Francis Abonga, Hellen Akongo, Monica Aol, Josephine Auma, Martin Atyera, Wilson Bwambale, Daniel Ebong, Barbara Kagwiria, Ark Kyaligamba, Kikora Masereka, Philip Odiambo, Kenneth Odong, Denis Okello, Isaac Okwera, Gerald Otim, and Kabayo Zakayo. Karam Alhamad and Karam Shoumali provided similarly valuable research assistance in Turkey. *Webale* and *Shukrun*.

I received generous financial support from various institutions for this project, including the National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant (No. 1746447); the United States Institute of Peace; the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation; the Phi Beta Kappa Northern California Association; the University of California Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation; and the Center for African Studies, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Institute of International Studies, and the Human Rights Center at the University of California, Berkeley. I also give thanks to the under-appreciated staff at UC Berkeley's Institutional Review Board (IRB), who helped me ensure that I conducted field research on such a sensitive topic in the most ethical, transparent, and protective manner possible.

I never would have finished this journey without the support of my family, who kept me rooted as I wandered the globe. My grandmother, Scotti, encouraged my interest in politics, while my grandfather, Jack, reminded me not to take myself too seriously. On my desk sits a carving that my grandfather made, which features a quote that he aped from Gertrude Stein; one that points to the futility of the scholar's quest: "there ain't no answer." I owe a debt of gratitude to my parents, John and Connie, for

instilling in me a deep intellectual curiosity and a love of learning, and for exposing me to the big, beautiful world beyond my small hometown. They continue to be my greatest champions, and my mother my most diligent and reliable editor – she may be the only person who has actually read every word of this dissertation. It is to her credit that these pages are suspiciously free of typos. My older sister, Johanna, is the real intellectual of the family, having become an Anglophile and avid PBS viewer at the ripe age of ten (which explains why she was such a bad babysitter). She and my brother-in-law, Tony, encouraged and comforted me as I contended with the perils of academia and the years of low-wage labor. For this I am grateful.

I reserve my final and biggest thanks to my wife, Andrea. Her patience, grit, and understanding know no bounds, and her love inspires and grounds me. She has read countless drafts; listened to endless complaints; engaged in long, lofty conversations late into the night; pushed back against my gnawing self-doubt; tolerated my prolonged absences; helped me address my struggles with mental health; and served as counselor, confidant, chef, cheerleader, copyeditor, co-conspirator, and travel companion. I asked far too much of her, and yet she was always there to give me refuge and a home.

Chapter 1

Introduction

"Massive displacement of people within countries and across borders has become a defining feature of the post-cold war world."

-Roberta Cohen and Francis M. Deng, 2009[1]

"Forced displacement often functions as a central strategy in civil wars and, as such, can be considered in the political as well as humanitarian realm."

-Sarah Kenyon Lischer, 2014[2]

In northern Uganda, gentle hills occasionally punctuate a vast savannah teeming with crops of cassava and sorghum. During the 1990s and early 2000s, stampedes of frightened villagers frequently trampled the tall, dry grasses scattered across this landscape. A roaming, predatory band of insurgents called the Lord's Resistance Army terrorized the countryside, and residents had become accustomed to the prospect of fleeing their homes at a moment's notice. One day in 1996, people ran towards the village of eight-year-old Alex Olango, screaming that the rebels were coming. Olango remembers it vividly: "We ran away. All of us took refuge in the house of the local councilor. We stayed there the entire day but nothing happened. [So] we returned home in the evening."[3] Such spontaneous population displacement, where individuals opt to move in anticipation of violence – for days, for weeks, even for years – is a common occurrence in war. But in northern Uganda, many people did not flee on their own volition. Instead, they were ordered to leave their villages by the government and relocate to designated camps as part of a deliberate military strategy; camps where conditions often bordered on the grotesque. Olango recalls this as well:

> "We left for one of the camps in northern Uganda. My mother carried my little sister. I carried clothes and blankets while my brother carried maize and cooking utensils...When we reached the camp, we found several hundred people already there. I had never seen so many people. From a homestead of about 20 people, I suddenly found myself in a place with over 800. It was like a small town. The hygiene was horrific. We built our own *bolo*, a small hut made of reed and grass.
>
> The government was encouraging more people to move to the camps. When some people refused to cooperate, a couple of curfews were implemented. This involved beating up people, setting ablaze homesteads that were uncooperative and even killing stubborn heads of families."[4]

The story of northern Uganda, told through the eyes of one of hundreds of thousands of victims, is not unique. In other countries convulsed by civil wars –

[1] Cohen and Deng 2009, 15.
[2] Lischer 2014, 320.
[3] Olango 2016, 4.
[4] Olango 2016, 5-6.

including those currently raging in Burma, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan, South Sudan, and Syria – armed groups have routinely and intentionally uprooted civilians for strategic and tactical purposes. But how common is the use of population displacement as a weapon of war? How do we characterize and explain these strategies? And what are the conditions under which combatants are most likely to "make" migrations? Answering these questions is the core aim of this dissertation.

1.1 Purpose and Relevance

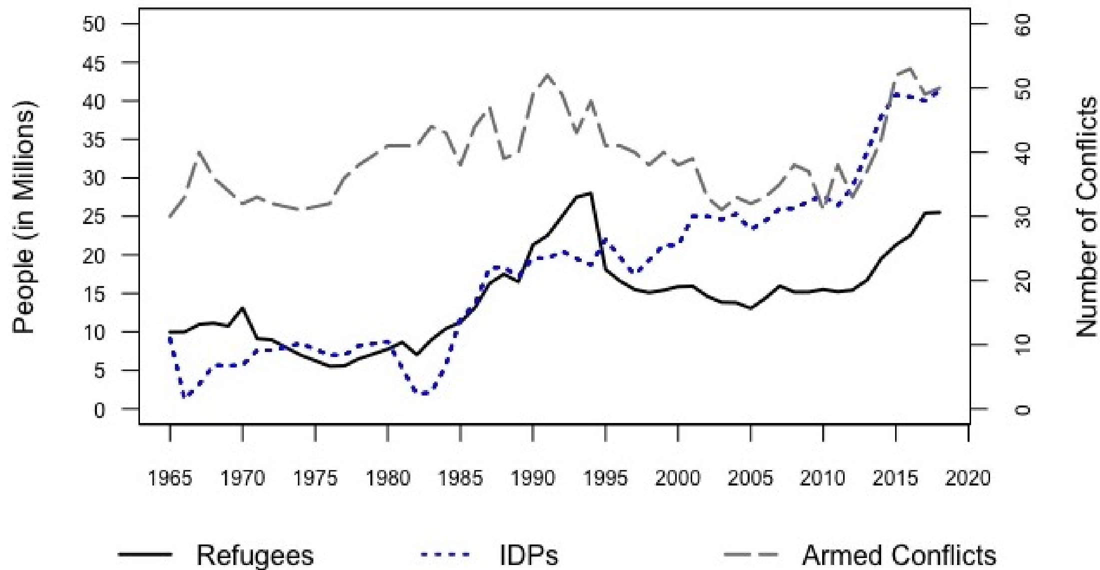
Wars are killing fewer people today on average, but they are displacing more of them. A staggering 68 million individuals are currently uprooted by conflict and violence worldwide, the highest recorded since the Second World War (see Table 1.1).[5] This uptick in global displacement in recent decades is perplexing – and disturbing – given a general and oft-celebrated decline in the incidence and lethality of armed conflict.[6] Wartime displacement has therefore become one of the most pressing issues facing humanity today. Flows of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) have dire consequences for international security, as they have been linked to an array of threats – including conflict contagion,[7] refugee militarization[8], border disputes,[9] terrorism and transnational crime,[10] the spread of infectious disease,[11] food insecurity,[12] and state breakdown.[13] These forced population movements also create humanitarian disasters that have increasingly strained the global aid system and undermined prospects for post-conflict peace and development.[14] The political repercussions of displacement are also increasingly evident, as refugees have become a salient election issue in the United States and Europe; potentially contributing to the rise of populism in Western countries.[15]

For many analysts, population displacement is worth observing but not explaining. This stems from a common belief that migration in wartime is an inadvertent (and perhaps inevitable) byproduct of violence and instability. Fighting erupts. People flee. But scholars and policymakers have increasingly recognized that

[5] UNHCR 2018.
[6] Dupuy and Rustad 2018; Szayna et al. 2017; Goldstein 2011; Pinker 2011.
[7] Salehyan and Gleditsch 2006; Bohnet et al. 2018; Fisk 2018; Onoma 2013; Böhmelt et al. 2019; Miller and Ritter 2014.
[8] Zolberg et al. 1992; Stedman and Tanner 2004; Lischer 2005.
[9] Salehyan 2008.
[10] Adamson 2006; Betts and Loescher 2011; Milton et al. 2013; Choi and Piazza 2016.
[11] Kalipeni and Oppong 1998.
[12] Cohen and Deng 2009; Maystadt and Verwimp 2014.
[13] Lischer 2014.
[14] Christensen and Harild 2009; Shilue and Fagen 2014.
[15] Inglehart and Norris 2016.

civilian displacement is a strategy of warfare, not just a consequence of it.[16] Generating civilian flight may therefore be integral rather than incidental to the tactics and practices of armed groups.

Table 1.1: Forced Displacement, 1965-2018



Sources: Marshall 2008; Dupuy and Rustad 2018; UNHCR

Strikingly, however, there has been little systematic research on population displacement strategies in wartime. When combatants intentionally displace civilians, there is a widespread tendency – in the media, among policymakers, and even by scholars – to characterize these events as ethnic cleansing. As such, the orchestrated expulsion of members of ethnic, religious, and other identity groups has been the subject of considerable academic research.[17] But these studies only focus on one type of strategic displacement and thus do not account for the full range of displacement strategies employed in civil war. Scholars have made few efforts to gather comprehensive cross-national data on different forms of strategic displacement or look systematically across conflicts to examine where and why they are employed. As a result, according to one recent review of the conflict literature, "we know relatively little" about the use of these measures.[18]

[16] See, for example, Greenhill (2008), Steele (2017), Zhukov (2015), Hägerdal (2019), Lischer (2014), and Valentino (2013).
[17] E.g., Hägerdal (2019), Bulutgil (2016, 2015), Weidmann (2011), Valentino (2013), and Mann (2005).
[18] Berman and Matanock 2015, 456.

This dissertation is an investigation into how, where, and why armed groups intentionally drive civilians from their homes. It introduces new data on population displacement strategies in civil wars and identifies variation within and across conflicts in the use of three types: the *cleansing* of political or ethnic groups, the *depopulation* of designated areas, and the *forced relocation* of civilians into new dwellings. Using multiple research methods and sources – including an original cross-national dataset and in-depth case studies of conflicts in Uganda and Syria based on extensive fieldwork – I systematically examine different explanations for displacement by state actors, who I find are the predominant perpetrators. I also advance a new theory of displacement to explain forced relocation, the most common type. In this introductory chapter, I describe several puzzles that motivate this research, briefly present my arguments, define key terms and the scope conditions of the study, and outline existing theories and their weaknesses. I conclude by providing a roadmap for the rest of the dissertation.

Given the tremendous human and financial costs of population displacement, it is vital to understand its underlying drivers. Doing so, however, requires examining not only why people elect to flee conflict, but also why conflict parties force them to flee. Investigating the different ways combatants orchestrate and manipulate civilian flight – and identifying the conditions that motivate these measures – is therefore critical not only for advancing our knowledge of wartime migrations, but also for improving policy efforts to prevent, mitigate, and better respond to them. This research is particularly relevant in light of the surging scale of forced displacement, along with the suggestion from some analysts that the weaponization of displacement has become more prevalent.[19] The issue of displacement is also central to untangling conflict dynamics. While modern wars kill thousands but displace millions, far more ink has been spilled analyzing and explaining lethal violence than on displacement – which according to one United Nations (U.N.) report was a "defining feature of conflict in 2017."[20]

Three Puzzles

This dissertation explores three key puzzles about the strategic displacement of civilians in war, which existing theories and research have not yet sufficiently addressed.

Puzzle 1: Displacement Is Costly

The deportation, transfer, and resettlement of populations has been a feature of territorial acquisition, military domination, and colonial settlement since antiquity.[21] Yet

[19] Crisp 2003; Orchard 2010. Kaldor (1999) has also argued that civilian displacement has become a strategic goal of the "new wars" of the post-Cold War era.

[20] *Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict* 2018 (14 May), 4/18.

[21] As Aristide Zolberg has observed, the formation of modern nation-states was itself a "refugee-generating process" (Zolberg 1983).

in spite of the obsolescence of imperialism and wars of conquest, political and military actors have continued to employ displacement as a strategic tool. Within the context of civil wars – particularly those waged in the modern era – uprooting civilians is costly. Implementing policies of population displacement can be expensive and cumbersome to coordinate.[22] Driving people from their homes often spawns humanitarian crises that cripple local economies, stoke social grievances, and invite international opprobrium.[23] Indeed, according to the World Bank, "displacement has negative developmental impacts on human and social capital, economic growth, [and] poverty reduction."[24] Moreover, by antagonizing the target population, displacement – like other repertoires of mass violence – risks galvanizing support for the opposing side.

The historical record is replete with cautionary tales. During the reign of Louis XIV in seventeenth-century France, royal authorities, when facing an armed rebellion in the region of Languedoc, "thought that it might be necessary to depopulate a number of parishes located in the most inaccessible areas."[25] But officials quickly determined that the plan was "impractical" as "it would ruin the agriculture of the region by taking people away from their farms" and "general commerce would suffer terribly," plus "there was no place to send [so] many refugees without risking a 'great embarrassment.'"[26] Or take instances where population displacement was actually implemented, such as Hyderabad, India, in 1951, where military authorities herded civilians into centers with "a paucity of food grains, water and other bare necessities of life." Consequently, "as a counterinsurgency measure, forced relocation was in many ways counterproductive... [affected communities] were seething with unrest with no tangible advantage to the Government."[27] Similarly, the concentration of Chinese civilians into strategic hamlets by Japanese counterinsurgents in 1930s Manchuria "caused much distress and often drove the masses closer to the guerrillas morally and spiritually."[28]

Given the burdens and potential consequences of displacing populations, why have combatants continued to employ these measures?

Puzzle 2: Strategic Displacement Often Fails to "Drain the Sea"

The logic of why armed actors – especially state actors – would orchestrate displacement in civil war may seem obvious and simple: it physically separates insurgents from the local population, a basic precept of successful counterinsurgency. According to Mao Zedong's famous analogy, rebels tend to swim among civilians

[22] Kalyvas 2006, 222.
[23] Cohen and Deng 2009; Paul et al. 2010; Downes and Greenhill 2015.
[24] Jennings and Chesnutt 2014, 1.
[25] McCullough 2007, 164.
[26] McCullough 2007, 164, 218-19.
[27] Kennedy and Purushotham 2012, 839.
[28] Lee 1967, v-vii.

like fish in water, relying on them for material and moral support.[29] To uproot the population, then, is to "drain the sea" in order to starve the fish. Yet displacement strategies seem to have a poor track record of effectively "draining the sea." According to research by Alexander Downes and Kelly Greenhill, population resettlement schemes in counterinsurgency operations "frequently fail to sever ties between insurgents and the population."[30] A separate study by the RAND Corporation draws the same conclusion, and consequently characterizes civilian resettlement as a "poor" counterinsurgency practice.[31] This is because perpetrators often relocate civilians to places within the conflict-affected area, rather than simply moving people from zones of insurgent control to zones of incumbent control. In Vietnam, for example, relocation sites known as "strategic hamlets" were often established "in areas where no real security existed, and the vulnerable settlements were quickly overrun or infiltrated by the [Vietcong]."[32] In colonial Mozambique, the Portuguese "did not even come close to at least maintaining the illusion that they were able to ensure the security of the [resettlement] villages" many of which "were not guarded due to shortage of staff and means."[33]

While we should not confuse outcomes with intent, this dubious track record deepens the first puzzle described above. If strategies of displacement present high costs to combatants, and are not very effective at "draining the sea," then why have armed groups continued to employ them? An adequate answer to this question requires a theory that focuses on the functions that uprooting populations serves beyond "draining the sea." If, as I argue in this dissertation, displacement offers a broader set of benefits to perpetrators – ones that other violent strategies, such as mass killing, do not – then it can help resolve this puzzle.

Puzzle 3: Strategic Displacement Takes Different Forms

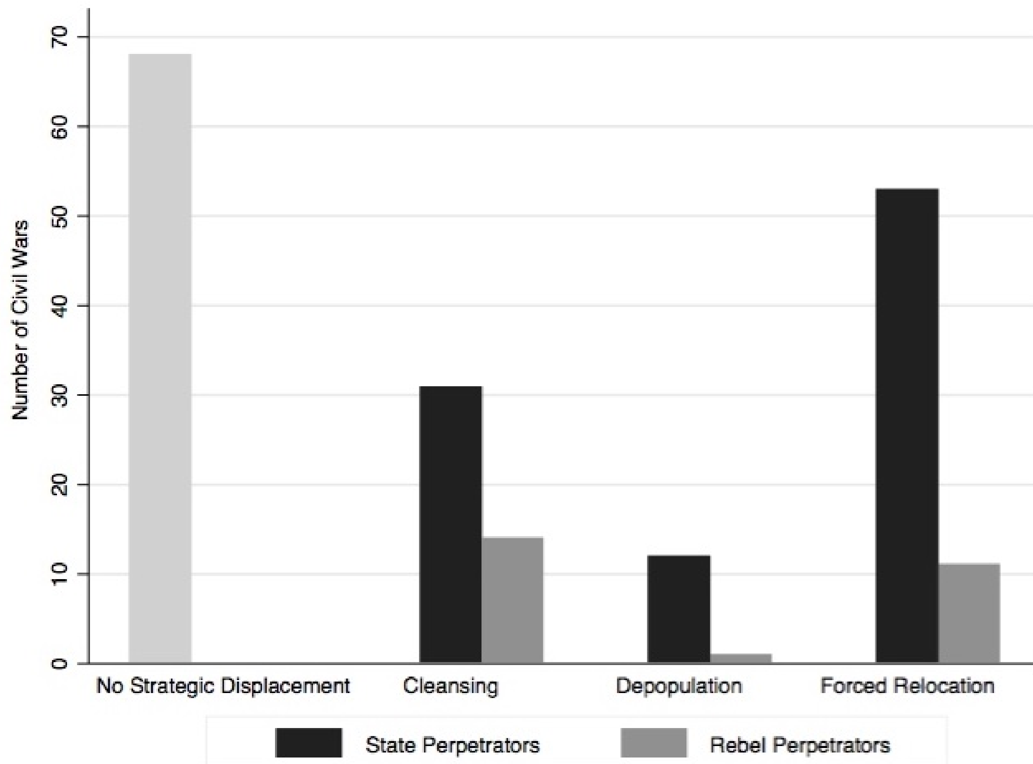
As noted above, intentional civilian displacement during military contests tends to be characterized as ethnic cleansing. But cleansing is only one type of strategic displacement, and it is not a particularly common one: while combatants uprooted civilians in more than 60 percent of major civil wars between 1945 and 2008, cleansing accounted for just one-third of cases.[34] Government and rebel forces have also employed strategies of depopulation and forced relocation – the latter being the most prevalent, as illustrated in Figure 1.1. These trends suggest that while displacement has been frequently employed as a tool of modern warfare, it has taken different forms.

What accounts for this variation? Do different wartime displacement strategies serve the same purpose or have similar causes? No study has systematically captured

[29] Mao 2000.
[30] Downes and Greenhill 2015, 3.
[31] Paul et al. 2010.
[32] Herring 1979, 107-108.
[33] Stucki 2018, 322.
[34] I describe this cross-national data on wartime displacement strategies in more detail in Chapter 4.

and compared the use of different types of strategic displacement across civil wars.[35] This is crucial for testing and refining different theories for why combatants displace.

Figure 1.1: Frequency of Strategic Wartime Displacement by Perpetrator (1945–2008)



1.2 The Argument in Brief

I argue that combatants often use displacement to sort the civilian population, not to get rid of it. The prevailing preoccupation with ethnic cleansing promotes the perception that the primary function of strategic displacement is to expel or eliminate "undesirable" groups. Yet when combatants uproot civilians, they regularly attempt not only to "push" people out of an area, but also to "pull" them into their domain. As I showed in the previous section, armed actors are actually more inclined to relocate rather than expel noncombatant populations. The burning question is whether these two population displacement strategies can be explained by the same factors – that is,

[35] Recent work by Stanton (2016) comes close, but she lumps non-cleansing strategies (e.g., depopulation and forced relocation) together with other military tactics.

whether they both operate under a single logic, as some scholars have suggested.[36]

I challenge this conflation and contend that different displacement strategies serve different functions. While cleansing aims to remove undesirable or disloyal populations, forced relocation seeks to identify the undesirables or the disloyal in the first place. Civil wars entail a high degree of uncertainty. To identify and coerce their enemies and deter civilian support for them, combatants need information about the affiliations and allegiances of the local population.[37] Since this information is often lacking, armed groups rely on simplifying heuristics, or clues, to infer opponents' identities and civilians' loyalties. Previous research has shown that cleansing can be a consequence of this practice: if combatants use heuristics such as ethnic identity or political party affiliation to distinguish enemies from allies, they will collectively target members of these groups and seek their expulsion.[38]

But what if such heuristics are unavailable – because, for instance, opposing forces do not claim a distinct ethnic identity – or unhelpful, because a population is either too homogenous or too heterogeneous for ethnicity to be a meaningful distinguishing trait? In these contexts, instead of engaging in ethnic or racial profiling, information-starved and resource-constrained combatants may resort to *spatial* profiling. Civil wars are characterized by a fragmentation of domestic sovereignty, and civilian collaboration with armed actors both shapes, and is shaped by, their control over territory.[39] This often causes political identities to become territorialized, or what Sebastian Schutte describes as "the association of places with loyalties."[40] As a consequence, people's physical locations and movements can provide clues regarding their loyalties and affiliations.

Combatants, then, can use human mobility to infer wartime sympathies through what I call "guilt by location." Triggering displacement forces people to send costly and visible signals of association and allegiance based on whether, and to where, they flee. Civilians, since they exercise agency in war, are made to pick a side by fleeing to the perpetrator's territories or defecting by remaining in – or moving to – those controlled by its opponent. This also makes communities more accessible and "legible," which enables armed groups to (1) use people's movements and locations as a continuous indicator of affiliation; and (2) extract rents and recruits from a larger segment of the population, while signaling legitimacy to domestic and international audiences. I therefore show that in some cases, displacement is attractive because it offers unique solutions to information and resource problems in civil wars by acting as a sorting mechanism and a force multiplier.

[36] Zhukov 2015; Valentino 2013; Balcells and Steele 2016. Kalyvas (2006, 156), in contrast, draws a distinction between displacement strategies that are meant to eliminate a population and those that aim to coerce or control it, yet it is not entirely clear which strategies fall within each category.

[37] Kalyvas 2006, Steele 2017, Belge 2016, 278.

[38] Steele 2017; Fjelde and Hultman 2014; Balcells and Steele 2016; Hägerdal 2019.

[39] Kalyvas 2006.

[40] Schutte 2017, 385.

Thus while some displacement strategies (cleansing) are an outcome of combatants identifying potential enemies through collective profiling *ex-ante*, others (forced relocation, and perhaps depopulation) are a process that combatants use to profile the population *ex-post* in order to help them distinguish friend from foe. To be clear: civilians' movement decisions may not always reflect their actual loyalties, just as ethnic or religious identity may be poor indicators of people's political allegiances. But combatants typically perceive the actions of civilians to be political in wartime, even when they are not intended to be. My "assortative" argument draws on a core insight from the study of conflict – that violence in civil wars is often shaped by the level of information available to armed actors – to deepen our understanding of the logic of forced displacement, one of the most consequential features of modern warfare. While I concur with prior research claiming that information problems drive combatants to displace, I show that different types of strategic displacement reflect different responses to these problems. Cleansing aims to get rid of the undesirable or the disloyal, and is more likely where combatants have access to group-level identifiers that link civilians to subversive groups. Forced relocation, however, is intended to figure out who the undesirables or the disloyal are, and is more likely when combatants seek information but lack group-level identifiers. Moreover, contrary to conventional wisdom, my argument implies that displacement is used not just to demobilize or immobilize noncombatants, but also to mobilize them for military purposes.

Overall, the assortative logic of displacement has been largely overlooked in previous research. Population displacement is a complex phenomenon, and none of the arguments considered in this dissertation – including my own – can explain all wartime migrations, even those that are engineered by armed groups for strategic purposes. But this dissertation provides direct and indirect evidence of the assortative logic, through both cross-national and case study analysis. While this logic is not the only or even the most important factor in every case, I demonstrate that it can account for variation in strategic displacement as well or better than rival arguments. These results challenge common explanations by showing that combatants often displace civilians not to drain the sea, but to *map* it, which has important academic and policy implications. Scholars and practitioners need to give greater attention to the politics of civilian flight in order to explain wartime displacement and to develop effective interventions that address its myriad consequences.

1.3 Definitions

Displacement as a Distinct Strategy of War

In recent years, scholars have demonstrated that displacement is a distinctive strategy of war – not just an auxiliary outcome of other conflict processes – and therefore

requires an explanation within itself.[41] While the conflict literature has been dominated by the study of homicides, scholars have increasingly called for analyzing different strategies of non-lethal violence separately from lethal violence, the dominant focus in the literature.[42] Given this, and the fact that wars uproot far more people than they kill, examining wartime displacement in isolation is essential.[43] I define *strategic wartime displacement* as the deliberate, systematic, and coercive movement of noncombatants by armed groups in intrastate conflicts. This is based on the criminal definition of displacement promulgated by the International Criminal Court (ICC), which includes the "forced removal of people from one country" or "from one area to another within the same state."[44]

Strategic displacement is a subset of *forced displacement*, which others define as "civilian migration that is provoked, directly or indirectly, by one or several armed groups"[45] Forced displacement occurs in most conflicts, but it can be classified as collateral damage, opportunistic, or strategic. *Collateral displacement* refers to displacement that is not deliberate, but rather is a consequence of military battles or people pre-emptively electing to flee areas affected by military activity.[46] *Opportunistic displacement* describes displacement that is deliberate but not systematic, and is usually the spontaneous result of group interactions or individual preferences, such as looting or property theft.[47] The distinction between strategic and non-strategic displacement has often been noted by conflict analysts, as in the following reports:

> "In contexts where civilians are suffering from generalized violence triggered by conflict, rather than displacement being a planned strategy by the belligerents,

[41] Greenhill 2010; Steele 2017; Zhukov 2015; Balcells and Steele 2016.

[42] Boyle 2012; Cohen 2016.

[43] For example, between 1964 and 2008, conflicts killed an average of 2,161 to 9,035 people per year, while the annual average stock of people displaced by conflict exceeded six million, including an average of 2,097,390 refugees and 3,969,380 IDPs (figures based on data from Lacina and Gleditsch (2005) and Marshall (2008). According to UNHCR's Population Statistics, for conflicts between 1990 and 2008, the median annual battle deaths in a given conflict was 770, while the median number of IDPs and refugees was 681,042).

[44] See the ICC Rome Statute, Articles 7 and 8.

[45] Steele 2017; Balcells 2018.

[46] Schon 2015 Ana María Ibáñez calls this "preventive" displacementIbánez 2008, 13.

[47] Opportunistic displacement is likely to be motivated by bottom-up, rather than top-down, processes, and may be a consequence of organizational pathologies, social pressure, individual interests, or poor training (as described to explain other forms of opportunistic or predatory violence – see, for example, Humphreys and Weinstein (2006), Leiby (2009), Hoover Green (2016), Wood (2009), and Manekin (2013)). At the individual level, the expulsion of local civilians may be particularly appealing for two reasons. First, it facilitates the looting of property and other private assets, which may be attractive for fighters who are inadequately compensated. Second, because displacement during wartime is often pervasive and elective, armed actors can maintain plausible deniability. As a result, combatants operating in areas that lack the presence of unit commanders should be more likely to pursue these tactics.

populations may spontaneously flee..."[48]

"In Turkey and Burma, governments have deliberately uprooted people in order to destroy their possible links to insurgency movements. In Algeria, displacement is a byproduct of conflict, primarily between the government and Islamist insurgent groups."[49]

Displacement becomes *strategic* when it is orchestrated by combatants as a matter of organizational policy; one carried out through explicit threats, evacuation orders, or the destruction of property.[50] The coercive or involuntary nature of displacement can become muddled when perpetrators use other acts of persecution – depriving people of employment or education, for example – to pressure individuals to leave a territory. I therefore follow the approach of other scholars by only categorizing an event as strategic displacement if it involves the threat or use of physical violence.[51] Such displacements are explicitly prohibited under international law, under both the 1977 Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions and the Hague Convention.[52] Verdicts delivered by international tribunals have further established that forced displacement can be a war crime. For example, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia concluded that the way in which Serbian forces forcibly evacuated Muslim communities during military campaigns in Bosnia "proves...that the transfer was carried out in furtherance of a well-organized policy whose purpose was to expel the Bosnian Muslim population from the enclave. The evacuation itself was the goal."[53]

The criminal definition of displacement stipulates that displacement must be committed as part of a "widespread or systematic attack" against the civilian population. Since this definition encompasses displacement related to an armed conflict,

[48] Stepputat 1999, 12.

[49] Cohen 1999, 6.

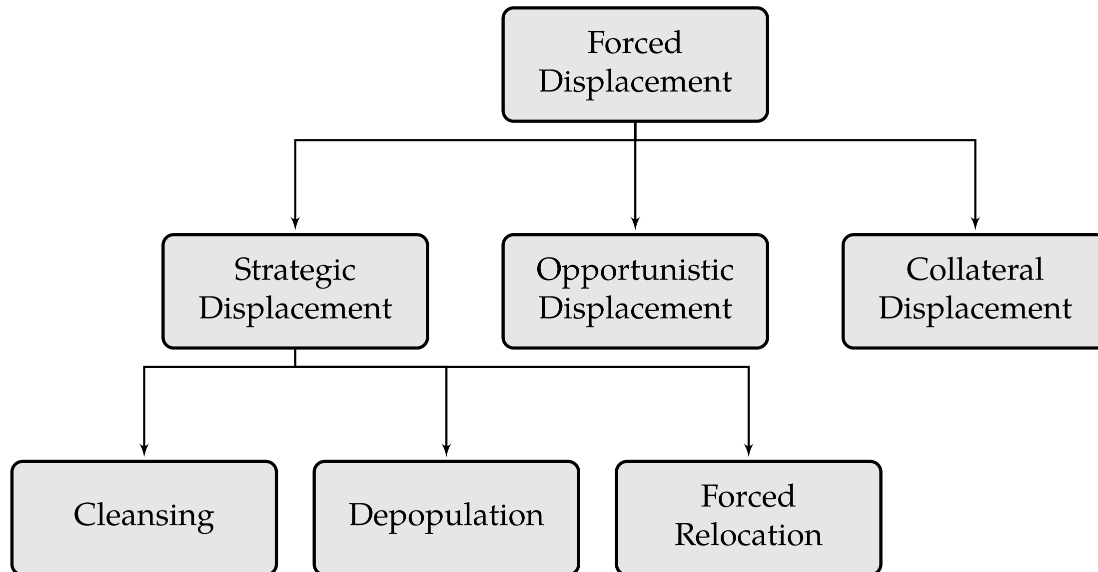
[50] The key difference between displacement as a strategy and as opportunism is the degree of institutionalization: whether the imperative to uproot civilians is the result of organizational policy or the indulgences of individual combatants. The distinction is often evident in the level of scale: deliberate displacement that reaches a level of being systematic and sustained usually indicates a strategic or tactical logic.

[51] Bulutgil 2016, 6. This definition is more restrictive than the ICC's, which considers forced displacement to encompass "the full range of coercive pressures on people to flee their homes, including death threats, destruction of their homes, and other acts of persecution such as depriving members of a group of employment, denying them access to schools, and forcing them to wear a symbol of their religious identity" (Triffterer 1999, 162).

[52] See Article 17 of the 1977 Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions. According to the Hague Convention, forced displacement can be lawful where "the security of the civilians involved or imperative military reasons so demand." In such cases, all possible measures must be taken to provide civilians with satisfactory shelter, hygiene, health, safety and nutrition (see Article 8.2(e)(viii)). This is rarely done in practice.

[53] Qtd. in Buck (2017).

Figure 1.2: Forced Displacement Framework



it excludes expulsions or planned resettlements in response to natural disasters or infrastructure projects that render an area uninhabitable, such as the building of dams or transportation corridors.[54] Displacement is distinct from mass killing, since the former seeks to remove civilians while the latter aims to destroy them.[55] Displacement can be used to help commit genocide, but it deserves to be treated as a separate category.

To recap: strategic displacement is intentional, systematic displacement against civilians that is directed or encouraged by government or rebel group leadership. To say that displacement is strategic is not to claim that it is fully formed or carefully calculated well in advance through conscious planning and control. Some cases – such as organized civilian resettlements by the British army in Malaya or under the Strategic Hamlets Program in Vietnam – do indeed fit this mold. But in other instances the strategic dimension of displacement is both reactive and proactive, and it evolves over time. Still, in such instances I consider displacement strategic (as opposed to opportunistic) in the sense that it is deliberate; organized (even if haphazardly), coordinated, recurring, and systematic; and serves a broader political or military logic.

[54] The ICC definition also requires that victims "were lawfully present in the area from which they were deported or transferred"; therefore my definition excludes the movement or eviction of squatters, illegal immigrants, or refugees.

[55] See Bell (1999, 1), Hägerdal (2019) and Steele (2017).

Types of Strategic Displacement

In order to explain strategic displacement in wartime, we first need to distinguish different forms of it.[56] Building on the existing literature, I identify three types of strategic displacement: cleansing, depopulation, and forced relocation. These strategies differ in the targeting of displacement, its intended duration, and its general orientation.[57]

Cleansing

Cleansing is the deliberate expulsion of members of a political, ethnic, or social group. I follow other researchers in conceptualizing "ethnic" cleansing as a subset of a broader category that describes the collective, permanent expulsion of people who belong to a particular group due to their membership in that group.[58] This form of displacement is defined by three criteria. The first is that expulsion is carried out through collective targeting: victims are subjected to removal on the basis of some shared group-level characteristic such as ethnicity, religion, or political party membership.[59] The second criteria is that displacement is intended to be permanent. In many cases, this is evidenced by perpetrators refusing to allow the displaced to return or repopulating evacuated areas with the perpetrator's co-ethnics or other allied group.[60] The third characteristic of cleansing is that it has an outward or "push" orientation, meaning that it focuses on removing the population from the perpetrator's territory or deporting it from the country altogether.

A paradigmatic case of cleansing, and one of the most studied, is the conflict in the former Yugoslavia (1991–95), where Croats and Bosniaks "were forced at gunpoint by Serbian forces to board buses leaving the country."[61] Cleansing along ethnic lines has also been employed during wars in Cyprus (1963–67, 1974), Lebanon (1975–90), and

[56] My typology seeks to improve upon previous conceptual frameworks (Greenhill 2008) by breaking strategic displacement down into categories based on the core features of each sub-type, rather than the purported motivations behind their use. In addition to avoiding conflation of different sub-types, this approach stands to maximize the typology's explanatory leverage by using the dimensions along which strategic displacements vary to infer their underlying motivations – instead of simply assuming them.

[57] Other scholars have made similar analytical distinctions between the types of displacement strategies I propose, though they have used different names. Kalyvas (2006, 126), for example, suggests a distinction between displacement that is intended to eliminate a population (which he refers to as ethnic cleansing) and displacement that is intended to control it (what he calls "forced population removal"). Similarly, Zhukov (2015) and Steele (2017) distinguishes between "civilian flight" and "resettlement," while Stanton (2016) separates "high-casualty cleansing" from "low-casualty cleansing" (what I call forced relocation). Finally, Valentino (2013, 202-203) draws a distinction between "ethnic cleansing" and "population resettlement."

[58] Bell 1999; Steele 2017; Balcells and Steele 2016.

[59] Gutiérrez-Sanín and Wood 2017; Steele 2009.

[60] Kalyvas 2006; Bulutgil 2016; Steele 2017.

[61] Lawyers Committee 1991.

the Democratic Republic of Congo (1996–97). Political cleansing – in which members of opposition political parties, rather than specific ethnic groups, were targeted for expulsion – was a feature of civil wars in Colombia (1978–) and Spain (1936–39).[62] Some cases of collective expulsion, such as Slobodan Milosevic's deportation of Albanian civilians from Kosovo, may constitute what Greenhill has called "coercive engineered migrations" – the deliberate release of refugee flows targeting foreign policy rivals.[63] Perpetrators of cleansing often make little effort to resettle the targeted population.[64] If they do, victims are transferred far from the conflict zone, as when Soviet counterinsurgents forcibly moved ethnic Ukrainians and Chechens to distant regions of the USSR (including Siberia and Central Asia) while combating violent nationalist uprisings following World War II (1945–50).

Depopulation

Depopulation is similar to cleansing in its outward orientation, but it differs in two ways. First, it is carried out through indiscriminate, rather than collective, targeting, so that everyone in a village or town is subject to removal, with little effort to determine guilt or affiliation. The distinction between cleansing and depopulation builds on recent work that has differentiated large-scale identity-based targeting from indiscriminate violence.[65] Second, depopulation is not necessarily intended to be permanent: once a rebellion is defeated or a conflict ends, the uprooted are often permitted to return to their homes. Russia, for example, pursued "pacification by depopulation" through its indiscriminate bombing of Grozny during the Chechen wars (1994–96; 1999–2009), which mimicked the "rubbleization" strategy utilized by the Soviet Union during the Soviet-Afghan war (1979–92). While the discriminatory nature of cleansing means it is typically carried out through direct violence – violence perpetuated with light weaponry (e.g., guns, knives, clubs) in "face-to-face" interactions – depopulation is often provoked by indirect violence such as shelling and airstrikes.[66]

Forced Relocation

Forced relocation describes displacement with an inward or "pull" orientation. The perpetrator, rather than pushing people out of its territory, seeks to bring the population into its domain. This means that while cleansing and depopulation tend to disperse the targeted population or dispatch it to distant areas, relocation typically concentrates people within the conflict zone or sends them to a nearby location –

[62] Balcells and Steele 2016.

[63] Greenhill 2010.

[64] Downes and Greenhill 2015.

[65] Steele (2017), Straus (2015), and Gutiérrez-Sanín and Wood (2017). "Population" displacement implies non-selective targeting, such as when armed groups evict or deport specific political rivals. Steele refers to this as "individual escape" (Steele 2017).

[66] Balcells 2011. As the author argues, direct violence enables armed groups to target more selectively.

whether a makeshift camp, planned settlement, or urban area.[67] Thus compared to other displacement strategies, forced relocation involves a more concerted effort to move the uprooted to designated locales; ones that are geographically closer to the victims' places of origin.

Forced relocation can be employed through collective or indiscriminate targeting, and like depopulation, it is often meant to be temporary at the time it is enacted.[68] Examples of this strategy include the use of "model villages" in Bangladesh (1974–97), Burma (1960–95) and Guatemala (1978–94); "regroupment centers" in Burundi (1991 –) and Rwanda (1996–2002); "protected settlements" in Indonesia (1999–2005); and "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam (1960–75) and Peru (1980–96). More recently, in 2017 the Nigerian government began corralling rural residents of Borno State into fortified "garrison towns" as part of its strategy to defeat the Boko Haram insurgency.[69]

Figure 1.3: A Typology of Strategic Wartime Displacement

		Orientation	
		Outward (Push)	Inward (Pull)
Type of Targeting/ Intended Duration	Collective/ Permanent	Cleansing	Forced Relocation
	Indiscriminate/ Temporary	Depopulation	

Figure 1.3 summarizes the analytical distinctions between these population displacement strategies based on three primary criteria: targeting, duration, and orientation. These strategies are not mutually exclusive. An armed actor may use multiple types of displacement in the same conflict, though as I show in Chapter 4, such cases are empirically uncommon. While my conceptualization of these strategies and their analytic differences build on previous research, they can be contested. Thus when operationalizing these concepts in subsequent chapters, I attempt to address possible challenges to my definitions in my discussion. I also provide alternative codings for ambiguous or borderline cases in order to ensure that my findings are not driven by a small number of cases.

[67] Downes and Greenhill 2015, 9.
[68] To the extent that targeting for forced relocation is collective, it is often based on geography rather than political or ethnic affiliation.
[69] Carsten and Lanre, 2017 (1 December).

1.4 Scope Conditions

Civil Wars

Conflict remains the greatest generator of forced displacement worldwide.[70] This project focuses only on a particular form of conflict – major civil wars in the modern period (1945–2008) – for several reasons.[71] First, most modern wars are civil wars. Second, major civil wars, in which 1,000 people are killed in at least one calendar year of the conflict, have been the major producers of wartime casualties and displacement. Scholars tend to attribute the rise in global displacement following World War II to the shift in global conflict from interstate to intrastate, which are typically waged within civilian population centers and thus carry a far greater risk of displacement. Third, deliberately displacing another country's population in a war with another state is far less risky and costly than uprooting one's own civilians. Thus while the arguments developed in this dissertation could possibly apply to population displacement strategies in interstate conflicts, I have limited my analysis to intrastate ones. Decoupling civil wars from interstate wars follows standard practice in the study of conflict in international relations, and in the broader social science literature on political violence.[72]

My focus on civil war displacement distinguishes this research from work on mass deportation,[73] ethnic cleansing during interstate conflict,[74] or as part of nation-state building.[75] It also excludes organized displacement during communal or electoral violence, such as "violent gerrymandering" during elections in Kenya from 2007–08.[76] I confine my analysis to contemporary conflicts because they are particularly puzzling, given key shifts in the international system that have seemingly reduced the benefits and raised the costs of uprooting civilians. These include the (near) demise of colonial rule and territorial conquest, the rise of human rights norms, and the proliferation of global efforts to prevent and address forced migration. Focusing on the modern period is also advantageous for identifying cases of strategic displacement. The development and expansion of the international refugee rights regime post-1950 made

[70] Moore and Shellman 2004.

[71] I use a standard definition of civil war drawn from Fearon and Laitin (2003) and Kalyvas and Balcells (2010), in which four criteria must be met: (1) there was fighting within a state between agents of (or claimants to) that state and organized non-state groups who sought to take control of a government, take power in a region, or use violence to change government policies; (2) there were more than 1,000 war-related deaths during the entire war and in at least one single year of the war; (3) at least 100 were killed on each side, and (4) the rebels were able to mount an organized military opposition to the state.

[72] Kalyvas 2006.

[73] Greenhill 2010.

[74] Bulutgil 2016. Bulutgil shows that in these contexts, ethnic cleansing is often the *purpose* of the war, as opposed to being a tactic within it, which is my focus.

[75] Mann 2005; Mylonas 2013.

[76] See Kasara (2014).

displacement an issue of global concern, and provided international organizations, domestic governments and local advocacy groups with the motivations and resources to publicize the causes and consequences of forced population movements.[77] This has made it increasingly difficult for political actors to hide these movements or conceal their role in facilitating them.

State versus Non-State Perpetrators

My definition of strategic wartime displacement covers displacement by armed groups, including state agents (military, police, and paramilitary organizations) and non-state actors (rebel groups or independent militias). This study, however, principally focuses on displacement by state agents for several reasons. First, civil war incumbents are much more likely to employ these methods than insurgents. According to the cross-national data I have collected for this study – which I introduce in detail in the next chapter – state actors have employed strategic displacement in nearly 60 percent of civil wars, while rebels have only displaced strategically in 15 percent of conflicts. This is likely because states tend to possess the firepower, organizational capabilities, and logistical resources needed to facilitate mass population movements. Non-state actors typically have fewer resources and are therefore less likely to engage in these practices. Moreover, the use of some displacement strategies, namely forced relocation – in which civilians are moved to a designated area – presupposes that the perpetrator controls some territory. State actors meet this criterion by definition. Insurgents, however, often do not: of 569 rebel groups active in civil wars between 1946 and 2010, nearly two-thirds (63.5%) did not effectively control any territory.[78]

Second, most of the theories tested in this study stem from research on state-induced displacement and may apply mainly, if not exclusively, to government combatants. For example, some arguments – including my own – purport that strategic displacement is motivated by identification problems. This would make these strategies more appealing to counterinsurgents, because rebels often claim a comparative advantage in information in civil wars, while the state tends to be at an informational disadvantage.[79] As Kalyvas argues, rebels can still face identification problems in wartime, but in most cases they tend to be less acute than those faced by state combatants.[80]

In sum, given differences in the strategic incentives and organizational resources available to state and non-state actors, civil war incumbents will be more likely to engage in strategic displacement. While insurgents could uproot local populations, they will need to possess strong organizational capabilities and control territory. Research

[77] On the evolution and influence of the refugee rights regime in global politics, see Betts and Loescher (2011) and Betts (2011).
[78] According to the Non-State Actor Dataset (Cunningham et al. 2013).
[79] Particularly in irregular wars, as I discuss below.
[80] Kalyvas 2006, 90.

on insurgent violence suggests that, since rebel groups are more likely to engage in predation, most civilian displacement they cause will be opportunistic or occur as a byproduct of looting.[81]

1.5 What We Know About Wartime Displacement

This dissertation sits at the intersection of two academic literatures, neither of which has given adequate attention to the phenomenon of strategic displacement. The first is the literature on forced migration, which tends to treat displacement as an inadvertent byproduct of warfare. The second is scholarship on civil war and political violence, which has primarily focused on the use of lethal violence in armed conflicts. I briefly review each of these literatures below.

Past Research on Forced Migration

In the forced migration literature, research on the causes of wartime displacement has focused on people's decisions to flee violence. Scholars have either examined macro-level trends in refugee and IDP flows[82] or they have conducted micro-level studies that draw on traditional migration theories[83] to show that different "push" and "pull" factors influence whether and to where civilians in conflict zones flee. Departure and destination decisions are often a function of both incentives, such as security or livelihoods[84] and political preferences.[85] Other work examines the consequences of wartime displacement, particularly on spreading conflict across borders[86] or within them.[87]

This literature has established a clear link between violence and displacement and uncovered different structural and agential factors that can influence wartime flight. It has also been instrumental in demonstrating that, since individuals exercise agency in wartime, even "forced" migration involves an interplay between compulsion and choice. However, since these studies typically see displacement as an unintended consequence of war,[88] they have paid little attention to how combatants engineer or manipulate displacement as a political or military tactic. Yet fully understanding wartime migration

[81] Mkandawire 2002; Weinstein 2006; Wood 2014; Koren and Bagozzi 2017.

[82] Schmeidl 1997; Davenport et al. 2003; Moore and Shellman 2004, 2006; Melander and Öberg 2006, 2007; Schon 2015.

[83] Petersen 1958.

[84] Ibáñez and Vélez 2008; Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009; Lindley 2010; Adhikari 2013.

[85] Steele 2009, 2017; Balcells and Steele 2016; Balcells 2018; Steele 2018.

[86] Salehyan and Gleditsch 2006; Lischer 2005; Salehyan 2008; Miller and Ritter 2014; Fisk 2018; Onoma 2013; Böhmelt et al. 2019.

[87] Bohnet et al. 2018; Choi and Piazza 2016.

[88] See, for example, Rotberg (2010) and Betts and Loescher (2011).

requires examining not only why people elect to flee, but also why armed actors force them to flee.

Past Research on Armed Conflict and Political Violence

The broader literature on conflict and political violence addresses more directly the strategic and tactical dimensions of civilian displacement in civil wars. Much of this scholarship explores the use of violence against civilians generally, and offers crucial insights into combatants' behavior and strategic calculations.[89] Two subsets of this literature have focused specifically on displacement: one that emphasizes ideology, and one that emphasizes information.

The first is research on ethnic cleansing and demographic engineering. These studies attribute strategic displacement to ideologies of ethnic nationalism and elite aspirations to remove "undesirable" social groups and create homogenous territories.[90] For some scholars, ethnic cleansing is a method of extermination, and can thus be explained by theories of genocide and other forms of large-scale lethal violence. Scott Straus, for example, argues that group-selective, state-sponsored killings are often the consequence of political leaders crafting "founding narratives" that elevate one social identity group and create a secondary class of citizens who are largely excluded from state power.[91]

Yet as I have argued above, ethnic cleansing is only one type of strategic displacement. These explanations therefore cannot account for displacement that does not target a particular ethno-nationalist group. Moreover, scholars have increasingly questioned whether social cleavages and ethnic nationalism adequately explain patterns of violence in conflict settings,[92] including ethnic cleansing.[93]

A second strand of relevant research comes from the literature on counterinsurgency. Drawing on new frameworks for explaining wartime violence, these studies depart from both macro- and micro-level approaches to displacement and instead recast forced population movements as the result of an interaction between civilians and armed actors.[94] They contend that displacement is a rational response to a central problem combatants face in civil wars: a lack of information about the identities of opposing fighters and their supporters,[95] which prevents armed groups from coercing and deterring support for the other side.[96] Yet the mechanisms linking

[89] Azam and Hoeffler 2002; Humphreys and Weinstein 2006; Kalyvas 2006; Weinstein 2006; Downes 2008; Wood 2009; Balcells 2010, 2017; Fjelde and Hultman 2014.
[90] Bookman 1997; Walling 2000; Mann 2005; Weidmann 2011, Valentino 2013, 152.
[91] Straus 2015.
[92] Fearon and Laitin 1996, 2003.
[93] Gagnon Jr 2006; Bulutgil 2016.
[94] Steele 2017.
[95] Steele 2017; Zhukov 2015; Balcells and Steele 2016; Hägerdal 2019.
[96] Kalyvas 2006.

this "identification problem"[97] to forced displacement remain underspecified, as scholars have proposed multiple possible logics. Some suggest a logic of *denial*. In this view, since combatants cannot distinguish allies from enemies, they remove the entire population from an area in order to deprive enemy fighters of resources supplied by the local population.[98] As reflected in the "draining the sea" metaphor described in section , denial-by-displacement is particularly attractive to state actors due to rebels' typical reliance on civilians for food, recruits, and other supplies.

Another information-based logic proposes that displacement amounts to a form of *punishment*. When armed groups lack information about individual loyalties, they turn to group-level indicators, such as ethnic or political affiliation, to identify and expel potential adversaries.[99] In Lebanon, Nils Hägerdal finds that non-coethnic enclaves were susceptible to ethnic cleansing because combatants had little choice but to use ethnicity as a proxy for political loyalty.[100] Steele, and Balcells and Steele, show that even non-ethnic conflicts can produce political cleansing when combatants use election results to infer support for rivals.[101] These studies suggest similarities between ethnic and non-ethnic cleansing, though other research indicates that ethnic cleansing is unique due to ethnicity's distinct territoriality.[102]

Despite the viability of these arguments, they largely derive from studies of specific conflicts – with an overwhelming focus on post-war Europe, colonial counterinsurgency campaigns, and the civil war in Yugoslavia – and have yet to be tested more broadly, limiting their generalizability. Moreover, several concerns limit the explanatory reach. First, like theories of ethnic cleansing, they mostly account for the logic of expulsion. But global trends in forced displacement suggests that the deliberate expulsion of people *outside* state borders has become less prevalent than the uprooting of civilians *within* their countries as internally displaced persons (IDPs), who now make up roughly two-thirds of the globally displaced population (Table 1.1).[103] In 2017, for example, UNHCR reported 11.8 million new conflict-induced IDPs, compared to 4.4 million newly displaced refugees and asylum-seekers.[104]

Second, these explanations grant little agency to the civilian population. The notion that displacement is a "brute force" method that denies choices to targeted

[97] Kalyvas 2006.

[98] Azam and Hoeffler 2002; Zhukov 2015; Downes and Greenhill 2015, Valentino 2013, 202-03.

[99] The salience of pre-war socio-political cleavages or the radicalization of different groups during the conflict may make combatants more likely to view some individuals or populations as potential enemies (Straus 2015; Bulutgil 2015; Balcells 2017).

[100] Hägerdal 2019.

[101] Steele 2017; Balcells and Steele 2016.

[102] Bulutgil 2016. Assessing whether ethnic and non-ethnic cleansing have the same causes is beyond the scope of this dissertation, and should be a subject of future research.

[103] This trend has continued despite fluctuations in the total number of conflicts worldwide and a relative decline in the average number of battle deaths these conflicts produce.

[104] UNHCR 2018.

individuals[105] conflicts with a growing consensus in the forced migration literature that people exercise agency in deciding whether or not to flee violence.[106] As David Turton argues, "even at the most 'reactive' or 'involuntary' end of the continuum, people probably have a lot more choice than we might think...choices not only about whether but also about when, where and how to move."[107] A broader range of studies demonstrate that while civilians operate under significant constraints during armed conflicts, they still select from a broad repertoire of possible actions.[108] Even passive acts such as compliance entail agency.

The "brute force" characterization also reflects a potential misunderstanding of how strategies of displacement are implemented – and the degree of control exercised by those who orchestrate them. As I demonstrate in Chapter 2, which invokes a range of empirical examples from different civil wars, even the most well-organized and overly coercive displacement campaigns leave some room for subjects to comply or to defect. For instance, when the Portuguese enacted a large-scale villagization program in colonial Mozambique, many civilians "resisted being villagised from the outset...whole communities fled and allegedly joined the rebels."[109] If displacement, like other forms of civil war violence, is jointly produced by combatants and civilians,[110] then theoretical models must take the agency of both parties into consideration. This evokes the common critique that research on forced displacement, in the words of one scholar, "rarely examines the displaced themselves as actors in or agents of history."[111]

Third, these arguments shed little light on why combatants elect displacement over other methods. The logic of "draining the sea" has also been used to explain mass killing of civilians in counterinsurgency wars.[112] What, then, is the utility of uprooting people versus massacring them? The relationship between strategies of mass killing and mass displacement is unclear, as some studies treat them as complements,[113] while others claim that displacement is a more palatable and deniable alternative to killing civilians.[114] But there is little empirical evidence to support the assertion that displacement is merely a substitute for lethal violence. Such arguments also overlook the fact that, as with mass killing, displacing civilians can have significant reputational costs for perpetrators. The creation and expansion of the international refugee regime after World War II, along with (1) the prohibition against population expulsion and forced resettlement under international law, and (2) the establishment of dedicated legal and institutional frameworks to advocate for, and protect, IDPs have created strong

[105] Zhukov 2015.
[106] Moore and Shellman 2004; Adhikari 2013.
[107] Turton 2003, 10.
[108] Jose and Medie 2015; Finkel 2017; Suarez 2017; Barter 2016.
[109] Borges 1993, 289.
[110] Kalyvas 2006.
[111] Todd 2010, 50.
[112] Valentino et al. 2004; Valentino 2013.
[113] Valentino 2013.
[114] Azam and Hoeffler 2002; Steele 2017; Balcells 2018.

norms against inducing displacement. Armed groups have routinely faced criticism from human rights organizations, humanitarian agencies, and other members of the international community for forcing people to flee. Yet as Steele observes, prohibitions against forced displacement have not seemed to change the propensity of combatants to engage in these practices.[115]

One could argue, in fact, that displacing civilians instead of killing them actually poses a *greater* risk to combatants. While the dead do not rebel – Josef Stalin famously quipped that "death solves all problems: no man, no problem" – people driven from their homes may become a future threat to armed groups, particularly if their displacement motivates them to defect to the opposing side. In terms of international consequences, large-scale massacres can be covered up by, for example, disposing victims in mass graves. It is much more difficult to hide scores of displaced civilians, who tend to attract significant attention from journalists, diplomats, and human rights groups.

Moreover, displacement carries a high risk of spillover, as forced population movements can spread conflict to other parts of a country and even internationalize a civil war by generating large cross-border refugee flows. This can imperil the security of other governments and invite external actors to take actions that jeopardize an armed group's objectives. According to Gil Loescher, "large-scale population movements across national frontiers can, in certain circumstances...be perceived as so destabilizing that they constitute a threat to international peace and security, and therefore warrant military intervention by external forces."[116] Indeed, concerns over the potential for refugee flows to export instability helped motivate unilateral and multilateral military interventions in Bangladesh, Cambodia, and Uganda in the 1970s; Afghanistan and Sri Lanka in the 1980s; and Iraq, Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo in the 1990s; along with Libya (2011) and Syria (2016).[117] President Ronald Reagan justified U.S. interventions in Central America in the 1980s by claiming that they would prevent population outflows to the United States.[118] Writing in the mid-1990s, Loescher and Alan Dowty argued that refugee spillovers "is becoming a norm, in theory and in practice, that is increasingly accepted as grounds for international action, including armed intervention, against the state generating the refugee flow."[119] Perpetrators of forced displacement in the modern era have therefore faced a significant risk of domestic and international backlash.

A final weakness of denial- and punishment-based arguments is that, while they

[115] Steele 2017, 54.
[116] Loescher 1992, 3.
[117] Beehner 2012, Dowty and Loescher 1996, 44-45. Ahlborn (2010) argues that the U.N. Security Council "has increasingly used situations related to international refugee protection to declare a threat to international peace and security, triggering measures under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter."
[118] Teitelbaum 1984, 434.
[119] Dowty and Loescher 1996, 44-45. The authors recount the fact that on the eve of World War II, the League of Nations invoked the growing scores of German refugees and the threat they posed to European peace and security as a pretext for intervening in Germany and halting the persecution of minorities.

attribute displacement to identification and information problems, they fail to explain whether – and how – displacement actually helps resolve them. Instead, displacement is either an alternative to solving these problems (denial), or it is an outcome of perpetrators making an *ex ante* presumption about who is guilty (punishment). After all, draining the sea of water to starve the fish presumes one can distinguish between the water and the fish in the first place. But the link between information and displacement must be explained, not assumed. If counterinsurgents' aim in triggering displacement is to control a population rather than to eliminate it, addressing this ambiguity is crucial because, as Daniel Magruder argues, resolving the identification problem "comes logically prior" to establishing control.[120] How, exactly, does uprooting civilians accomplish this?

In summary, existing research on forced migration, armed conflict, and political violence has largely neglected strategic displacement beyond cases of ethnic or political cleansing. Recent efforts to correct this have struggled to account for the specificity of displacement, remain vague about the underlying mechanisms, and tend to rely on studies of individual cases. In this dissertation, I seek to link and build on insights from these literatures to address their weaknesses and examine how different types of strategic displacement fit into the logic of violence in civil wars.

1.6 Research Design

This chapter has defined strategic wartime displacement, distinguished it from other types of population movements and state strategies, and disaggregated these measures by sub-type, showing that they vary in orientation, targeting, and intended duration. In addition, I have outlined three primary theoretical accounts for strategic displacement in civil wars – ethnic nationalism, denial, and punishment – and discussed their shortcomings. I also discussed three core puzzles that these accounts have not yet sufficiently answered, which help motivate this study.

The rest of the dissertation proceeds as follows. Chapter 2 lays out the main theoretical argument: an "assortative" theory of displacement. I posit that some displacement strategies – forced relocation, and potentially depopulation – act as a mechanism for *sorting* and *capturing* the local population in wartime. The sorting component of the argument focuses on how the territorialization of political identity in civil wars and the tendency for combatants to utilize informational shortcuts impels them to use displacement to identify opponents through *guilt by location*. The capturing component emphasizes how displacement helps create "zones of appropriation" that facilitate the conversion of the population into material and symbolic assets for the war effort, without requiring combatants to invest in resource-intensive methods of territorial occupation.

[120] Magruder Jr 2017, 13.

In the first part of the chapter, I address each aspect of the theory separately and derive several hypotheses, outlining the conditions under which combatants are likely to adopt different displacement strategies. To demonstrate the logic and plausibility of each aspect of my argument and illustrate its central causal claims, I provide empirical examples from a wide range of civil wars, including Angola (1975–2002), Burma (1960–95), Bangladesh (1974–97), El Salvador (1979–92), Ethiopia (1974–91), Guatemala (1978–94), India (1989–), Nicaragua (1981–90), Peru (1980–96), the Philippines (1972–), Rwanda (1996–2002), and Sri Lanka (2003–09). The second part of the chapter proposes hypotheses for three alternative explanations for strategic displacement, which I briefly described earlier in this chapter: ethnic nationalism, denial, and punishment.

To assess my assortative theory alongside other arguments, this dissertation examines a variety of evidence and employs a multi-method research design. Testing the theory poses considerable challenges. Inherent in observational research, there are potential selection biases in this work, which I seek to ameliorate by examining a diverse set of observable implications and by conducting both quantitative and qualitative research using a diverse set of macro- and micro-level data.

Chapter 3 tests my arguments in a case study from Uganda, which offers a unique opportunity to examine strategic displacement due to a high degree of internal variation and an unusual openness about this subject among government officials, military veterans, and citizens. The Ugandan government faced a series of armed rebellions throughout the country from 1986–2006, and it forcibly relocated civilians while fighting some rebel groups – including the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA, 1988–2006) and Allied Democratic Forces (ADF, 1996–2002) – but not others. The time that has elapsed since the conflicts in question occurred, along with the use of blanket amnesties for rebels, mass demobilization of combatants, and a generally peaceful and open political environment have all made it possible for former fighters, civilians, and officials to recount their experiences with candor. Since my theory generates detailed hypotheses, during six months of fieldwork in 2016 and 2017, I collected a wealth of information about how, when, where, and why authorities carried out displacement. Drawing on original data – including archival materials, sub-national violence and displacement data, and hundreds of interviews with perpetrators and victims – I trace the decision by Ugandan counterinsurgents to employ forced relocation and examine the observable implications of my "assortative" theory. I also show that alternative logics of ethnic nationalism, denial, and punishment are insufficient to explain variation in this case. I leverage within-case variation in the location and timing of strategic displacement to conduct a structured comparative analysis and control for potential confounding variables.

Chapter 4 evaluates my claims more broadly through a cross-national analysis of strategic displacement. The first part of the chapter introduces new data on population displacement strategies in 160 civil wars between 1945 and 2008. The Strategic Displacement in Civil Conflict (SDCC) dataset provides the most comprehensive and disaggregated information on cross-national variation in

displacement strategies to date. The data show that strategic displacement has been much more common in civil wars than previously thought, and reveal important patterns in how, where, and when these strategies have been employed – which can be leveraged to explain why they occur. In the second section of the chapter, I conduct statistical tests of four primary explanations for strategic displacement: ethnic nationalism, denial, punishment, and my assortative logic, based on the hypotheses developed in Chapter 2. As I explained above, my analysis focuses on displacement by state combatants. The quantitative evidence is advantageous because it answers important questions about how frequent strategic displacement is in civil wars, what actors employ it, and what forms are more and less common. Moreover, it identifies patterns in state-induced displacement, including where different strategies tend to occur and particular factors that are associated with their use across conflicts.

The results show that, consistent with my expectations, different displacement strategies occur in different contexts and appear to follow different logics. Cleansing is more likely in conventional civil wars, where territorial conquest takes primacy, while forced relocation is more likely in irregular or "guerrilla" wars, where information and identification problems are most acute. The evidence indicates that cleansing follows a logic of punishment. The results for relocation, however, are consistent with the implications of my assortative theory: it is more likely to be employed by resource-constrained incumbents fighting insurgencies in "illegible" areas – rural, peripheral territories – and it correlates strongly with state efforts to mobilize the population into civilian defense forces. The findings also cast doubt on alternative explanations. To ensure the robustness of the results, I use a series of model specifications and test alternative codings of my dependent and independent variables. I also consider three additional alternative arguments for strategic displacement – opportunism, desperation, and normative pressures – and find little support for them in my analysis.

Chapters 5 and 6 analyze additional case studies to further explore the external validity of my theory. While the results of cross-national tests lend indirect support for my arguments, the case studies offer direct evidence for my theoretical mechanism and compensate for several important weaknesses in the quantitative analysis. Chapter 5 examines three civil wars from the SDCC dataset that experienced forced relocation – Burundi (1991–2005), Vietnam (1960–75), and Indonesia (1999–2005) – to gauge whether the core mechanisms of my theory can account for the empirical associations found in Chapter 4. Burundi and Indonesia are two "least likely" cases for my theory: both are ethnic wars, and the former has a history of ethnic cleansing and genocidal violence, while the latter was waged by a secessionist rebellion. We would therefore expect any displacement by state forces in these conflicts to take the form of cleansing – which in the case of Burundi, it actually did early on, before the state turned to a strategy of forced "regroupment." Vietnam, meanwhile, is an "influential" case, as the Strategic Hamlet Program enacted by South Vietnamese and American officials is one of the most notable instances of forced relocation in the history of modern counterinsurgency

campaigns.

All three case studies rely on a mechanism-centered approach based on process tracing, which has been advocated by Rachel Schwartz and Scott Straus to help uncover the logics underlying violence against civilians.[121] This is appropriate since quantitative data from war zones, especially on population displacement, is usually difficult if not impossible to collect.[122] If my theory is correct, in the case studies we should find that perpetrators behave in ways that are consistent with the assortative logic of displacement. In Burundi, Vietnam, and Indonesia, perpetrators used forced relocation to overcome identification problems posed by guerrilla insurgencies, specifically by drawing inferences about the identities and allegiances of the local population based on civilian flight patterns and physical locations. Political and military authorities also used relocation to extract economic and military resources, notably recruits, from the displaced, which in some instances helped fill critical resource gaps. The evidence from these cases suggests that my theory is generalizable beyond Uganda and travels to other diverse contexts.

In Chapter 6 I extend my analysis to a difficult out-of-sample case by examining the civil war in Syria (2011–present). Displacement has been a core feature of the Syrian government's military strategy. As a result, the conflict has unleashed the largest displacement crisis in a generation: half of Syria's pre-war population has been uprooted within or outside the country. Strategic displacement in this case has primarily taken the form of depopulation. Since there are too few cases of depopulation in the SDCC dataset to draw reliable conclusions from the cross-national analysis, Syria offers an opportunity to assess whether the assortative logic of displacement applies to this particular type of displacement. Beyond probing the scope conditions of my theory in a "hard" case – since the Syrian conflict is a conventional war – this case study exhibits within-case variation in the use of two different types of displacement by pro-government forces: cleansing and depopulation. I am therefore able to examine the use of multiple displacement strategies by the same actor in the same conflict. This chapter analyzes quantitative and qualitative data from a range of sources, including media reports, human rights records, data on violence and displacement collected by NGOs, and interviews with activists, journalists, combatants, and regime defectors that I conducted in Syria and Turkey.

I find that government strategies of cleansing and depopulation in Syria were employed in particular places and under certain conditions. Pro-regime forces pursued cleansing early in the conflict in religiously mixed and non-cosectarian enclaves, and when they were acquiring or consolidating control over a given territory. Rather than sectarian animosity, collective targeting often stemmed from the use of sect as a proxy for political loyalty, which is consistent with the findings of my cross-national analysis. Yet most displacement provoked by the Syrian regime has

[121] Schwartz and Straus 2018.
[122] Bennett and Checkel 2014.

taken the form of indiscriminate depopulation – a method that the regime and its allies increasingly adopted as they faced acute information and resource problems, in line with what my theory would predict. While cleansing by Syrian forces seemed designed to get rid of people, there is evidence that the regime's depopulation methods had an assortative element. Authorities made assumptions about people's political associations based on whether they fled areas targeted for displacement, and whether they moved to regime or rebel-held territory. They treated the displaced as military and political assets, forcibly conscripting dislocated civilians to help reinforce the depleted Syrian army while hailing the arrival of the displaced as evidence of the regime's legitimacy. Consequently, population displacement has actually increased the social heterogeneity of some areas, particularly government strongholds. This runs counter to the expectations of observers who have characterized all state-induced displacement in Syria as sectarian cleansing – and challenges the notion that these tactics have been intended solely, or even primarily, to achieve demographic change.

I conclude, in Chapter 7, with the implications of this study for research on forced migration and displacement, conflict, and political violence, and for policy efforts to manage and respond to forced population movements. As the most comprehensive analysis of strategic wartime displacement to date, my findings challenge some core assumptions about these tactics and demonstrate that conventional explanations for a particularly destructive weapon of war are incomplete. Population displacement strategies vary in form and in function. I elucidate and test several plausible logics underlying strategic displacement, and my results suggest that different ones apply to different types, and that different kinds of conflict environments incentivize armed groups to use displacement in different ways. To explain the weaponization of displacement as "draining the sea" is to ignore how combatants and civilians alike interpret moving and staying in war to be a political act. Seen from this perspective, displacement is, at its core, an inherently political and often contested process that can have widespread social and political consequences during and after conflict. This has profound implications for our understanding of the dynamics and consequences of refugee and IDP flows and can offer lessons for policymakers, practitioners, and advocates. In light of the strain being placed on aid agencies by rising global displacement, the growing hostility towards refugees in Western nations, and the realization that mass population movements can exacerbate violence, spread conflict, and hinder post-conflict peace and development, preventing and mitigating wartime displacement is both urgent and timely.

Chapter 2

An Assortative Theory of Displacement

"the dumbfuckers in the sampan
who wouldn't get off the canal after curfew
you and me both know they're out there
for one reason
so we hovered overhead and sunk their ass."

-Perry Oldham, "Red Madonna," 1976

"Le vagabond est par définition un suspect."
(The vagabond is by definition a suspect.)

-Daniel Nordman, "Sauf-conduits et passeports, en France, à la Renaissance," 1987

This chapter outlines my theory of strategic displacement and generates a series of theoretical propositions. I build on insights from the civil war, political violence, and migration literatures to develop a framework that (1) grants more agency to the civilian population, including the displaced; (2) accounts for the dynamic and iterative process of displacement; and (3) places civilian flight more centrally into the production of wartime violence. My theory derives from two core insights. First, the physical distribution and locations of local populations can significantly influence civil war dynamics.[1] Second, while an essential feature of civil war is the breakdown of the state's monopoly of violence, the fragmentation of domestic sovereignty also erodes what John Torpey calls the state's "monopolization of the legitimate means of movement."[2] This is manifest in the proliferation of checkpoints and other border technologies *within* countries affected by war, which not only reflect territorial fragmentation, but also the importance combatants place on monitoring and regulating civilians' movements.[3]

Like other scholars, I see displacement as a strategic response to a central problem that combatants, particularly counterinsurgents, face in civil wars: the inability to selectively identify enemy fighters and disloyal civilians.[4] But unlike them, I argue that uprooting civilians is not only a reaction to *ex ante* information about their identities and loyalties. It is also a way to infer their identities and loyalties *ex post*. Existing explanations largely treat displacement as an outcome of armed groups identifying potential opposition supporters through collective profiling – targeting the enemy's co-ethnics[5] or political constituents.[6] This logic may apply to ethnic, religious, or political cleansing, which by definition indicates an *ex ante* categorization of the population by certain identity characteristics.

[1] Kocher 2004; Kalyvas 2006.
[2] Torpey 1998. While the author stresses the state's regulation of cross-border movement, I emphasize how the fragmentation of sovereignty breaks down monopolies over the legitimate means of movement inside the state and spawns more localized means of managing domestic population movements.
[3] Schon 2016.
[4] Steele 2017; Zhukov 2015; Balcells and Steele 2016; Hägerdal 2019.
[5] Hägerdal 2019.
[6] As revealed by local election results. See Balcells and Steele (2016) and Steele (2017).

But I argue that for other types of strategic displacement, particularly forced relocation, displacement is a process that combatants use to distinguish allies from enemies. Orchestrating civilian flight forces people to send costly and highly visible signals of loyalty and affiliation based on whether, and where, they flee. This also renders communities more "legible," which allows armed groups to use people's movements and locations as a continuous indicator of allegiance, extract rents and recruits from the population, and demonstrate legitimacy to domestic and international audiences. Here, displacement provides unique solutions to information and resource problems by acting as a mechanism for sorting and capturing the population.

This chapter proceeds in three sections. The first two present each component of my "assortative" theory and outlines a set of testable hypotheses. I draw on empirical evidence from a wide range of civil wars to illustrate my theoretical claims and demonstrate their plausibility. The first section outlines the *sorting* logic of the theory, which is predicated on the signaling effects of displacement and focuses on how people's movements in wartime (or lack thereof) are interpreted by combatants through what I term *guilt by location*. This suggests that forced relocation should be employed where information and identification problems are most acute for counterinsurgents: in irregular or "guerrilla" wars waged in rural, peripheral territories. Cleansing, by contrast, should be more common in conventional civil wars, where rebel identification is less of a challenge and territorial conquest takes primacy. Moreover, while cleansing is more likely when group-level information about wartime loyalties is available to combatants – offering a basis for forced expulsion through collective targeting – relocation is more likely when combatants lack this information, and must therefore revert to spatial profiling rather than profiling along ethnic, racial, or religious lines.

In the second section, I outline the *capturing* logic of my theory, which emphasizes how and why displacement is used not just to "push" civilians out of an area, but also to "pull" them into an armed group's ambit. In many cases, such efforts seek to concentrate the population in camps that serve as incubators of mobilization. This suggests that forced relocation acts as an alternative to territorial occupation and is more likely to occur when incumbents' resources are overstretched, likely due to fighting multiple groups or being engaged across diffuse battlefronts. Relocation should also correlate with state efforts to instrumentalize the civilian population for the war effort – specifically, by mobilizing people into local defense forces.

In the third section of the chapter, I present several alternative arguments about strategic displacement – which were briefly introduced in Chapter 1 – to derive a series of competing hypotheses. Like those corresponding to my theory, these hypotheses focus on displacement induced by *state* combatants (i.e., counterinsurgents). I split these arguments into three categories: ethnic nationalism, denial, and punishment. They do not comprise an exhaustive list of proposed explanations for strategic displacement, but rather the most salient and testable theories proposed in the existing literature. My purpose in this dissertation is to determine which explanations garner the most support across cases. Given that these arguments have yet to be scaled up and tested at the

macro level, gauging their generalizability is crucial for advancing our understanding of where, when, and why combatants uproot civilians in wartime. At the end of the chapter, I provide a visual summary of the arguments and hypotheses tested in this dissertation.

2.1 The Sorting Logic of Strategic Displacement

In order to root out enemies and consolidate control over territory, civil war combatants require the collaboration of civilians. They therefore use different strategies, including violence, to reward cooperation and deter defection.[7] But this requires information not only on the identities of enemy fighters and their active supporters, but also on the loyalties of the broader population.[8] Asymmetric information about individuals' identities and loyalties creates what Stathis Kalyvas calls the "identification problem," or the inability to tell allies from adversaries.[9] In this section I describe how displacement is used as a method of, rather than an alternative to, resolving this fundamental challenge of civil war – particularly by counterinsurgents, who tend to be at an informational disadvantage in domestic conflicts.[10] As Kalyvas argues, "if the 'guilty' cannot be identified and arrested, then violence ought to target innocent people that are somehow associated with them."[11] I contend that combatants use guilt by physical association, not just ethnic, religious, or political affiliation, to target their opponents. This insight is crucial to understanding the strategic logic of displacement.

Guilt by Location

My argument starts from the observation that when combatants cannot observe the identities and loyalties of the local population directly, they resort to simplifying heuristics, or clues, to infer them.[12] Previous research has focused on the use of heuristics like political membership or ascriptive traits such as ethnic identity, but armed actors may also rely on costly signals to reduce information asymmetries.[13] Building on these insights, I contend that one common, yet heretofore overlooked, profiling criterion for wartime sympathies is people's physical locations and movements. Scholars have recognized that practices of identification are often related to territory,[14] and within the context of civil wars, the well-established link between territorial control and

[7] Kalyvas 2006.
[8] Steele 2011, Steele 2017, Belge 2016, 278.
[9] Kalyvas 2006.
[10] Some explanations for strategic displacement imply that combatants resort to displacement as a substitute for resolving information problems (e.g., Zhukov 2015).
[11] Kalyvas 2006, 150.
[12] Fjelde and Hultman 2014; Hägerdal 2019; Steele 2017.
[13] Fearon 1994; Schultz 2001.
[14] Jansen and Löfving 2009, 5.

civilian collaboration in civil war suggests a potential and oft-perceived overlap between physical space and political affiliation.[15] Descriptions from conflicts in Guatemala and Angola convey this dynamic:

> “[Political] polarization turned into a spatialized dichotomy between those in the village and those in the wilderness, *el monte*...In the conflict areas there was no space left for neutrality. These areas became divided between 1) the villages, a space under army control, inhabited by presumed army supporters; and 2) *el monte*, a space which was beyond army control and inhabited by presumed guerrilla supporters.”[16]

> “People, including those who were unconnected with any political movement, began to associate zones of Angola with a particular movement...As a consequence of this territorialization, people found themselves labeled as ‘belonging’ to one or another movement regardless of what views they might have held. [The government], particularly the military, labeled people on the basis of their location in a way that restricted the possibility of individual political choice. Political identity in one sense was assigned on the basis of where one was.”[17]

An implication of the territorialization of political identity is that population movements can provide signals of association and allegiance in contested spaces. Individuals exercise agency in armed conflicts, and even “forced” displacement entails strategic choices, however constrained, about whether, when, and where to flee.[18] Thus in his study of civilian strategies in civil wars, Shane Barter argues that the flight of noncombatants to a particular armed actor can amount to an act of support for that actor.[19] Likewise, fleeing from an armed group is a form of defection, according to Kalyvas.[20] This evokes the concept of “protest migration,” or the idea, based on the work of Albert Hirschman,[21] that people manifest their discontent with a political community by leaving it.[22] Combatants, in turn, may therefore consider the act of moving to be a political one. This was the perception of army officials in Guatemala, for example, who held that “the act of fleeing is an admission of guilt.”[23]

If leaving is akin to defection, then staying behind can be a form of passive collaboration – or at least, it can be perceived as such. This explains why in many modern conflicts, “civilians who did not flee combat areas were considered suspect

[15] Kalyvas 2006.
[16] Stepputat 1999, 63, 66.
[17] Pearce 2012, 451-52, 455.
[18] Moore and Shellman 2004; Adhikari 2013.
[19] Barter 2016.
[20] Kalyvas 2006, 104.
[21] Hirschman 1970.
[22] Herbst (1990), for example, has shown that in colonial Africa, people responded to their dissatisfaction with European rulers by migrating to places outside the control of colonial authorities.
[23] Manz 1988, 59.

and often killed by warring parties."[24] During revenge killings after the Rwandan genocide, soldiers from the Rwandan Patriotic Front "often did not distinguish Tutsi from Hutu...seeming to assume that the remaining Tutsi were 'collaborators' of those who perpetuated the genocide."[25] A special name was given to these Tutsi, *rescapes*, because they "chose to stay in the country even during the massacres" and thus became "objects of suspicion by Tutsi who had felt compelled to flee."[26] When the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) seized parts of Syria and Iraq in 2014, many civilians who fled immediately were accepted by authorities in areas where they sought sanctuary and not deemed a security threat.[27] But those who escaped later were denied access on suspicion of being collaborators because they "stayed, in the eyes of local authorities, too long in areas under Islamic State control."[28] Ben Taub reports that after ISIS was driven out of the city of Mosul in 2017, members of the Iraqi security forces were wary of civilians who had not fled ISIS rule, as such individuals continue to "be defined by their [physical] proximity to ISIS."[29]

The political implications of flight are not lost on civilians. In the Peruvian civil war, displaced people avoided being identified "for fear that they would be suspected by both the army and the armed opposition as deserters who had joined the other side."[30] Similarly, Mozambican men uprooted by violence between government troops and rebels from Renamo were often "afraid of being suspected of collaboration with one side or the other if found unattached to a definite village."[31] In Burma, displaced civilians who fled to the forest instead of to "peace villages" established by the military feared being branded as "jungle fugitives" because their flight was perceived as "taking refuge" with insurgents.[32]

These examples exemplify what I call *guilt by location*: the tendency for political and military actors to treat fleeing and staying in wartime as indicators of collaboration or defection.[33] This can help explain the strategic logic of orchestrating civilian displacement in order to help overcome identification problems. By creating overwhelming incentives to flee, and where to flee, armed groups can use displacement patterns to draw inferences about civilians' affiliations and loyalties.

[24] Leaning 2011, 447.
[25] Prunier 2008, 19.
[26] Minear and Kent 1998, 64.
[27] Some of the displaced were even asked by Kurdish and Iraqi intelligence authorities to inform on members of their communities who had assisted or potentially joined ISIS. See Taub (2018).
[28] Soguel 2014.
[29] Taub 2018.
[30] Stavropoulou 1998, 469.
[31] Andersson 2016, 96.
[32] Scott 2010, 102.
[33] This is consistent with Steele (2018), who finds that displaced civilians in Colombia were collectively targeted for violence by paramilitary groups because where they were from and when they left indicated their loyalties.

The Signaling Effects of Displacement

Civilians tend to be opportunistic in wartime[34] and decisions to flee violence are typically driven by concerns over security and survival.[35] Thus in the eyes of combatants, sympathetic or neutral civilians should, all else equal, respond to incentives and move as ordered. When the government of Thailand enacted a relocation policy for hill tribes affected by a communist insurgency, "many hill tribe villagers, who wanted to make it quite clear that they were on the government's side" acquiesced and left their homes.[36] As the work of Hirschman broadly suggests, when a situation deteriorates, the politically uncommitted tend to depart while the loyalists remain.[37]

Yet as indicated above, even when combatants trigger displacement through brute force methods, civilians do have options, albeit constrained ones. Rather than complying with orders to flee, they can engage in one of three acts of defection: *noncompliance* (refusing to move), *switching sides* (moving to rival territory) or *exit* (leaving a contested area or the country).[38]

Noncompliance is risky and, as such, sends a costly signal of disloyalty. In Ethiopia, when the government directed residents of areas infiltrated by the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) to relocate to new villages, officials announced that "anyone who does not want to move into the new village only desires to feed the rebels."[39] While this was broadcast in part to coerce compliance, one NGO reported that the military actually "suspected that any who refused [to relocate] were OLF."[40] During the post-genocide Hutu insurgency in Rwanda, RPF soldiers "had difficulty distinguishing civilians from the insurgents, many of whom do not wear uniforms."[41] They therefore forced villagers into relocation camps, and "those who do not want to move...are generally considered insurgents."[42] The RPF took a similar approach in 1996 when it attacked camps of Rwandan Hutu refugees in eastern Zaire to root out the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide. According the U.N., "it is clear that one of the objectives [of the attack] was to force the refugee population to return to Rwandan territory," yet those who failed to return and instead fled deeper into Zaire were targeted for elimination by the RPF.[43] Breaking up the camps, then:

> "in effect separated the 'good' Hutus from the bad: those who had little involvement

[34] Kalyvas 2006; Petersen 2001.
[35] Ibáñez and Vélez 2008; Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009; Ibáñez and Moya 2016; Adhikari 2013, 2012.
[36] Kesmanee 1988.
[37] Hirschman 1993, 197.
[38] This draws on Kalyvas (2006)'s typology of civilian defection and Barter (2016)'s work on civilian wartime strategies.
[39] Steingraber 1987.
[40] "For Their Own Good: Ethiopia's Villagisation Programme" 1988, 34.
[41] U.S. State Department 1999b.
[42] Human Rights Watch 2001b, 42-43. HRW also found that the RPF "generally treated persons caught outside the camps without authorization as enemies, subject to be shot on sight."
[43] OHCHR 2010, 283.

> in the 1994 genocide against Tutsis had returned and those who fled rather than return were those who had participated in or supported the genocide...any Hutu still present in Zaire must necessarily be a perpetrator of genocide, since the 'real' refugees had already returned to Rwanda."[44]

Similarly, in response to the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) insurgency in El Salvador, the army ordered residents of contested villages to move to cities and camps under the logic that "civilians who don't want to cooperate [with insurgents] will leave the area and those who remain are collaborating."[45] When French forces "regrouped" civilians during the Algerian war of independence, anyone found in evacuated villages "was presumed guilty of rebel ties."[46] During the Korean Civil War, the South Korean government herded people into "collective villages" after which "anyone remaining...was considered suspect and liable to arrest and detention if not outright death."[47] And after the regime of Milton Obote relocated residents of the Luwero Triangle to dilapidated camps during the Bush War in Uganda (1981–86), those caught outside camps "were presumed to be guerrillas or guerrilla sympathizers and were treated accordingly."[48]

Civilians who are incapable of fleeing, such as the elderly or the infirm, may be exempted from this process since they are both less threatening to combatants and less useful for their adversaries. Or they may be considered expendable and punished along with others who remain behind. Expendability appears to have been the mentality of Sri Lankan forces against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). After engaging in the strategic depopulation of the war zone and attempting to lure civilians to its areas, the government "treated most civilians who had been living in the LTTE-controlled areas as LTTE members in disguise or collaborators."[49] For combatants, what is most important is that displacement indicates the identities and loyalties of the most concerning segments of the population: the young and able-bodied. Other ascriptive traits that may be used to infer people's identities and loyalties, or convey the potential threat they pose – including gender, age, and ethnicity – can therefore have mitigating effects on the extent to which individuals or groups are considered guilty by location. This was evident during village evacuations in Guatemala[50] and Mozambique[51], when women were sometimes given greater leeway than men.

Yet noncompliance often becomes untenable as time goes on, since being subjected to persistent violence makes people more likely to choose a side.[52] For the

[44] OHCHR 2010, 281,283.
[45] Quoted in Montgomery 2018, 152
[46] Heggoy 1972, 183.
[47] Birtle 2006, 97.
[48] Museveni and Kanyogonya 1997.
[49] Ruaudel 2013, 34.
[50] Stepputat 1999, 66.
[51] Andersson 2016, 96.
[52] Kalyvas and Kocher 2007.

uprooted, this means either settling in one group's territory or physically defecting to its opponent. The second form of defection, switching sides, sends the strongest signal of disloyalty because one is not simply unable or unwilling to comply; she is actively seeking to affiliate with the opposing side. The logic of guilt by location is that seeking greater proximity to enemy fighters is itself grounds for suspicion, particularly if it contravenes orders to be elsewhere. This is evidenced in the observation of human rights monitors in Mozambique: "As a general rule, the greater the distance from a military center, the less the civilians' loyalty to either side."[53] Or consider Guatemala, where the army burned villages in areas of "high guerrilla activity," effectively "forcing their inhabitants to choose between fleeing to remote mountainous regions of the country" – purported rebel territory – or "agreeing to relocate to government-controlled areas."[54] When the Peruvian military commanded peasants to concentrate in designated hamlets during the war against Sendero Luminoso, those caught fleeing in the direction of rebel-held areas "were, according to various witnesses, regarded by the [military] as *terrucos* [terrorists] trying to escape to their comrades" and subject to execution.[55] There is evidence that insurgents also draw inferences from people's movements. In Angola, after the government ordered civilians out of the countryside, UNITA rebels "prevent[ed] people from returning to their fields to gather food, attacking them – punishing them for having 'chosen' the government side – or laying mines on paths to fields."[56]

The final form of defection, exit, may be less concerning for combatants if it implies that civilians have left the battlefield. But for the displaced, it still risks indicating disloyalty.[57] As such, those who are able or willing to leave the country and become refugees may be held just as liable for fleeing as those uprooted within the country as internally displaced persons (IDPs). This was the case for Salvadoran refugees who opted to flee to neighboring Honduras instead of to government areas. When the refugees returned to their villages, officials treated them with suspicion and were "quick to accuse them of collaborating with guerrilla forces."[58] People who fled Guatemala had an analogous experience, as the Guatemalan army "viewed returning refugees as guerrilla collaborators" because they " had been unwilling to submit themselves" to government rule.[59] Evading combatants has a similar effect. When the Burmese military forcibly relocated villagers in Karen State, those who hid in the jungle were "targeted and subjected to human rights abuses...on suspicion of being rebel

[53] Africa Watch 1992, 71.
[54] Valentino 2013, 213.
[55] Fumerton 2001, 11-12.
[56] Frontières 2001, 2.
[57] Arjona (2017) characterizes civilian flight as neither cooperation (obedience) nor non-cooperation (resistance) with a non-state armed group, but instead a last resort for civilians when neutrality is no longer possible. But if an armed group *orders* displacement, then flight itself becomes an act of obedience or resistance.
[58] Lawyers Committee 1989.
[59] Human Rights Watch 1996.

supporters."[60] In general, those who are capable and willing to select exit will either leave the country or move to safer and more prosperous government-controlled areas within it, usually cities.[61] For counterinsurgents, the latter scenario is acceptable because it brings people under the state's dominion.[62]

These examples illustrate that even when combatants employ displacement through brute force, civilians can and do engage in defection. Heterogeneous factors may influence these decisions. Hirschman claims that "deep personal commitments" can make exit from a political situation unthinkable,[63] and in the context of civil war, scholars have argued that resisting displacement has acted as a form of civil resistance.[64] For example, Elisabeth Wood finds that "pleasure in agency" encouraged some peasants to remain with the FMLN rebels in El Salvador despite the dangers.[65] In an ethnography of displacement during the Salvadoran conflict, Molly Todd reports that peasants who had mobilized in favor of the rebels tended to remain in contested regions, while those less sympathetic to the FMLN abandoned the areas.[66] Yet even for those who fled, refusing to resettle in places controlled by the state "indicates a level of resistance – opposition even – to the soldiers and the government" as "individuals and groups made tactical decisions about flight in an effort not only to survive but also to continue challenging the authority and legitimacy of the state."[67]

Staffan Löfving observed a similar dynamic among displaced Guatemalans, who claimed that their movement "had a political purpose: they were continuing on the road to freedom and not coming back."[68] Likewise, in Angola some villagers ordered to flee the countryside reported that they avoided displacement camps because "'there, we will have to cooperate with the government.'"[69] Many Tigrayan peasants in Ethiopia resisted orders to relocate for the same reasons, opting instead "to walk for four to six weeks across the Sudanese border, rather than seek relief in government held towns, two or three hours away."[70]

Social pressures, economic needs, high risk tolerance, and historical experiences can also lead individuals and communities to defect.[71] In El Salvador, some peasants remained in their war-torn villages because they wanted to safeguard their homes,

[60] Saunders 2005, 47.
[61] Jardine 2012.
[62] Steele 2017, 49.
[63] Hirschman 1970.
[64] Masullo Jimenez 2015; Steele 2009.
[65] Wood 2003.
[66] Todd 2010, 55.
[67] Todd 2010, 52-52.
[68] Lofving 2009, 151.
[69] Birkeland and Gomes 2001, 26.
[70] Macrae and Zwi 1994, 16.
[71] Moore and Shellman 2004; Czaika and Kis-Katos 2009; Adhikari 2013, 2012; Edwards 2009; Barter 2016; Harpviken 2009.

land, and other belongings, or remain close to the graves of their loved ones.[72] Place attachment is another important factor, especially for rural populations, whose identities and livelihoods are often inextricably tied to their land.[73]

A Sorting Mechanism

All three forms of defection outlined in the previous section meet the two primary criteria for efficacious signals. First, they are costly. Second, they are public and visible – and hence easy for combatants to observe.[74] Since armed groups are principally concerned with identifying the disloyal, the more overwhelming the incentives to move, the more costly defection becomes – and thus the stronger the signal it sends.

However, since my theory focuses on how people's locations and movements are interpreted by armed groups, it makes no underlying assumptions about the actual preferences of the population. As indicated above, civilians' movements may not always reflect their true loyalties, just as ethnic identity may be a poor indicator of political affiliation. But combatants often perceive civilians' actions in wartime to be political even when they are not intended to be.[75] If political identities and preferences have an impact on movement decisions and reflect people "voting with their feet"[76] – as studies of wartime resettlement in Colombia and Spain have found[77] – then orchestrating displacement helps publicly reveal these preferences. If not, then it still forces civilians to undertake an observable act of obedience or defection for combatants who, as Kalyvas argues, are more concerned about eliciting passive compliance from civilians than attempting to find and cultivate true believers.[78]

Therefore, for combatants and authorities looking for informational shortcuts, displacement can provide an efficient and highly visible, if crude and imperfect, means of sorting the population and resolving the identification problem. Spatial distinctions become proxies for political ones. During the Revolt of the Camisards in eighteenth-century France, military advisors to King Louis XIV proposed relocating inhabitants of the countryside to fortified towns – which would "have the advantage of immediately revealing who was guilty because [those who] resist the idea demonstrate their complicity with the rebels and their desire to provide them with supplies."[79]

[72] Todd 2010, 60. The author emphasizes that "although the war destroyed hundreds of towns across the northern borderlands and dozens more stood only as ghost towns, the northern border region was never fully depopulated during the war." See also Wood 2003, 113-115.

[73] Sorensen 1998, 82-83.

[74] For a review of the broader literature on signaling theory, see Connelly et al. (2011).

[75] Steele 2017, 208. Research on signaling indicates that signals may be interpreted differently by different recipients (Kertzer et al. 2017).

[76] Tiebout 1956.

[77] Steele (2018) and Balcells (2018) show that IDPs tended to resettle in places where they found others who share their political and/or ethnic identity.

[78] Kalyvas 2006, 102-103.

[79] McCullough 2007, 218-219.

More recently, a former MPLA soldier in Angola, when asked how the military was able to identify rebels after it drove residents from the countryside, explained that, "[t]hose who are with the [government] are in the environs of the city – beyond that is the bush – anyone there is the enemy. Even if he doesn't have a gun, he's one of the enemy."[80] A government minister in northeast India invoked a similar rationale upon the congregation of peasants into roadside camps in response to a Maoist insurgency: "those in the camps are with the government and those in the forests are with the Maoists."[81]

Uprooting the population, then, effectively forces people to choose sides. Civil war incites polarization,[82] and combatants crave this "with us or against us" distinction. This is evinced in David Stoll's analysis of the Guatemalan civil war, where "neutrality was no more acceptable to the guerrillas than to the army."[83] Radically simplifying the identification process through displacement provides two primary benefits for perpetrators. First, the ostensible removal of all loyal or neutral civilians transforms contested areas into free-fire zones, making military operations logistically easier. A Filipino general expressed this sentiment in describing the utility of strategic hamlets in the rebellious region of Mindanao: "when we go on operations...we will know that any movement in the field is enemy."[84] The creation of "Consolidated and Protected Villages" by the Rhodesian army in territories roamed by guerrillas gave incumbent forces a similar advantage, since "after forced relocation, any trace of human movement could be presumed to be made by insurgent activity."[85] And in Burma, following village evacuations by counterinsurgents in areas of limited government control, army officers privately admitted that all civilians in those areas "are regarded as potential insurgents."[86]

Second, forcing the population to sort itself through displacement provides combatants a plausible basis for denying responsibility for civilian casualties. Peasants killed by government forces in El Salvador were implicated for failing to heed orders to relocate to state-controlled areas; a U.S. embassy cable described the victims as "something other than innocent civilian bystanders" because they "live in close proximity of," and sometimes intermingled with, the FMLN.[87] Likewise, in Sri Lanka the government often "tried to justify attacks on civilians by arguing that people remaining in war zones were LTTE sympathizers and therefore legitimate targets."[88]

Of course, there is little to prevent disloyal civilians or even enemy combatants

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[80] Quoted in Pearce 2012, 453.
[81] Balagopal 2006.
[82] Kalyvas 2006, 38.
[83] Stoll 1993, 120.
[84] Martin 1982, 1.
[85] Cilliers 2015, 83.
[86] Smith et al. 1994, 46.
[87] Preston 2013, 64.
[88] Human Rights Watch 2010, 348.

from complying with displacement orders and relocating with the rest of the population. But wartime displacement is a dynamic phenomenon, and therefore using it to sort the population is not a one-off event but an iterative process. While initial departures can reveal the most credibly disloyal, moving to destinations dictated by the perpetrator is necessary, but not sufficient, to cast off suspicion. By triggering displacement at t_1, an armed group can then monitor the locations and movements of civilians – particularly those who relocate to its territories – for further signals of loyalty and affiliation at t_2. In other words, displacement enables the sorting of the population not just through the initial process of flight, but also by rendering those who relocate within an armed group's purview more accessible and "legible,"[89] facilitating the further detection of the disloyal.

Legibility

Compared to other conflict strategies, civilian relocation helps combatants rapidly achieve the physical concentration of the populace into regimented units, rendering even the most unruly or inaccessible communities "legible," in the words of James Scott.[90] Forced migration scholars have shown that the external appearance of displacement camps as chaotic and messy often belies a regimented order that increases the visibility and legibility of its occupants.[91] Thus the "villagization" programs pressed upon rebel-affected populations in Ethiopia beginning in the 1970s – whose main goal, according to state officials, was not economic development but "securing the countryside from guerrillas"[92] – sought "to regroup the scattered homesteads, small hamlets and traditional villages of the countryside into a completely new pattern of grid-plan villages."[93] According to Ariel Ahram, the depopulation of the Iraqi marshes during the Shi'a uprisings of 1991 was an attempt by the government to transform an "impenetrable" physical and human terrain into "a well-ordered, well-governed and productive space."[94] The Guatemalan army seemed to have a similar idea. Its forcible relocation of rural peasants into "model" villages accompanied broader efforts to "turn the [countryside] into a readable map" by, for example, "writing the names of the villages with white stones on the hillsides."[95]

Improving physical proximity between armed actors and civilians makes it easier to gather intelligence and screen people for opposition ties, while increasing the concentration of the population makes it harder for individuals to hide their preferences

[89] Scott 1998.

[90] Scott 1998. As Belge (2016, 278) argues, state efforts to render populations legible "are central to patterns of violence during civil war" because they "introduce layers of arbitrariness into who is targeted."

[91] Harrell-Bond 1986; Malkki 1995, 8.

[92] Giorgis 1989.

[93] De Waal 1991, 231.

[94] Ahram 2015.

[95] Stepputat 1999, 75.

and actions. Civilians can easily report on each other. In the words of counterinsurgency theorist David Galuala, "as long as there is no privacy, as long as every unusual move or event is reported and checked, how can contacts be made, ideas spread, recruiting accomplished?"[96] An account of the Kenyan government's forced villagization strategy, enacted during the Shifta War against Somali insurgents in the 1960s, typifies this logic:

> "The major problem for the Kenyan government was...how to effectively distinguish between so-called 'loyal' civilians in northern Kenya and *shifta* and their sympathizers. It was argued by the supporters of villagization that this provided a solution to the problem. As [Member of Parliament Geoffrey Gitahi] Kariuki stated to Parliament...'let loyal Somalis come out and show us their loyalty. Let them be put in a camp where we can scrutinize them and know who [amongst them] are good."[97]

The use of displacement to impose legibility is exemplified by measures enacted to help combatants better "see" the population in relocation sites. This is particularly important for state forces since, as Magruder points out, potential insurgents are typically those who are undocumented, unregistered, or resistant to being identified.[98] Thus the Kenyan government required that all encamped Somalis were immediately registered and provided with identification papers.[99] Similar measures were undertaken by the British on resettled civilians in Malaya and Kenya;[100] by the French on regrouped Algerians;[101] and by the Japanese on hamletted Chinese in Manchuria.[102] For the Portuguese in Mozambique, the use of *aldeamentos* (relocation villages) by the colonial army facilitated census operations.[103] And when the Indian military herded civilians into "grouping centres" in Nagaland and Mizoram, each inhabitant was given an identity number. The number was conspicuously displayed on a seal fastened to a person's arm or forehead.[104]

While these techniques provide combatants with critical information on the local population, they do more than encourage civilian collaboration and facilitate

[96] Galula 2006, 19.
[97] Whittaker 2012, 347, 349, 361.
[98] Magruder Jr 2017, 21.
[99] Whittaker 2012, 350.
[100] Garlock 1991, 19.
[101] Garlock 1991, 13.
[102] According to Lee (1967, 38), registration of hamlet occupants and issuance of certificates "made it possible to identify residents and therefore it was more difficult for alien elements to infiltrate the towns and villages...those without a resident's certificate or travel permit automatically became suspect."
[103] As recounted by Borges (1993, 228), "everyone living in the *aldeameoto* was to be registered and hold specially detailed identity cards" while "Roads and houses inside the *aldeameoto* were to be named and numbered."
[104] Sundar 2011, 5, 53.

control.[105] They reify the territorialization of political identity and provide a basis for continuing to monitor and use people's locations and movements as an indicator of loyalty and disloyalty. This is evidenced in the following descriptions of French tactics in the Cameroon war of independence and of strategic hamletting in the Philippines:

> "entire villages were moved down to roadside locations surrounded by stockades, French and Cameroonian patrols flushed guerrillas from the emptied hills. In the stockade villages a list of occupants of each house was posted on the door, and impromptu roll calls were made usually at night. Individuals who were unaccounted for were considered to have joined the rebels and their families and villages punished accordingly. Similarly, any individual who happened to be in the wrong house was considered a rebel infiltrator and treated as such."[106]

> "each [Filipino] family has to post a list of occupants in front of the house. After curfew, if any extra persons are present in the house or if any persons are missing, it is a cause to suspect subversive activity."[107]

According to the internal guidelines of the Philippine armed forces, soldiers looking to identify "dissident terrorists" in hamletted areas needed to look for "unusual or increased travel of adult residents into remote or isolated areas" and "unexplained disappearance of the youth and able-bodied residents."[108] In many cases of forced relocation, leaving the camp or village is restricted, and identity cards or special passes help clear those who need to travel regularly.[109] Those who leave without authorization risk incriminating themselves, as in Guatemala, where peasants fleeing the army's model villages "were considered, by definition, *subversivos*" and often injured or killed.[110] As one official in Mozambique explained when asked why residents of state-run "communal villages" were prevented from leaving during the war: "why would they want to? To support the enemy."[111]

In making the citizenry more legible, relocating and concentrating the population gives combatants opportunities not only to utilize tools of selective coercion, but also to conduct campaigns of persuasion and indoctrination. As expressed by a UNICEF official interviewed by Vera Achvarina and Simon Reich: "IDP camps are places where people are regrouped and propaganda can be conducted quite

[105] Kalyvas 2006.
[106] Atangana 2010, 64-65.
[107] Martin 1982, 1.
[108] UNICEF 2008, 36.
[109] For examples, see the use of "cluster villages" during the civil war in Bangladesh (Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission 1991, 44-45) and forced relocation in East Timor (CAVR 2013, 231) and Aceh (Human Rights Watch 2003) in Indonesia.
[110] Schirmer 1998, 43.
[111] Manning 2002, 60.

easily."[112] This evokes the genealogy of so-called "concentration" camps. Despite their murderous connotation due to the etymological link to the Holocaust, concentration camps primarily served as a tool of colonial warfare; one that evolved, according to Sibylle Scheipers, from institutions aimed at punishing insurgent supporters to ones "focused on the 'rehabilitation' of the inhabitants."[113] Thus the French saw regroupment in Algeria as part of "a program of psychological warfare" that aimed "to organize and reeducate" the population.[114] So too did the Portuguese, whose practice of resettling civilians into *aldeamentos* during revolutionary wars in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau "provided the government with an opportunity to deliver its message to the population."[115] These efforts at co-option can be reinforced by material inducements, to the extent that encampment eases the delivery of services and makes civilians more dependent on authorities than they were previously. The *aldeamentos*, for instance, facilitated Portugal's efforts "to bring medical care, education, and food to the people."[116] Bruce Hoffman and Jennifer Taw argue that Britain's relocation of Kikuyu villages during the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya also improved social service provision and "government-civilian relations."[117]

The use of encampment to co-opt the population is not unique to colonial powers. A Rhodesian government document listing the advantages of its Consolidated and Protected Villages included "the opportunity (of) having a captive audience, to mobilize the masses on government's side."[118] It is not surprising, then, that political and military actors sometimes seek to make relocation permanent even after it has outlived its utility as a war strategy. A Filipino general alluded to this when asked when residents of strategic hamlets would be allowed to go home:

> "It will be up to the people. But as they find the advantages of being together, not only for security but in the services we can provide them, I think they will find it advantageous to stay in those communities. Families should learn to live together with other families, as communities."[119]

It is no surprise, then, that forced relocation often facilitates or accelerates urbanization in countries plagued by civil war. Consider Angola. Before its civil war in the 1970s, urban settlements accounted for approximately 15 percent of the country's population; by the end of the conflict in 1991, they accounted for nearly half of it.[120]

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[112] Achvarina and Reich 2006, 140.
[113] Scheipers 2015, 678.
[114] McClintock 1992, 261.
[115] Cann 1997, 274.
[116] Cann 1997, 274.
[117] Hoffman and Taw 1991, 30.
[118] Cilliers 2015, 101.
[119] Martin 1982, 1.
[120] UNICEF 1992.

Theoretical Implications

This sorting logic suggests that, contrary to claims made by other scholars,[121] different types of displacement will occur in different kinds of conflicts. In irregular or "guerrilla" wars, rebels are militarily weaker than the state and therefore tend to avoid direct engagement with incumbent forces. Rebels instead prefer to hide among the population, which intensifies identification problems for counterinsurgents and strongly encourages combatants to adopt simplifying heuristics.[122] We see this, for example, in David Kellogg's vivid description of guerrilla warfare in Vietnam:

> "For the soldier in the field facing a possible guerrilla in every enemy national he meets, with no way of reading another person's heart and mind and seconds in which to decide whether or not to shoot, that uniform and weapon are his only reliable decision criteria. In the absence of these, he is forced to make other less clear distinctions on the order of: anyone running away from a chopper, or anyone out late at night, or anyone remaining in a free fire zone, or any woman left in a village which has been deserted by the draft age men, or any kid walking deliberately towards [him] with something that might be a weapon in his hand, is a probable [guerrilla]."[123]

Moreover, in irregular wars civilians tend to reside in contested areas where control is fragmented between belligerents,[124] which under the territorial logic of political identity makes their loyalties ambiguous. It follows, then, that the use of relocation will be more attractive in irregular conflicts.

By contrast, in conventional civil wars – where two sides with symmetric military capabilities confront each other directly along clear frontlines – identification problems are less severe.[125] Since military success in irregular wars depends on civilians, detecting disloyalty in the local population is of paramount concern to combatants. But success in conventional conflicts hinges on firepower and traditional military capabilities, with civilians playing a far less pivotal role. In these contexts, cleansing will be more attractive than relocation for two main reasons.

First, conventional wars mimic interstate conflicts, where capturing or annexing territory is more important than identifying enemies or eliciting compliance from noncombatants. Conquest, in turn, is made easier by expelling or homogenizing the local population.[126] Indeed, expulsions of ethnic Hazaras and Tajiks by the Taliban

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[121] Balcells and Steele show that pro-government forces have employed the same types of strategic displacement in both conventional and irregular wars (Balcells and Steele 2016).

[122] Kalyvas 2006; Kalyvas and Balcells 2010. As Schutte (2017, 385) argues, in asymmetric conflicts not only is it difficult to distinguish combatants from civilians, but often only a small number of truly committed insurgents exist, making the identification of enemies that much harder.

[123] Kellogg 1997.

[124] Krcmaric 2018.

[125] Balcells 2010, 2017.

[126] Downes 2008; Balcells 2010; Bulutgil 2016; Stanton 2016.

during the Afghan civil war (1996–2001) were usually reported in "areas newly occupied by the Taliban,"[127] just as the cleansing of non-Serbian populations in Bosnia typically followed the occupation of new territories by Serbian fighters.[128] In the war over the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh (1992–94), Armenian forces intentionally drove Azerbaijani residents from their homes only after they captured towns such as Fuzuli, Cabrayil, Qubadli, and Zangilan.[129] One may wonder why perpetrators in these situations do not attempt to resettle the displaced population. This is likely because once people are pushed across a military frontline they no longer pose an imminent threat, being beyond the territory an armed group seeks to control.[130]

Second, in conventional conflicts civilians reside not in disputed areas but under the control of one side. Combatants will therefore be more likely to perceive those living under the adversary as disloyal through guilt by location and seek to expel them. In Sri Lanka, for example, "towards the end of the conflict, the government treated most civilians who had been living in the LTTE-controlled areas as LTTE members in disguise or collaborators."[131] I expect, then, that cleansing will be more common in conventional civil wars.

Hypothesis 1a: *Irregular wars are associated with a higher likelihood of state-induced relocation, while conventional wars are associated with a higher likelihood of state-induced cleansing.*

My assortative theory also suggests that forced relocation will be more likely in conflicts waged in "illegible" areas: namely rural, peripheral territories. While many insurgencies emerge in isolated regions,[132] fighting often spreads to other parts of the country, and higher proportions of military battles and violence against civilians in wartime occur in urban settings.[133] When it comes to strategic displacement, major cities – including Beirut, Bujumbura, Dushanbe, Kigali, Kinshasa, Mogadishu, Nicosia, and Sarajevo – have frequently been the site of ethnic or political cleansing. Urban areas are more geographically concentrated, which makes them easier to cordon, and their populations are more heterogeneous, which enables and may even encourage the use of collective targeting. During the civil war in Iraq (2003–11), sectarian cleansing largely occurred in mixed neighborhoods in cities like Baghdad and Basra.[134] Or consider this dispatch from the civil war in Tajikistan (1992–97), where pro-government forces expelled residents of ethnically distinct neighborhoods:

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[127] U.S. State Department 1998, 1999a.
[128] Human Rights Watch 1993, 62.
[129] U.S. State Department 1993.
[130] Steele 2017.
[131] Ruaudel 2013, 34.
[132] Fearon and Laitin 2003; Kocher 2004; Kalyvas 2006.
[133] Raleigh and Hegre 2009; Raleigh 2012. Koren and Sarbahi (2017) use nighttime light emissions and find that civil wars are more likely to erupt in areas where states exercise more control.
[134] "Southern Iraq Swept by Sectarian Displacement" 2013 (13 September).

> "the crumbling mud walls of roofless houses in many Gharmi and Pamiri neighborhoods formed a stark contrast to the untouched Kulobi neighborhoods nearby and bore testimony to the selectivity of destruction and the exile of specific populations."[135]

Forced relocation, however, is more attractive when contested areas lie in the rural periphery for several reasons. First, government forces lack mobilizational capacity far from political and military hubs. This complicates intelligence gathering, further encouraging incumbents to adopt informational shortcuts and to capture and utilize local residents, who usually constitute the best sources of information in an area.[136] Relatedly, rural localities, particularly in the hinterland, tend to be the most underutilized and illegible to counterinsurgents, having historically served as sanctuaries for "state-evading peoples."[137] Populations are more homogeneous than in urban settings, precluding combatants from using ascriptive identifiers such as ethnicity to differentiate between friendly and hostile communities. Residents usually live in scattered settlements across inaccessible terrain, sometimes outside the reach of the state.[138] As a result, state forces are less likely to possess local knowledge or have access to alternative means of identifying the population, such as reliable census data, registration records, or identification documents. In El Salvador, for example, many peasants living in areas affected by the FMLN lacked identity cards because they were never issued or because their births were never registered.[139] Identity cards have often been used to facilitate collective targeting, including ethnic cleansing campaigns in Rwanda, Georgia, and Lebanon.[140]

The "human ecology" of these territories also makes it "impossible to occupy every place where people live continuously."[141] Counterinsurgents are therefore likely to consider the use of simplifying heuristics to be particularly appropriate, and find it more advantageous to cluster their resources and bring people to them than to scatter units throughout the countryside and risk overextension.[142] Finally, displacement will have less of an impact on a country's infrastructure in outlying areas, since they tend to be less developed and economically productive than other parts of the country, and their relative isolation minimizes spillover effects.

Hypothesis 1b: *Forced relocation by state actors is more likely to be employed against*

[135] McLean and Greene 1998, 326.
[136] Zhukov 2015. Buhaug (2010) also finds that state military capacity diminishes with geographic distance.
[137] Scott 2010, 127.
[138] Herbst 2014; Kocher 2004.
[139] Courtney 2010, 523.
[140] Fussell, 2001 (November); Yassin 2010.
[141] Kocher 2004.
[142] Schutte (2017, 386) further elaborates an argument for why the appropriateness of using heuristics to identify enemy combatants is a function of distance.

rural, peripheral insurgencies.

Anecdotal evidence suggests the plausibility of this hypothesis. France's regroupment strategy in Algeria targeted "people from scattered villages and hamlets, focusing on the more remote...areas first."[143] When moving people into "cluster villages" during the Shanti Bahini insurgency in Bangladesh, the military cited the challenges of accessing the population in the highly dispersed settlements of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where one village's land could cover an area of more than five square miles.[144] A similar rationale accompanied the forced relocation of hill tribes in rebel-affected parts of Thailand. Communities were ordered to move if they lived "in scattered hamlets rather than proper villages" that were "difficult for government officials to reach";[145] a census of the hill tribes was not completed until the mid-1980s, after the war had ended.[146] Relocating civilians in Nicaragua, according to one official, gave the state "an opportunity to reorder the population, which has been very dispersed" in the countryside.[147] In East Timor, displacement orchestrated by the Indonesian army had a similar effect, as "the previous pattern of dispersed mountain settlement was forcibly changed to a predominately coastal population concentrated at towns along major roads."[148] David Vines' description of the government's use of communal villages in Mozambique effectively captures the state-building logic of these measures:

> "[The villages] appeared to be the easiest method for bringing the peasantry (90%) under direct state control. In many areas of Mozambique this would be the first experience of a modern centralized State, Portuguese colonialism having remained a remote experience for many."[149]

A comparison of British counterinsurgency methods in Malaya, Kenya, and Cyprus provides an apt illustration of how human ecology can encourage or discourage the use of population relocation. While British forces enacted relocation in Malaya (1950–60) and Kenya (1952–56), they avoided it in Cyprus (1954–59). Hoffman and Taw attribute this in part to the size of insurgents' civilian constituency – which represented a majority of the island's population – but also to the fact that "fighting occurred not only in remote areas but in the middle of congested urban centers."[150] As a result, "tactics used successfully in Malaya and Kenya were less appropriate and less effective in Cyprus, where a different kind of response had to be developed."[151]

[143] Garlock 1991, 13.
[144] Chittagong Hill Tracts Commission 1991, 58, 64.
[145] Bhruksasri 1989, 16.
[146] Vaddhanaphuti 2005, 156.
[147] Cody, 1985 (17 March).
[148] CAVR 2013, 235.
[149] Vines 1991, 114-115.
[150] Hoffman and Taw 1991, 21.
[151] Hoffman and Taw 1991, 21.

Finally, as noted at the start of this chapter, previous studies have found that in the absence of information about individual loyalties, combatants turn to group-level indicators of ethnic or political affiliation to identify and expel potential adversaries. Under this punishment-based logic, cleansing by counterinsurgents is hypothesized to be more likely where states have access to group-level information about wartime loyalties. Such information can be revealed through election results (which divulge a community's political preferences)[152] or through an insurgency's claim to fight for a particular ethnic or religious group (which creates a link between ethno-sectarian identity and political affiliation).[153] If my argument is correct, however, strategies of forced relocation should be more likely in the absence of such group-level identifiers. Lacking the means to profile communities along political or ethnic lines, combatants will be inclined to use alternative heuristics – namely, spatial profiling – in order to identify potential enemies and their sympathizers.

Hypothesis 1c: *Cleansing is more likely when group-level information for inferring wartime loyalties is available; forced relocation is more likely in the absence of such information.*

2.2 The Capturing Logic of Strategic Displacement

Strategies of cleansing typically aim to get rid of the displaced population. But for armed groups, civilians are potential assets in wartime, not just burdens or threats, since they provide information and other services. Uprooting people can therefore seek not to "push" them out of an armed group's ambit but to "pull" them into it. As Scott argues, a principle purpose of arranging the population to make it more legible is to simplify some of the core tasks of state-making and war-fighting, namely taxation and conscription.[154] Thus besides providing armed actors with the information and organization necessary to detect civilian loyalties directly – and to infer them indirectly through guilt by location – capturing the population through displacement offers two additional benefits. First, it allows combatants to extract resources from noncombatants, namely economic rents and military recruits. Second, it provides propaganda fodder and signals legitimacy to domestic and international audiences. All of these contribute to fulfilling combatants' primary objective in the short-term – territorial consolidation – while also serving the longer-term imperatives of state-building.

[152] Balcells and Steele 2016; Steele 2017.
[153] Fjelde and Hultman 2014; Hägerdal 2019.
[154] Scott 2010, 2.

The Material Benefits of Capture

The idleness and uncertainty that displacement engenders, along with the dependency it cultivates on services provided at relocation sites, facilitates recruitment into perpetrators' informant networks, military ranks, and labor pool. Ethnographic work reveals that displacement produces radical and protracted uncertainty that can be manipulated by enterprising actors.[155] Rana Khoury, for example, finds that life for Syrians in Jordanian refugee camps is characterized by "utter boredom" that serves as "an unmistakable source of anguish."[156] While poverty and lack of education have been found to predict individual participation in civil war,[157] a distinct body of research shows that displacement camps are particularly vulnerable to militarization and exploitation, and are often used by armed groups as sources of supplies and recruitment.[158] By enlisting locally displaced civilians, combatants can exploit their knowledge of the surrounding terrain and its communities, which further helps armed groups address the identification problem.[159] The relative regimentation and accessibility of the population in relocation sites makes it easier to identify recruits and laborers and monitor their work, offering a cheaper method of engaging insurgents, protecting communities, and bolstering resources for military operations.[160]

Indeed, in a variety of conflicts the mobilization of uprooted populations for the war effort appears to have been not an ancillary byproduct of strategic displacement, but an important factor motivating it. Consider the following description of strategic hamlets in the Philippines:

> "The rationale for the hamletting, as explained by [Philippine] military officials at a later dialogue with church representatives, was to make it easier for the government to protect the people, to provide them with services, and to get the people to 'protect themselves' (i.e., to organize them into government-sponsored militia units)."[161]

In Algeria, the French used inhabitants of its regroupment camps to form *harkis*, or self-defense units, whose ranks swelled to some 60,000 fighters.[162] Likewise, in Ethiopia villagization was conceived as a "means for enabling the rural masses...to

[155] Horst and Grabska 2015.
[156] Khoury 2015.
[157] Humphreys and Weinstein 2008.
[158] Cohen and Deng 2012; Stedman and Tanner 2004; Achvarina and Reich 2006; Lischer 2005; Kahn 2008; Aspa 2011.
[159] Ahram 2011; Eck 2015.
[160] Carey et al. 2013. As Scott (2010, 65) argues, "military supremacy requires superior access to concentrated manpower close at hand."
[161] Porter 1987, 87.
[162] Horne 1996, 254-55.

safeguard local peace and security"[163] that made it easier, according to government officials, to conscript soldiers and collect taxes.[164] As one reporter observed:

> "Resettlement and villagization...are tools of militarization...these newly created communities are used as military infrastructures and provide recruits for the army as well as for special militia forces responsible for locating and punishing suspected rebel collaborators...Members of the militia receive slightly higher apportionments of food – an enticement to potential recruits. Food is also used to create a class of informers within the camp population."[165]

These do not appear to be isolated cases. During the civil war in Peru, after evacuating peasants from remote mountains to new settlements, the military began "almost immediately" to press the displaced into militias.[166] The Nicaraguan government engaged in a similar practice, forcing relocated civilians "to arm themselves for 'self-defense.'"[167] Because the Contra rebels in Nicaragua received significant support from external sources – including the U.S. government – denying them access to the local population through displacement, according to James McCarl, was "not sufficient. To win the rural battle, the [government] needed a significant force, located in the rural areas, to threaten and destroy the Contras."[168] In Guatemala, participation in Civil Defense Patrols was compulsory for residents of the "model villages," in which hundreds of thousands of displaced residents served as militiamen, informants, and laborers.[169] According to a Guatemalan army journal, "in twenty-four hours, it is possible to assemble 3,000 or more voluntary workers to undertake the construction of a road, a school, irrigation projects...any project no matter how large."[170]

Similar trends have been observed in other parts of the world. In Manchuria, the Japanese army established "collective hamlets" against Chinese insurgents "with the objective of strengthening the self-defense capability of the peasants...every young man in the hamlet shall be trained."[171] Relocation sites for civilians uprooted by counterinsurgency forces in the rebel-laden frontiers of Burma have become "zones of hyper-appropriation" where occupants "provide a ready pool of laborers" and have their land and crops assessed "for the purpose of military taxation and requisitions."[172] In Rwanda, during the RPF's villagization of civilians in response to Hutu rebels, human rights groups reported that "local defense forces (LDFs)...are envisaged as part

[163] "For Their Own Good: Ethiopia's Villagisation Programme" 1988, 17.
[164] Lorgen 2000, 188.
[165] Steingraber 1987.
[166] Fumerton 2001, 12, 15.
[167] U.S. State Department 1987a.
[168] McCarl 1977, 145-46.
[169] Black 1985, Schirmer 1998, 35
[170] Black 1985, 19.
[171] Lee 1967, 88.
[172] Scott 2010, 180.

of the program of villagization" and "will receive military training and weapons."[173] While LDFs were principally responsible for "guarding each [villagization] site," some were dispatched to fight alongside the RPF in the Second Congo War (1998–2001).[174]

In East Timor, Indonesian soldiers overseeing government-created relocation camps were instructed to "appoint an informant for every 10-15 families...who is able to follow, in secrecy, the activities of these 10-15 families."[175] The army also "mobilized civil defense forces and pressed men and boys into providing logistics support for combat troops."[176] Civilians "grouped" during counterinsurgency operations in Nagaland and Mizoram in northeast India were forced to work as military porters; according to one observer, compulsory labor was "one of the active reasons the army used to justify grouping, albeit under the euphemism of 'gainful employment.'"[177] Regroupment camps also became "recruitment havens" for pro-government forces.[178] In 2008, for instance, during the Naxalite rebellion in the Indian state of Chhattisgarh, Human Rights Watch reported that local police "recruited camp residents, including children, as special police officers" and deployed them "with other paramilitary police on joint anti-Naxalite combing operations."[179]

Rebel groups have also used forced relocation to exploit civilians' labor and augment their forces. In Angola, UNITA forced thousands of villagers to flee to its territories and either work on its farms or join its fighters. According to one estimate, the displaced supplied some 30 percent of UNITA's 63,000 troops.[180] Renamo in Mozambique similarly drove noncombatants into areas under rebel control, where they were "used for portering and recruited into the rebels' forces."[181] In Cambodia, Khmer Rouge insurgents pursued a comparable strategy:

> "entire villages were moved by the Khmer Rouge not only to its areas but to remote mountain and jungle regions where the relocated villagers were forced to work in cooperatives of 30-40 families who farmed the land in a collective manner...the Khmer Rouge attacked villages to collect people and displaced them to forests...all men between the ages of 18 and 40 were conscripted by the rebel forces once they were displaced to forests."[182]

[173] African Rights, 1999 (29 January).
[174] African Rights, 1999 (29 January).
[175] Amnesty International 1985, 70.
[176] CAVR 2013, 363.
[177] Sundar 2011 According to the author, in regroupment camps the Indian army "often conscripted men as porters" and inhabitants "did odd jobs for the army like constructing their barracks, digging bunkers and trenches, and fetching water. They were also made to build roads."
[178] Shah and Pettigrew 2017.
[179] Human Rights Watch 2008, 7.
[180] U.S. State Department 1996.
[181] Vines 1991, 92.
[182] Kubota 2011, 10-11, 16, 18.

In sum, forced relocation provides combatants with opportunities to involve more people in the war effort, while giving civilians incentives to participate.

The Symbolic Benefits of Capture

If displacement can send credible signals *to* combatants, it can also help send credible signals *about* them to domestic and international audiences. Displaced populations have long served as tools of foreign policy propaganda. Refugee and asylum policies in many states have been based on the notion that refugee outflows can be exploited to discredit adversary governments.[183] According to Adam Roberts, in World War II refugees fleeing Nazi-controlled Europe "played an important symbolic role as legitimizers of the Allied effort" and served as tangible evidence of Germany's relative unpopularity.[184] Likewise, during the Cold War citizens fleeing communist countries helped legitimize pro-Western viewpoints, as their "very presence exposed the faults of communist systems and the comparative merits of the West."[185] These refugees became an important ideological weapon of the Cold War, with their flight portrayed as political defection – even though many of them left due to poor economic conditions in their countries, not because of their political opposition to communism.[186]

Population movements in domestic conflicts can be similarly portrayed as foot-voting, used by each side to communicate their popularity or potency. As Barter argues, during civil wars "leaving can be a symbolic act, especially the flight of entire communities from armed groups which claim to represent them."[187] The same applies to civilian flight to a particular group, which can cultivate an image of sanctuary for the recipient. Since both governments and rebel groups use symbolic processes to bolster their sovereign claims,[188] they can use the appearance of the population abandoning a rival and seeking shelter in their territories as evidence of their legitimacy. Even after a conflict ends, according to Finn Stepputat, the return and resettlement of refugees and IDPs often become "public spectacles" broadcast with the intent of "showing off the strength and crafts of the state, its public support and legitimacy."[189]

These dynamics are evidenced in the portrayal of IDPs in the Nicaraguan civil war, where the government described those they relocated as "'displaced peasant families' who mobilized themselves in response to [rebel] attacks, seeking Sandinista government protection."[190] In Liberia, the rebel group Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) prevented civilians from fleeing and relocated

[183] Teitelbaum 1984, 439.
[184] Roberts 2011, 215.
[185] Roberts 2011, 215. See also Zolberg (1988).
[186] Zolberg 1988, 661-2.
[187] Barter 2012, 561.
[188] Kaufman 2001; Mampilly 2015.
[189] Stepputat 2009, 176.
[190] U.S. State Department 1987b.

IDPs into its territories to help "prove that [LURD] held the north of Lofa" in the northern region of the country.[191] Barter describes how the flight of civilians to areas controlled by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in the Philippines "reinforced rebel popularity and legitimacy."[192] In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge forcibly returned civilians who had sought refuge along the border with Thailand because Khmer leaders "needed a civilian population to support their internationally recognized claim that they were Cambodia's legitimate government."[193]

More recently in Syria and Iraq, ISIS made a concerted attempt to exploit displacement for propaganda purposes. The group posted videos online that featured civilians describing how ISIS cared for those displaced by the Syrian government, implying that it offers a more credible refuge than other armed groups.[194] Generally, ISIS leaders have pointed to migration into its territories as evidence that people recognize the Caliphate and desire to live under its rule.[195]

Theoretical Implications

While existing explanations suggest that wartime displacement is intended to demobilize or immobilize noncombatants, I posit that it can also be used to mobilize them for the war effort. The capturing component of my theory suggests that forced relocation should be associated with attempts to instrumentalize the civilian population for military purposes. This can be observed through the raising of civilian defense forces (CDFs), a "sedentary form of militia that governments often use to harness the participation of civilians during a counterinsurgency campaign."[196] The empirical examples presented above illustrate that organizing communities into CDFs has been a feature of – and even a justification for – various counterinsurgent relocation campaigns. This proposition, if true, would not only provide evidence for my theory; it would also go against punishment-related explanations. If the motive for displacing civilians is largely punitive, it is unlikely that perpetrators would arm and train the displaced.

Hypothesis 2a: *Civilian defense forces will be mobilized more frequently in conflicts where incumbents employ forced relocation.*

While *H2a* identifies a proximate correlate of capture to illuminate a potential *function* of displacement, a final hypothesis describes the *conditions* under which capture will be more valuable to the state, particularly within irregular wars. For counterinsurgents faced with limited information, there are potentially alternative

[191] Jezequel 2004, 171.
[192] Barter 2016, 63.
[193] Kamm 1998, 107-108.
[194] Islamic State 2015; The Islamic State 2015.
[195] Islamic State 2015; The Islamic State 2015.
[196] Clayton and Thomson 2016.

methods of identifying enemies and weeding out the disloyal, such as paying informants or engaging in selective interrogations. Yet implementing these tactics typically requires territorial occupation by state forces, in which they conduct cordon-and-search operations, combing every village and performing house-to-house searches to collect intelligence and identify collaborators. This is often referred to as the "clear, hold, and build" approach to counterinsurgency. Morocco adopted these methods in Western Sahara (1975–91) to clear contested territories of Polisario Front rebels, which included constructing 1,000 miles of defensive sand berms.[197] Similarly, in the separatist province of Casamance (1989–99), Senegal sent its security forces to "ratisser" (rake) each village and perform mass arrests[198] as part of a strategy that sought "to occupy the terrain, to allow for no space to maneuver."[199] In some cases, these approaches entail laying siege to village or towns, during which combatants typically try to prevent residents from leaving instead of forcing them to flee. This has been a feature of the Algerian military's "Let Them Rot" strategy during its war against the Armed Islamic Group (1992–).

Yet occupying rural, peripheral areas and conducting methodical search operations is resource-intensive. When incumbents have limited coercive capacity or find themselves overstretched due to multiple military commitments, relocating or concentrating the population offers a more expedient strategy than those that require the state to penetrate its frontiers. Just as limited force capabilities compel insurgents to, according Mary Kaldor, "aim less at the physical control of territory through military advance than at the political control of the population,"[200] a regime facing resource constraints may find dominion over people, rather than geography, to be a more viable means of combating rebel threats.[201] A lack of manpower can also provide an impetus to organize and mobilize the population to fight or work on the state's behalf, as civilian militias offer governments a less resource-intensive method of engaging insurgents.[202]

I therefore hypothesize that *within irregular wars*, incumbents tend to engage in civilian relocation not when they have a preponderance of resources, but when they do not have enough of them. While scholars have argued previously that limited capacity can lead armed groups to victimize civilians,[203] when it comes to strategies of population relocation, researchers tend to assume that these measures require extensive

[197] Paul et al. 2013, 396, Zunes and Mundy 2010

[198] Marut 1995, 163-65; Amnesty International 1998.

[199] Casamance military governor General Amadou Abdoulaye Dieng quoted in Straus (2015, 219).

[200] Kaldor 1999, 7-8.

[201] As Paul Staniland argues, there is "no reason to assume that all states at all times are willing to incur massive costs to establish their presence throughout their territories" (Staniland 2012, 244, 255). He shows that civil war incumbents often prioritize strategies to *manage* violence, such as informal bargains with rivals, because they are much less onerous than building a ubiquitous *monopoly* of violence.

[202] Carey et al. 2013.

[203] Valentino et al. 2004; Downes 2008.

assets to employ, and are thus more likely under wealthier, stronger incumbents.[204] In contrast, I contend that, though a certain level of capacity is undoubtedly needed to enact these strategies, if manpower and resource constraints limit an incumbent's ability to occupy a contested area, it will incentivize counterinsurgents to relocate the population instead. This is particularly likely when a government is fighting a parallel conflict, whether another domestic insurgency or a conflict with another state.

Hypothesis 2b: *Within irregular wars, forced relocation by state actors is more likely when incumbents are engaged in multiple conflicts.*

This suggests that while population cleansing serves as a tool of territorial occupation, population relocation acts as a strategic substitute for it. For instance, Thomas Young claims that the forced movement of civilians into "communal villages" in Mozambique reflected the fact that the state sought "to capture populations rather than hold territory."[205] Like other forms of large-scale, group-selective violence, such as genocide,[206] cleansing typically requires a significant degree of territorial control. Hence the tendency for these measures to be employed in the aftermath of conquest, as illustrated in the examples described in section 2.1. But civilian relocation is often meant to compensate for the inability of perpetrators to saturate a contested area. This may further explain why state actors are prone to these practices: because unlike non-state actors, they are responsible for managing violence throughout an entire country.

The empirical record suggests a potential link between resource shortages, forced relocation strategies, and population capture. In Malaya, Britain's method of corralling ethnic Chinese into "New Villages" included training and arming tens of thousands of them to serve as Home Guards. Britain's participation in the Korean War, along with the rise of armed independence movements in its other colonies, limited the number of troops available for Malaya[207] and forced the British "to capitalize as much as possible on all available local resources."[208] The Home Guard – which expanded from 17,000 to 99,000 resettled Chinese in the first three years of the program[209] – "removed a manpower burden from government forces"[210] and "allowed the release of thousands of armed forces and police personnel for other assignments."[211] Similarly, Portugal used *aldeamentos* to help accelerate the formation of self-defense militias in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, where simultaneous military engagements "created

[204] Kalyvas 2006, 222, Zhukov 2015, 1155.
[205] Young 1997, 144.
[206] Straus 2015, 18.
[207] Sepp 1992, 56.
[208] Komer 1972, 15.
[209] Komer 1972, 40.
[210] Markel 2006, 39.
[211] Stubbs 1989, 159.

considerable strain on Portugal's resources"[212] and "badly overextended" its forces.[213] After the aldeamentos were established, the percentage of local recruits in Portugal's colonial army grew from 36 to 54 percent in Mozambique, and from 25 to 42 percent in Angola.[214]

During the civil war in Greece, the Greek army, which according to Edgar O'Ballance was "much too small to be everywhere it was needed at once" also forcibly relocated and armed residents of mountainous villages.[215] In Peru, "severe economic limitations" limited the resources available to the state for counterinsurgency, also forcing authorities to rely on civilian defense units (*rondas*) mobilized in part through forced relocation.[216] The *rondas* proved "to be an effective instrument" in controlling the rebels, "particularly given the budgetary and logistical problems faced by the military."[217] And in Burma, army units have attempted to quell various border insurgencies while "being told by their financially strapped commanders that they must provision themselves locally."[218] As Scott explains, in order to "find the labor, cash, building material, and foodstuffs to sustain themselves in a rugged and hostile environment," soldiers have routinely relocated local villages, "essentially capturing and concentrating a substantial civilian population...which becomes their valuable pool of manpower, grain, and revenue."[219]

Some Clarifications

My argument challenges the conventional wisdom that civilian relocation requires extensive material resources and is more likely under stronger, wealthier regimes.[220] A keen reader may note, however, that previous research has claimed that resource constraints can lead armed actors to commit violence against civilians.[221] Yet these other works emphasize a fundamentally different logic: one of desperation. They posit that incumbents facing a particularly strong rebellion, or those at risk of losing a war, are most likely to engage in civilian victimization.[222] I would not expect combatants facing an existential threat to employ forced relocation, since sorting the local population is far less expedient than getting rid of it, and the potential danger

[212] According to Henriksen (1976, 398), "the three simultaneous wars were sufficient to drain the human and material resources of Portugal, to impose an increasingly financial burden on an authoritarian regime whose revenues declined for civilian programs at home."
[213] Henriksen 1976, 398.
[214] Cann 1997.
[215] O'Ballance 1966, 129.
[216] Mauceri 1997, 170.
[217] Mauceri 1997, 170.
[218] Scott 2010, 94.
[219] Scott 2010, 94.
[220] Kalyvas 2006; Zhukov 2015.
[221] See, for example, Mason and Krane 1989.
[222] Valentino et al. 2004; Downes 2008.

posed by noncombatants will likely overshadow the potential benefits they offer. Moreover, while even weak armed groups can engage in mass killing, I contend that a certain degree of capacity is still required to engage in civilian relocation. My argument therefore differs from these other explanations in important ways. Still, I do test the desperation hypothesis as part of my empirical analysis in Chapter 4.

One may also feel that my theory does not fully address one of the core puzzles described in Chapter 1: that strategic displacement in general, and forced relocation in particular, is so costly. While expelling populations from a territory may be cheaper than other military strategies,[223] relocating and sustaining communities in new locations often requires considerable resources. So why would combatants – especially those with limited capabilities or overstretched assets – be able and willing to engage in these practices?

First, it is clear that many of the features of population relocation that make it a disaster from a humanitarian standpoint are also those that make it attractive from a military one. Crowding together previously-dispersed communities, restricting their movements and access to land, stripping them of privacy and self-sufficiency, and fostering idle dependency – all of this facilitates population sorting and capture for the reasons I describe above. But it also creates conditions conducive to the spread of infectious disease, malnutrition, poverty, and social breakdown.

Second, the costs of establishing, managing, and supplying displacement camps or new settlements are often borne by external actors, not domestic ones. Perpetrators of displacement have benefitted from the assistance of Cold War superpowers, international donors, and humanitarian organizations. American aid funded forced relocations during civil wars in Greece (1944–49) and Vietnam (1960–75).[224] According to William McNeill's account of the Greek Civil War:

> "The main form of economic aid [from the U.S.] was relief for refugees who swarmed in from the countryside, seeking a more secure life in towns. By October 1947, the Greek government announced that 300,000 refugees were dependent on such relief; and at the height of the war their number swelled to 700,000, nearly one tenth of the entire population of the country. Providing even the rudiments of shelter, and the necessary minimum of food and clothing, to such a larger number of people constituted the main burden upon American economic aid...Actually many refugees left their villages and farms unwillingly, compelled to do so by the army. To clear out the population from all the hill villages that lay within reach became a fixed military policy."[225]

[223] Greenhill 2008.

[224] Nearly a quarter of Greece's budget in 1949, much of it American aid, was committed to assisting civilians deliberately relocated by the military (Sepp 1992, 40).

[225] McNeill 1957, 40.

Likewise, Meo villagers displaced by counterinsurgents in Laos in the 1960s were "entirely dependent" on air drops of rice and commodities from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, which would also provide funds for their relocation.[226] Guatemalan officials "counted heavily on foreign assistance" for their model villages program, as the U.S. Agency for International Development constructed schools, roads, and water facilitates for the settlements.[227] And the "cluster villages" used in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh were built with funds from the Asian Development Bank – and sustained through "massive" donor aid allotments.[228]

Since the creation of the U.N. Refugee Agency in 1950 (UNHCR), humanitarian agencies have taken primary responsibility for sheltering and assisting populations displaced by conflict, including refugees and IDPs.[229] The international community has substantially increased its foreign aid to displaced populations since the 1970s,[230] as overall humanitarian and development assistance grew steadily during the Cold War and expanded rapidly in the 1990s, when donors made aid to conflict-affected countries a high priority (see Appendix A).[231] This has often eased the burden of uprooting and resettling civilians. During the conflict between the government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), civilians were displaced into state-run "peace camps" where "international relief was conditionally provided to lure people from the SPLA."[232] As a result, aid operations "tended to facilitate government attempts to depopulate" contested areas.[233] Some humanitarian groups have even been accused of criminal complicity in forced displacement, as conveyed in the following dispatches from Mozambique and Ethiopia:

> "The government relied on the numerous international aid organizations operating in Mozambique to take care of the war displaced by asking them to provide between $150-200 million a year in food, medicines, clothes, blankets and sometimes temporary shelter...Thus, in effect, the international aid agencies helped the [government] to pursue its policy of forced relocation as a counterinsurgency tool...Without international aid [the relocation camps] could not be maintained."[234]

> "the [Ethiopian] government used the promise of relief distributions to encourage

[226] McClintock 1992, 142.
[227] Black 1985.
[228] Arens 1997, 1811; Chakma 2013, 143.
[229] Braithwaite et al. 2019, 6.
[230] Fearon 2008.
[231] Collier 2003.
[232] Human Rights Watch 1998.
[233] Keen and Wilson 1994, 212-13.
[234] Africa Watch 1992, 72, 116. Keen and Wilson (1994, 212-13) also argues that "international aid played a key role in expanding government military control" in Mozambique because it "made it possible for large populations to live in government-held areas; it encouraged depopulation of rebel zones; it helped establish government legitimacy by facilitating the provision of government services."

> peasants from insurgent-controlled areas to cross military lines and enter towns under its control."[235]

> "the relief aid generously provided to the Ethiopian government and the humanitarian agencies working alongside it was a boon to the government's war plans. A particularly insidious element in the government's policy of relocation was its repeated attempts to obtain finance from the international community to carry it out. These attempts were partly successful – had they been more so, doubtless villagization would have proceeded more quickly."[236]

Although there is little evidence that external aid has been a primary factor motivating the use of population displacement strategies in wartime, it has often made these measures possible. This echoes other research that shows humanitarian interventions in civil war can contribute to or exacerbate violence due to the moral hazards they produce.[237] While combatants would otherwise eschew relocating civilians due to the massive costs of sustaining new settlements, moving communities to designated encampments serves a critical purpose for aid agencies. As David Keen argues:

> "[I]nternational relief aid is dependent on the visibility of aid provision in the media and on logistical access to concentrations of people...Thus, whilst agencies may disagree with the brutality of roundups of refugees and the displacement of people in war zones, these actions nevertheless provide them with the context for their work, and they may therefore share a macabre and indirect common interest in creating camps."[238]

2.3 Alternative Explanations for Strategic Displacement

In this section I outline several alternative explanations for strategic wartime displacement and derive a separate set of testable hypotheses. I organize these explanations, which were briefly discussed in Chapter 1, into three primary categories: ethnic nationalism, denial, and punishment. These categories do not encompass all potential arguments about the causes of intentional civilian displacement in wartime. They instead represent the most prominent explanations for these strategies in the

[235] Hendrie 1994, 129.

[236] De Waal 1991, 11-12, 88. UNHCR assistance to Ethiopia skyrocketed from $100,000 in 1979 to $7.3 million in 1981. Ethiopia also benefitted from $13 billion in military assistance provided by the Soviet Union between 1977 and 1990 (Keller 1992, 615).

[237] Kuperman 2008; Wood and Sullivan 2015; Kydd and Straus 2013.

[238] Keen and Wilson 1994, 217-18.

existing literature, and each one offers distinct theoretical implications that can be tested at different levels of analysis.

Ethnic Nationalism

The notion that strategic displacement is driven by ethnic nationalism features prominently in the literature on ethnic cleansing. In his influential work on "murderous cleansing," Michael Mann argues that practices of collective expulsion are a product of "organic" or "essentialist" nationalism, rooted in the ideal of the homogenous nation-state and a desire to purge a territory of ethnic, religious, or racial out-groups.[239] As a form of demographic engineering, displacement tends to be employed when regimes become "ethnicized," and associated with a dominant socio-cultural identity, causing leaders to exclude minority groups to prevent them from weakening the nation. A canonical case is the civil war in the former Yugoslavia, where Serbian campaigns to rid territories of Croats and Bosnian Muslims have been attributed to the ethno-nationalist views of Slobodan Milosevic and other Serbian leaders.

Mann's argument is part of a much broader literature that expects displacement, along with other forms of extreme violence, in ethnic wars. These scholars suggest that either ethnic hatred[240] or security dilemmas faced by intermingled ethnic groups,[241] lead to escalations in violence that often culminate in one group forcibly expelling members of another as a survival strategy. The impulse for "demographic separation" becomes so entrenched that one author goes so far as to propose ethnic partition as the best – and in some cases, perhaps the only – solution to ethnic conflict.[242] A more nuanced argument is made by Straus, who contends that "founding narratives," or ideologies related to how leaders "make" their nations, incline some countries and governments towards large-scale mass violence.[243] These arguments generate two predictions: strategic displacement should occur primarily in ethnic wars, and it should be employed by regimes that harbor exclusionary ideologies.

Hypothesis 3a: *Strategic displacement is employed primarily in ethnic wars.*

Hypothesis 3b: *Strategic displacement is associated with exclusionary elite ideologies.*

Denial

A second category of alternative explanations for strategic displacement stems from the same theoretical starting point as the assortative logic proposed in this chapter:

[239] Mann 2005.
[240] Horowitz 2001.
[241] Posen 1993; Kaufmann 1996.
[242] Kaufmann 1998.
[243] Straus 2015. Other implications of the author's argument are also tested in the empirical chapters.

armed groups displace in response to information and identification problems. One set of arguments suggests that displacement is a form of *denial*. In this view, since counterinsurgents cannot distinguish friend from foe, they remove the entire population from an area in order to "drain the sea" of water (civilians) to suffocate the fish (rebels), pursuant to Chairman Mao's famous dictum.[244] This deprives an insurgency of its civilian resource base and reduces its fighting efficacy.[245]

Resource deprivation is commonly invoked to explain population displacement strategies in counterinsurgency wars. In Nicaragua, for example, one observer described the military's use of strategic hamlets as "designed to deprive the guerrilla columns of any logistical support they could have received from the rural population."[246] Tactics of civilian displacement in Burma have been similarly described as part of efforts "to drain the sea, in order to kill the fish."[247] During the American counterinsurgency campaign in the Philippines at the end of the 19th century, U.S. commanders "grasped that the most effective way to defeat the guerrillas was to disrupt their food supplies. The food-denial campaign led inevitably to plans to relocate the rural population."[248] The forced expulsion of Kurds in southeastern Turkey in the 1990s, at the height of the insurgency by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), was also characterized as an "attempt to drain the PKK of logistic support."[249] If this logic is the primary motivating factor behind strategic displacement, then we should observe these measures against rebel groups that are particularly dependent on the local population for logistical support, such as food, shelter, and recruits.

Hypothesis 4a: *Strategic displacement is more likely in wars where rebels are particularly embedded in, or reliant on resources provided by, the local population.*

A variation of the denial argument, proposed by Jessica Stanton, contends that the smaller and more geographically concentrated a rebel group's civilian base, the more desirable and attainable it is for governments to sever opponents' ties through displacement.[250]

Hypothesis 4b: *Strategic displacement is more likely when rebels draw support from a small, geographically concentrated civilian base.*

[244] Mao 2000.
[245] Azam and Hoeffler 2002; Zhukov 2015; Downes and Greenhill 2015.
[246] Fumerton 2001, 11.
[247] South 2007, 17.
[248] Joes 2006, 108.
[249] Frelick and Hamilton 1999, 6.
[250] Stanton 2016.

Punishment

A third argument claims that strategic displacement amounts to a method of collective *punishment*. Populations deemed disloyal are expelled or incarcerated en mass in order to inflict pain and raise the costs of their (presumed) resistance.[251] As discussed in section 2.2, *H1c* includes the proposition that a logic of punishment can explain strategies of cleansing. Moreover, for this argument to be true, *H2a* should be negative, because if the motive for displacing civilians is largely punitive, it is unlikely that perpetrators would arm and train their victims. Indeed, during the Revolt of the Camisards in France, such concerns actually discouraged royal officials from forcibly relocating peasants to towns in some parishes. According to Roy McCullough, fortifying the towns in these areas would have required arming the peasants, but authorities felt that "it would be madness to place arms in the hands of a rebellious populace."[252]

Table 2.1: Arguments and Hypotheses for Strategic Wartime Displacement

Argument	*Hypothesis*
Assortative (Sorting)	*H1a*: Irregular war → Forced relocation Conventional war → Cleansing
	H1b: Rural, peripheral insurgency → Forced relocation
	H1c: Group-level information unavailable → Forced relocation Group-level information available → Cleansing
Assortative (Capturing)	*H2a*: Civilian defense forces ↔ Forced relocation
	H2b: State fighting multiple conflicts → Forced relocation
Ethnic Nationalism	*H3a*: Ethnic war → Strategic displacement
	H3b: Exclusionary elites → Strategic displacement
Denial	*H4a*: Rebel embeddedness → Strategic displacement
	H4b: Small, concentrated rebel constituency → Strategic displacement
Punishment	*H5*: Mass killing → (More/less) Strategic displacement

[251] For a description of denial and punishment as distinct strategies of civil war, see Toft and Zhukov (2012).
[252] McCullough 2007, 218-219.

Punishment-related arguments also suggest a potential relationship between strategic displacement and lethal violence. On the one hand, displacement may be more likely in conflicts with higher levels of civilian victimization, since massacres are sometimes used to orchestrate civilian flight. On the other hand, displacement may serve as a substitute for – and therefore correlate negatively with – mass killing because it offers combatants plausible deniability: they can claim people moved on their own volition, potentially avoiding the condemnation that comes with killing civilians.[253] Thus strategic displacement should correlate either positively or negatively with state-led mass violence against civilians in civil wars.

Hypothesis 5: *Strategic displacement is correlated with state-led mass killing.*

Each of these arguments and their resulting hypotheses, which I test in subsequent chapters, are summarized in Table 2.1.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has specified a new theory of strategic wartime displacement and developed a series of testable hypotheses. I argue that while some displacement strategies aim to expel undesirable populations, others seek to identify the undesirables in the first place, and to appropriate – rather than punish or eliminate – targeted communities. This assortative logic has two components. First, displacement helps combatants distinguish potential allies from adversaries by forcing people to send costly and easily observable signals of loyalty and affiliation based on whether they leave and where they go, and by imposing legibility on obscure or unorganized populations. Second, displacement facilitates the extraction of material and symbolic resources from noncombatants. Uprooting civilians can therefore serve broader purposes than getting rid of the population or controlling it through brute force. It can provide a mechanism for inferring people's allegiances through what I call "guilt by location" while also acting as a force multiplier.

I am not claiming that civilians' movements in wartime actually reflect their political preferences. Instead, my theory focuses on how these movements are interpreted by others. Spatial profiling, like profiling based on other criteria – ethnicity, religion, race, party affiliation – will not correctly distinguish combatant from noncombatant, or loyal civilians from disloyal ones, in every case. All heuristics are prone to error, and given the existential stress and information scarcity that combatants face in war, they are bound to make mistakes. But limited intelligence, resource constraints, and time pressures often compel armed actors to rely on informational shortcuts. Displacing civilians offers a particularly alluring one because of how it can help sort the population in a quick, visible, and relatively cheap way.

[253] Steele 2011, 2017.

Since my theory presumes a concerted effort by combatants to influence the destinations of the local population – and not just trigger its departure – and because it emphasizes the benefits of physical concentration and spatial reorganization, I expect it to apply to cases of wartime relocation, but not cleansing. It may also extend to instances of depopulation, at least those that entail attempts to lure the uprooted to the perpetrator's territories. The case study of the Syrian civil war in Chapter 6 is expressly intended to examine this possibility.

Generally, the assortative logic of displacement anticipates particular strategies in particular contexts. Forced relocation will tend to be employed by incumbents fighting irregular wars, where rebels hide among civilians and as a result, the primary challenge for state forces is to identify opponents and their supporters. In contrast, cleansing will typically occur in conventional wars, where rebels confront the state more directly and each side is primarily concerned with conquering territory. I also expect relocation to be more attractive when both individual- and group-level information about wartime loyalties is unavailable. This is more likely in conflicts fought in areas "illegible" to the state: rural, peripheral territories, and where counterinsurgents lack access to other group-level identifiers that they can use to infer loyalties. Moreover, the capturing component of my theory suggests that forced relocation should be associated with the mobilization of civilian defense forces, and is more likely to be employed by incumbents that are engaged in multiple conflicts, which limits the resources available for territorial occupation.

In order to motivate different aspects of my theory – and to demonstrate the plausibility of its underlying logic and theoretical implications – I have drawn on a range of empirical examples from contemporary civil wars. I have also discussed competing arguments, which I separate into three categories: ethnic nationalism, denial, and punishment. Like my theory, some of these explanations see displacement as a strategic response to asymmetric information. But they follow different logics and suggest that displacement serves different objectives; therefore, they have separate and distinct theoretical implications. In the next chapter, I evaluate these arguments in an in-depth analysis of strategic displacement in Uganda, before testing them in a broader sample of civil wars in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3

Forced Relocation in Uganda

"The old pumpkin in the courtyard shall not be uprooted."
-Acholi proverb

Chapter 2 developed an assortative theory of strategic displacement in civil wars and provided broad comparative evidence as a plausibility test. I contend that certain displacement strategies are employed not to get rid of a local population, but rather to sort, capture, and convert it into compliant, useful assets. This chapter provides a more rigorous test of the argument by examining a specific context in-depth. To evaluate evidence for the assortative mechanism, I conduct a detailed case study of forced relocation in Uganda.

Uganda offers an ideal laboratory for examining the strategic use of displacement in wartime for two main reasons. First, this case exhibits a high degree of variation in the dependent variable. The Ugandan government, led by President Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM), has faced a series of armed rebellions since it took power in 1986. Yet it forcibly relocated civilians during wars against some rebel groups – including the Lord's Resistance Army (1988–2006), the Allied Democratic Forces (1996–2002), and the Uganda People's Army (1988–92) – but not others. This presents a puzzle: why did the state engage in forced relocation in certain areas, against certain rebels, and at certain periods? By exploiting within-case variation in the use of displacement across different conflicts by the same government, I am able to conduct a structured, controlled comparative analysis, as potential confounding factors related to the country and the regime are held constant.[1] Unlike prior studies – which have mostly explored subnational variation in strategic displacement within a single conflict – I am able to examine variation in the dependent variable *across multiple rebellions.*

Second, Uganda provides a unique setting for researching civil war dynamics and retracing the use of population displacement due to an unusual openness about this subject among government officials and citizens. Investigating these topics can be logistically difficult and politically sensitive. But the time that has elapsed since these conflicts occurred, along with the use of blanket amnesties for rebels, the mass demobilization of combatants, and the generally peaceful and open political environment all made it possible for former fighters, authorities, and civilians to recount their experiences with candor. Conducting extensive fieldwork was therefore not only feasible, but fruitful. I traversed the country to interview hundreds of perpetrators and victims of displacement, which brought me from cavernous government offices in the bustling capital, Kampala, to the dusty villages of Acholiland, to the verdant mountains straddling the Uganda's border with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Beyond explaining strategic displacement in Uganda, this chapter offers an important corrective

[1] George and Bennett (2005, 80) note that such structured comparisons are "one of the most effective comparative research designs."

to the historical record: while the Ugandan government's policy of uprooting civilians during the LRA war has been well documented, this study is to my knowledge the first to reveal in detail the use of similar methods by counterinsurgency forces during the ADF insurgency.

The chapter proceeds as follows. After providing some background on rebellions in Uganda since 1986 and an overview of displacement patterns, I summarize the data sources used in my analysis. I then employ both qualitative and quantitative data to explore the theoretical predictions of my assortative theory. Part of this entails chronicling the decision to employ displacement by Ugandan authorities and identifying the factors that shaped these decisions, using process tracing.[2] As my argument would predict, the Ugandan government employed forced relocation against insurgents that utilized guerrilla tactics, but not conventional ones; it focused on rural, peripheral areas that lacked "legibility"; and it used displacement (1) as a means of overcoming information and identification problems against both ethnic and non-ethnic insurgencies, and (2) to help organize and mobilize local populations into the war effort. The case study also briefly highlights how rebel groups may also use civilian flight and resettlement, even if heavily coerced or incentivized by its opponent, to make inferences about the allegiances of local communities. Finally, I show that alternative arguments for strategic displacement – including denial, punishment, and ethnic nationalism – cannot fully account for variation in state-induced displacement in Uganda.

3.1 Rebellions in Uganda, 1986–2006

The North: the UPDA and HSM (1986–1988)

In 1986, after Museveni's NRM overthrew the governments of Milton Obote and Tito Okello, members of the former national army, comprised largely of the Acholi tribe, began mobilizing an armed resistance in northern Uganda. These ex-soldiers created the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA) and battled the NRM until the government brokered a peace accord in 1988. A separate group, the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM), also formed in the Acholi region in 1986 and collaborated with the UPDA before waging its own insurgency. Led by Alice Lakwena, the HSM mobilized a diverse group of followers by using spiritual appeals and imposing strict discipline on its members. The HSM proved to be a formidable force, fighting its way through much of Uganda and coming within 100 kilometers of Kampala before being defeated in November 1987. According to Zachary Lomo and Lucy Hovil, the UPDA and HSM "were similar in that they tried to mobilize popular grievances in a struggle against the new government. Although the former was more about capturing political power and the latter more

[2] Collier 2011; Bennett and Checkel 2014.

about rejuvenating Acholi society, they both articulated reasons for rebellion with which most Acholi sympathized at the time."[3]

The East: the UPA (1988–1992)

Meanwhile, in the eastern region of Teso, a separate group of ex-soldiers formed the Uganda People's Army (UPA) in late 1987, which recruited primarily among the Iteso people. The UPA moved throughout the countryside, launching surprise attacks on UPDF barracks and convoys and raiding villages for food and cattle.[4] Compared to the UPDA and HSM, the UPA perpetuated more violence against the local civilian population. In 1988 and 1989, government and military authorities ordered between 120,000 and 200,000 villagers in the Kumi and Soroti districts of Teso to move to settlement camps near trading centers and towns.[5] The U.S. State Department confirmed that government policy in eastern Uganda was to "intentionally displace civilians."[6] State officials appealed for assistance from international humanitarian organizations to help feed and shelter people in the camps, which were sustained until 1991. As people were slowly allowed to return to their villages, a commission of politicians from Teso helped forge a peace agreement between the UPA and NRM in 1992, ending the rebellion.

The North: the LRA (1988–2006)

Back in Acholiland, as the UPDA reached a settlement with the government, a cousin of Alice Lakwena named Joseph Kony launched the next iteration of the northern rebellion. Kony formed the Lord's Army in 1988 – later renamed the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) – whose fighters claimed to be messengers from God sent to liberate the Acholi by overthrowing Museveni. Operating out of rural areas in the north, the LRA ambushed government targets and began using violence against local residents to root out informants and gain recruits and supplies, stealing food and other provisions and undertaking mass abductions, especially of children. As the LRA's brutality diminished its support among the population, in the fall of 1988 the Ugandan army escalated its operations against the insurgency. This included ordering villagers in the northern district of Gulu to leave their homes and relocate to makeshift camps near trading centers and army barracks.[7] The relocation order was communicated verbally and through leaflets dropped by army helicopters.[8] By the spring of 1990, media outlets reported that 200,000-300,000 civilians had been displaced, and that some

[3] Lomo and Hovil 2004, 11.
[4] Epelu-Opio 2009.
[5] Epelu-Opio 2009.
[6] U.S. State Department 1989, 1990.
[7] Amnesty International 1989.
[8] Lamwaka 2016, 206.

were dying due to inadequate food and medical care in the camps – suggesting that the displacement strategy "may be counterproductive to the government" because it was "causing more resentment."[9]

After peace talks between the NRM and LRA collapsed in 1994, the rebels retreated into Sudan, where they began receiving food and weapons caches from the Sudanese government. This support was ostensibly Khartoum's retribution for Museveni aiding the southern secessionist rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA).[10] After the rebels resumed raids in the Acholi region, in 1995 the army – newly christened the Ugandan People's Defense Forces (UPDF) – began encouraging and then forcing civilians to move from remote villages into trading centers, sub-county headquarters, and near UPDF barracks. In April 1996, officials in Gulu made a radio announcement:

> "The government of Uganda has resolved to move everybody away from places far from soldiers to nearby trading centres guarded by the army. We are doing this for your security and it must be done within 48 hours. It is a directive from the army...Failure to follow these instructions means you will be treated as a 'wrong person.'"[11]

In a speech to the Ugandan Parliament in September 1996, Museveni formally announced the establishment of internally displaced person (IDP) camps throughout the rebel-affected areas of the north, which the government called "protected villages."[12] Authorities promised water, food, healthcare, and other services in the IDP camps, and those who refused to move were often beaten or had their villages shelled.[13] The consequences of these relocations were apparent by October 1996, when local journalists reported that Gulu was "losing more lives through secondary effects of the [LRA] war than the war itself" due in part to the poor humanitarian conditions of the camps.[14] As in previous instances, the government appealed to international aid agencies for help, which provided shelter, food, and medical assistance to IDPs.

Despite the humanitarian ramifications, the UPDF sustained and eventually expanded its policy of forced displacement in northern Uganda. In 2002, the army received permission from Khartoum to cross the border into Sudan and pursue the LRA, and in October, authorities issued another displacement order, advising "all law-abiding

[9] "Uganda Forcibly Displaces 200,000 to Counter Rebels" 1990 (6 March).

[10] The SPLA and NRM signed an agreement in 1989, which committed Kampala to provide the SPLA with equipment and training (Tripp 2010, 159).

[11] Radio announcement from LC5 Chairman Col. Walter Ochora Odoch, Gulu District, Radio FM Gulu, 20 April 1996. Radio FM Archives (Gulu).

[12] Amnesty International (1999) reported that "some UPDF units were already moving people out of their homes a number of weeks before the top-level decision to create camps was communicated to [parliament]."

[13] Finnström 2008, 141.

[14] "12 Die in UPDF Protected Villages" 1996 (30 October).

citizens...in the abandoned villages of Gulu, Pader, and Kitgum districts [in Acholiland] to vacate with immediate effect" and come to the IDP camps.[15] Both international organizations and local civil society groups responded by condemning the policy and strongly criticizing the Ugandan government. Human Rights Watch, for example, issued a report stating:

> "The government remains responsible for many of the hardships and abuses endured by the displaced population. Since 1996 the government has used the army to undertake a massive forced displacement of the population in the north and imposed severe restrictions on freedom of movement. While justifying the displacements on grounds of security, the government has forcibly displaced people without a lawful basis under international law and then has failed to provide the promised security."[16]

The report then called on the United Nations to "urge the Ugandan government to act in accordance with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, particularly with respect to camp security and freedom of movement for internally displaced persons outside of displaced persons camps."[17] By 2006 – when the LRA and NRM finally agreed to a ceasefire – some 1.8 million people, or 85 percent of the Acholi population, resided in IDP camps, prompting the United Nations to call the situation "the world's most underreported humanitarian crisis."[18]

The West: the ADF (1996–2002)

In 1996, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) – an Islamist insurgency comprised of various remnants of previous Ugandan rebellions – entered western Uganda from bases in eastern Zaire (now the DRC). The rebels received military supplies and training from both the Sudanese government and Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, who perceived the ADF as a "counter-force" to joint efforts by Uganda and Rwanda to overthrow Mobutu's regime.[19] The ADF operated in the rugged Rwenzori mountains along the Uganda-DRC border, from which they launched frequent raids on police posts and local villages in the western districts of Bundibugyo, Kabarole, and Kasese. Similar to the LRA, the ADF resorted to brutal and indiscriminate attacks against civilians, including mutilations and forced abductions, generating pervasive fear and insecurity and eroding local civilian support.

Beginning in late 1996 and intensifying in 1997, the UPDF and local government officials encouraged residents of the mountains to flee their villages to IDP camps

[15] Human Rights Focus 2002, 23.
[16] Moorehead and Rone 2005.
[17] Moorehead and Rone 2005.
[18] Moorehead and Rone 2005, 4,18.
[19] Titeca and Vlassenroot 2012, 159.

in nearby trading centers and to towns down in the valley. Like in the north, these evacuations were enforced by the UPDF through coercive measures – resulting in the displacement of some 200,000 people in 84 camps – and were sustained for years despite reports that the camps lacked adequate services and supplies.[20] In 1998, the UPDF became embroiled in the conflict in the DRC, in part so it could dismantle the ADF's base of operations. After years of fighting, the UPDF eventually defeated the ADF in 2002, and civilians were allowed to return to their homes.

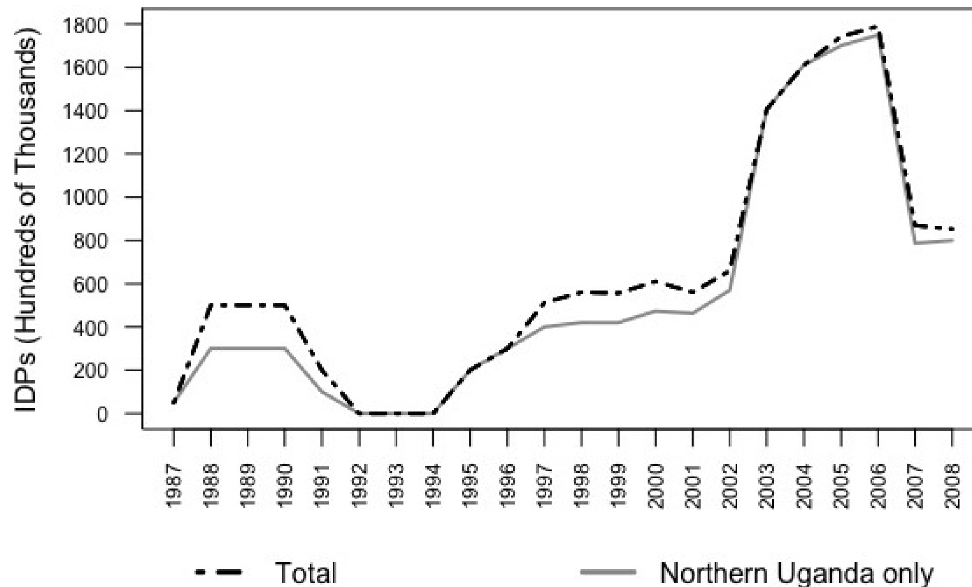
Overall Patterns of Displacement

Since the LRA rebellion lasted much longer than the UPA and ADF insurgencies – and covered a much larger territory and population – the scale of displacement in the north was far greater than in the west or the east. Figure 3.1 shows annual conflict-induced displacement trends in Uganda, according to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC). While some of the displaced crossed into the DRC or Sudan and became refugees, a vast majority of people were uprooted within the country. Not all displacement was the direct result of UPDF directives: according to a report by Amnesty International, in the north "many people have moved to camps 'spontaneously,' fleeing from the LRA. Others feel that the authorities gave them no choice about leaving...Yet others were physically forced by government soldiers."[21]

However, the spikes in the number of IDPs in Figure 3.1 correspond to the three major rounds of state-issued displacement orders in 1988, 1996-1997, and 2002. Some IDPs were able to escape the conflict zones and seek sanctuary in Kampala or other cities, but a vast majority of the displaced remained confined in the very areas affected by violence.[22] Under international law, forced displacement can be lawful where "the security of the civilians involved or imperative military reasons so demand." In such cases, all possible measures must be taken to provide civilians with satisfactory shelter, hygiene, health, safety and nutrition. This was clearly not done in Uganda. The humanitarian consequences of these measures in the north, west, and east – which, as I describe above, became apparent soon after they were enacted – deepens the puzzle of why the Ugandan government repeatedly resorted to civilian displacement to combat these rebellions.

[20] African Rights Group 2001; Titeca and Vlassenroot 2012.
[21] Amnesty International 1999.
[22] See, for example, Whyte et al. (2012, 288).

Figure 3.1: Internal Displacement in Uganda (1987–2008)



Source: Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

3.2 Methods and Data Sources

This case study relies on original data collected through six months of fieldwork throughout Uganda in 2016 and 2017, including 230 in-depth interviews, 85 focus group discussions, surveys, and archival research. In exploring the motivations and logics underlying the government's use of forced relocation, I focus on the LRA and ADF conflicts. The UPA disbanded more than a decade before the LRA and ADF, which made it difficult for me to locate individuals who could reliably recall the events in question. There is also a paucity of primary and secondary source material on the UPA rebellion, particularly compared to the detailed information available on the wars in northern and western Uganda.

Interviews

Most existing research on forced displacement in Uganda – particularly during the LRA war – is told from the perspectives of victims and observers. The perspective of perpetrators is often lacking, and motivations for relocating civilians have been assumed either from victims' testimonies or from brief public comments made by high-level officials. I therefore join other scholars who have relied on interviews with perpetrators

to identify and evaluate the logic underlying wartime violence.[23] Of course, there is a risk to this approach. People's accounts could suffer from retrospective bias, and it is possible that motivations claimed by perpetrators are simply *ex-post* rationalizations. I took several precautions to guard against these biases.

First, to identify and recruit respondents I relied on snowball sampling using multiple points of insertion. In addition to going through formal channels to access high-ranking government officials, I tapped into community networks through my research assistants, other scholars and researchers, journalists, civil society organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and the Refugee Law Project at Makerere University, where I served as an affiliate during my time in Uganda. Utilizing a mix of formal and informal channels to generate referrals helped ensure that I interviewed people with diverse backgrounds, perspectives, and experiences. Potential biases are mitigated in part by the diversity of my respondents.[24] Although they are not representative, I conducted a total of 230 interviews, which included senior state officials, military commanders, rank-and-file soldiers, members of civilian militias, human rights activists, journalists, NGO officials, and local government, tribal, and religious leaders. Many were men, though there were some women.

Second, in interviews I was never explicit about the topic of my study – only that it was about the history of the war in each region, Ugandan counterinsurgency, or military strategy. I told people that I was interested in speaking with current or former officials, soldiers, and other participants and observers about their experiences during these wars. The interviews were semi-structured. Their primary purpose was to understand how displacement fit into the state's repertoire of political and military strategies, tactics, and practices; identify the benefits and costs of uprooting civilians; and explore the circumstances on the ground leading up to the enactment of these measures. I sought to explore the perspectives that gave rise to evacuation orders and examine elite decision-making, threat perception, and the implementation process. I refrained from asking directly about state-induced displacement; usually I would ask about strategies and tactics, or how people being displaced affected fighting the war, and it was common for subjects to broach the topic. If the subject did so, I asked follow-up questions.[25]

Finally, I compared observations and accounts across interviewees to ensure consistency. I also cross-checked the responses with other sources of data collected during the conflicts in question – including news articles, human rights reports, ethnographies, government records, and oral and written local histories. Some of these sources include public records of government proceedings, such as minutes from sessions of the Ugandan Parliament, and official correspondence between government and military authorities, such as local security reports. I obtained these

[23] See Wood (2003), Weinstein (2006), Stanton (2016), Cohen (2016), and Straus (2015, 2006).

[24] See Appendix B for a list of interviewees.

[25] All interviews were conducted with just me and, where necessary, a translator, though many respondents – especially high-ranking officials – spoke fluent English.

documents, along with old newspaper articles, internal government reports, and radio transcripts, from archives in Entebbe, Kampala, Gulu, Kitgum, Lira, Kabarole, Kasese, and Bundibugyo.

Focus Groups and Surveys

While most of my in-depth interviewees were perpetrators of displacement – including both military and government officials, along with other key observers – I also sought to capture the perspectives and experiences of victims. Unfortunately, fine-grained data on displacement and detailed maps of IDP camps in Uganda are only available for the period 2003-2008. Local census data is intermittent and ultimately unreliable. Given the sensitivities of this topic and the lack of a reliable sampling frame, I therefore did not attempt to construct a representative sample of war-affected communities. Rather, I sought to maximize the diversity of the respondent pool and ensure broad geographical coverage.

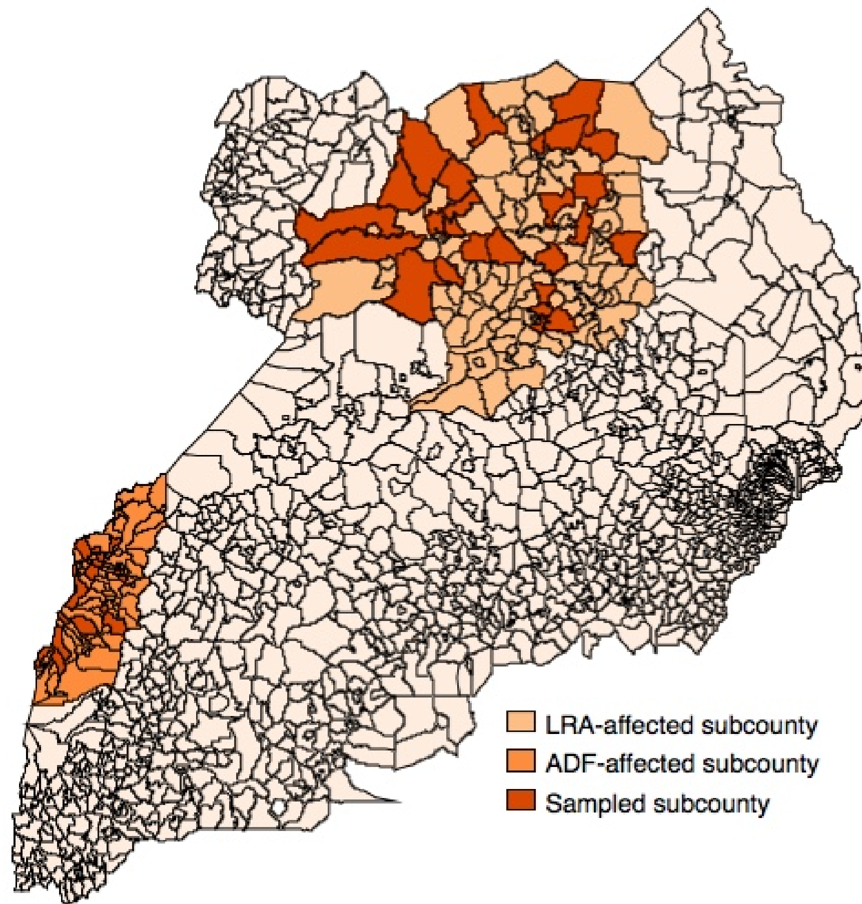
With the assistance of a local research team, I selected a total of 42 sub-counties in the 12 districts affected by insurgency in northern and western Uganda. We sought to ensure broad coverage in terms of geography, location (urban vs. rural), population size, severity of violence, and the extent of displacement. Once sub-counties were selected, we randomly selected two parishes in each sub-county. Parishes were stratified by population and distance from the sub-county headquarters. Once parishes were selected, we visited local tribal and government officials to introduce ourselves and obtain permission to conduct research, as is customary in Uganda. After receiving permission, the research team used multiple sources – local council officials, youth mobilizers, tribal leaders, and civil society groups – to identify and recruit potential participants.[26]

We conducted two, and sometimes three, interview sessions in each parish. For each session I sought to interview 8–10 people, although in practice the number ranged from 9–12, with some growing up to 15 people. Participants were diverse in terms of age, gender, background, and position in the local community. We relied on a focus group format, asking open-ended questions concerning local conditions during displacement; the local history of the war and displacement, including violence by both rebels and government forces; the strength and popularity of local rebel groups, how state-ordered displacements were carried out; and the circumstances on the ground leading up to their implementation. We then conducted a survey with each participant, using a structured questionnaire with close-ended questions, which provided an opportunity for anonymous responses and allowed us to triangulate answers to specific questions.

There are, admittedly, potential issues regarding respondents' memories. But due to the lack of reliable, detailed records of state-induced displacement, these oral

[26] We wanted to avoid having local authorities handpick our respondents.

Figure 3.2: Map of Field Research Sites in Uganda



testimonies provide an essential wellspring of information. Moreover, triangulating responses in focus groups and surveys with other primary and secondary sources on war and displacement in Uganda helped mitigate potential measurement problems and increase the validity of my inferences.[27] In total, 85 focus group discussions were held, and 1,247 respondents were surveyed across 42 sub-counties (26 in the north, and 16 in the west). Figure 3.2 depicts the locations of the field sites, and Appendix C lists the name of each sub-county. In order to protect respondents' privacy, I do not provide the names of the specific parishes where research was conducted.

Using this data, I examine a series of observable implications of my assortative theory of strategic displacement. These implications largely correspond to the hypotheses specified in the previous chapter. The first two provide necessary but not sufficient evidence for the argument, since they are also plausibly consistent with other logics that emphasize identification and information problems; hence they amount to

[27] See Stoker, "Triangulation" in Badie et al. (2011).

"hoop tests" for my claims.[28] I therefore focus the case study on the third, fourth, and fifth implications, which are more unique to my theory.

3.3 Evidence for the Assortative Logic of Displacement

Adui yuk wadi? [Where are the rebels?]

The first observable implication of my argument (*H1a*) is that relocation should be used against rebel groups that employ guerrilla tactics and create identification problems for state forces. In northern Uganda, the NRM refrained from uprooting civilians during its campaigns against the LRA's predecessors – the UPDA and HSM – even though these groups possessed more fighters and posed a greater existential threat to the regime than Kony's rebels. The UPDA, for example, "controlled extensive portions of the countryside"[29] while the LRA "failed to win victories or hold territory."[30] Yet both the UPDA and HSM largely engaged in conventional warfare, confronting the Ugandan army in direct combat while donning uniforms or religious symbols that made combatants easily identifiable.[31] For example, Lakwena's instructions for her HSM soldiers included "never taking cover against enemy fire, but marching straight toward the enemy."[32]

Breaking with its predecessors, the LRA utilized evasive methods, hiding deep in the bush or within local villages to avoid detection by state forces. According to Lawrence Cline, LRA fighters "rarely engaged in direct battles with the UPDF" and "developed proficiency in avoiding governmental forces."[33] Both the ADF and UPA relied on similar guerrilla tactics. As a result, according to interviews and focus groups, identifying insurgents became the primary challenge for Ugandan forces fighting these rebellions. In 1988, a reporter for Uganda's *New Vision* newspaper quoted a senior military official in the north lamenting that "soldiers can't identify who is and who is not [a rebel] and are therefore in a difficult situation."[34] Another official explained "we would fly over villages and see *wanainchi* [ordinary citizens]...but when we got information from the ground...we found they are the enemy."[35] As one Acholi woman noted, "it was so difficult for [the UPDF] to differentiate between the rebels and the civilians when people [were] all mixed up in the villages."[36] Similarly, a UPDF veteran

[28] Bennett and Checkel 2012.
[29] Gersony 1997, 26.
[30] Branch 2011, 75.
[31] See Behrend (2000, 56-62, 67) and Behrend (1998, 113): "the [HSM] did not fight a guerrilla war, but a more or less conventional war."
[32] Gersony 1997, 27.
[33] Cline 2013, 32, 34.
[34] Lamwaka 2016, 163.
[35] Lamwaka 2016, 216.
[36] Focus group respondent, Amuru District, Uganda, November 2016.

of the ADF war described in an interview that "the rebels had no uniforms; they would just put on civilian clothes. So differentiating between civilians and rebels was very difficult."[37] In the east, the southern-dominated Ugandan army faced a linguistic barrier while combating the UPA insurgency; one that it would eventually remedy by nationalizing its recruitment efforts in subsequent years:

> "Whenever the [NRM] troops went on patrol, they would ask people: 'Adui yuko wadi'? in Kiswahili, meaning 'Where are the rebels?' Most of the soldiers did not speak Ateso. So they would ask questions in Kiswahili, which unfortunately most villagers did not understand."[38]

Since rebels and civilians were intermixed in the villages, uprooting village residents provided a way to unmix them. This can account for why Ugandan counterinsurgents employed forced relocation against the LRA, ADF, and UPA, but not against other rebel groups, despite variation in the size, popularity, and external sponsorship of these groups (see Table 3.1). The "negative cases" of forced relocation include the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF) rebellion, which took up arms against the NRM in 1996 in northwest Uganda. According to two senior military officials who I interviewed, the use of IDP camps against the WNBF was not considered because the group relied on "more conventional tactics" and as a result, the army "knew more or less who they were."[39] It was only when the WNBF splintered and one of its factions, the Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF), adopted guerilla tactics that the military considered introducing a system of "protected villages" in the northwest region of West Nile.[40]

Moreover, in 2003, during the late stage of the LRA conflict, the rebels expanded their activities eastward to Teso. While the UPDF continued to herd civilians into IDP camps in the Acholi and neighboring Lango regions, there were few reports of state-induced displacement in the east.[41] The Teso region, however, happened to be the one area that precluded the effective use of guerrilla maneuvers by the LRA. Unlike the UPA, whose members were native sons of Teso, the mostly Acholi fighters of the LRA were outsiders who struggled to blend in with locals. As described in one study of the LRA war, "unlike in Acholiland...[counterinsurgents] did not face an identification problem in Teso. The rebels had no command of Ateso, the local language, which

[37] Interviewee 171, UPDF intelligence officer, Kasese District, April 2017.
[38] Epelu-Opio 2009, 73.
[39] Interviewee 2, male military general and deputy prime minister, November 2016; Interviewee 53, male ex-UPDF Chief of Defense Forces, October 2016. According to Refugee Law Project (2014, 122), "attacks by the WNBF were primarily aimed at the UPDF, and as such the number of victims among the general population was generally small."
[40] Awekofua, 1997 (12 August). It appears that the system was never actually implemented in West Nile, likely because the UNRF staged relatively few attacks and posed a very minor threat to both the government and the civilian population.
[41] Though many civilians did spontaneously flee rebel attacks and military battles.

Table 3.1: Insurgencies in Uganda (1986–2006)

Group	Region	Force Size	Tactics	Local Support	External Support	Forced Relocation
HSM (1986-87)	Acholi (N)	6,000-10,000	Conventional	High	Low	No
UPDA (1986-88)	Acholi (N)	5,000-15,000	Conventional	Medium	Medium	No
UPA (1988-92)	Teso (E)	1,000-2,000	Guerrilla	Medium	Medium	Yes
LRA (1988-06)	Acholi/Lango (N)	3,000-4,000	Guerrilla	Low	High	Yes
WNBF (1996-98)	West Nile (NW)	1,000-2,000	Conventional	Low	Medium	No
UNRF (1997-02)	West Nile (NW)	2,000-3,000	Guerrilla	Low	Medium	Proposed
ADF (1996-02)	Rwenzori (W)	1,500-2,000	Guerrilla	Low	High	Yes

implies that they could not intermingle with the population as they were used to in Acholiland."[42]

A second implication of the assortative argument (*H1b*) is that forced relocation should target rural, peripheral areas inhabited by remote and obscure populations. The Acholi and Teso regions covered a vast hinterland with highly dispersed villages. Likewise, the ADF operated in the "difficult forested mountain terrain" of the Rwenzoris along Uganda's border with the DRC.[43] Interviews revealed that the army's inability or unwillingness to occupy these frontiers and reach their scattered inhabitants helped motivate its civilian relocation campaigns. According to one UPDF officer, "just delivering information to people when they were scattered in villages was not easy. Roads were few. When we went places, we walked."[44] Villagers lacked radios and phones, and even if they spotted a rebel, "they had no way to communicate this to the army or government unless they come by foot."[45]

In each conflict, displacement orders were broadly applied and eventually covered all rebel-affected districts in the regions of Acholi (Gulu, Kitgum, and Pader), Lango (Lira), Teso (Kumi and Soroti) and Rwenzori (Bundibugyo, Kabarole, and Kasese).[46] The UPDF targeted the most rural villages first and told occupants to

[42] Castelein 2008, 63.
[43] "ADF Abducts 365 Inmates" 1999 (10 December).
[44] Interviewee 59, male UPDF commander, November 2016.
[45] Interviewee 57, male former senior UPDF commander, November 2016. In a public speech in 1987, Museveni also acknowledged that "it is not easy to follow bandits in a very open area like the northern region, because soldiers walk and they get tired"(Yoweri Museveni, "President's address to the nation on the 25th anniversary of Uganda independence," 9 October 1987, Centre for Basic Research Archives, Kampala).
[46] As CSOPNU (2004, 7) reported in the north, the government's forced displacements "were blanket orders with no clearly communicated attempt made to minimize scale or impact of the process."

move to trading centers, sub-county headquarters, and towns.[47] For instance, in the west, according to one local activist, "it was a military strategy to have people in the camps...all those on the mountain were ordered to leave and come down."[48] In some instances, people had already fled their homes spontaneously to seek refuge in these locations before they were designated IDP camps.

Not everyone complied with the military's directives, however. One study of displacement in the north found that some people who were ordered to relocate "opted to remain in their villages and 'play a game of hide and seek with the rebels.'"[49] Even those who fled were not necessarily willing to remain in the IDP camps. According to Adam Branch, "many displaced people preferred the relative safety and security of their homes and were leaving the 'protected villages' spontaneously, willing to stand up to the threat of government violence in their villages."[50] For the Acholi, land equates not only to livelihood, but also to history, heritage, belonging, rights, and relationships; being uprooted therefore threatened to "erode the very roots of Acholi culture."[51] In some instances, the UPDF shelled villages after the evacuation orders, and over time many residents – though not all – fled to the camps, at least temporarily.[52]

Spatial Profiling

A third observable implication – which pertains to *how* displacement can help overcome the problem of rebel identification – is that people should be treated differently based on their movements and physical locations, not just their ethnic identities and political affiliations. The LRA, UPA, and ADF shared similar tactics and aims. The LRA and UPA, however, were "sons of the soil" insurgencies that claimed to fight for specific ethnic groups (the Acholi and Iteso), while the ADF was a multi-ethnic religious rebellion. Yet in all three conflicts, after government forces ordered people to IDP camps, it was geography, not ethnicity or religion, that became the key delineator of those with potential insurgent ties.

It is important to note here that the IDP camps were located within contested territories, mere miles from evacuated villages. For example, according to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, most people in Acholiland were displaced "only a few kilometers" from their homes.[53] Forced relocation did not, therefore, simply remove people from the conflict zone. Yet people in the north "who remained in the villages

[47] For example, the 1996 radio announcement in Gulu stated that "people from Kilak County can go to Pabbo, Atiak, Amuru and Awer centers, while people of Omoro can to go to Lalogi, Bobi, Palenga, Opit and Odek trading centers" (Radio announcement from LC5 Chairman Col. Walter Ochora Odoch, Gulu District, Radio FM Gulu, 20 April 1996. Radio FM Archives (Gulu).)

[48] Interviewee 164, male human rights activist, Kasese District, February 2016.

[49] Omach 2002.

[50] Branch 2011, 93-94.

[51] Lomo and Hovil 2004, 39.

[52] Dolan 2013, 110.

[53] IDMC 2005, 163.

would be considered rebels or rebel sympathizers."[54] Similar reports followed forced relocation in Teso during the UPA war, where "those found outside the [displacement] camps were assumed to be hostile to the government and were shot dead on sight."[55] And in the west, the Refugee Law Project found that "anyone who remained [in the villages] was assumed to be a [rebel] sympathizer, and moving to the camps became proof of not being an informer or collaborator."[56] Indeed, a local government official in Kasese confirmed to me in an interview that people discovered by Ugandan forces in the evacuated mountains "were considered rebels and so would be attacked instantly."[57] In focus groups, members of targeted communities reported that the longer people took to move to the camps, the more they were treated with suspicion once they did relocate. A government minister confirmed this in an interview, telling me that "people [who] did not come until later, we were suspicious of them. Why did you stay behind for so long, if you really were a [good] person?"[58]

Therefore, in orchestrating displacement, as one former IDP explained to me, "the government wanted to know which side civilians were on."[59] According to another victim I spoke to, instead of pursuing rebels deep into the bush, the army tried "to sort out who is a rebel among the civilian population."[60] Dispatches from the ground during displacement seem to confirm this logic. Uprooted villagers in Acholiland reported to journalists "that the army had told them to choose between staying with the rebels in the villages or coming to town."[61] A local official in Kitgum District echoed this sentiment, explaining to me in an interview that people "had to make their own choice. But when everyone was in the camp and you are alone [the UPDF] would ask what you are still doing in the villages. Could you be planted [by the LRA] as an informant?"[62]

Displacement, in effect, forced people to choose sides. Whether or not individuals complied did not necessarily reflect their true political allegiances. But war had, according to one report on the north, "created an environment in which there is little neutral territory, and in which the actions of civilians are constantly misinterpreted."[63] Thus as the government enacted its relocation policies, it became increasingly clear to one civil society group that the "distinction between combatants and civilians no longer depends on whether or not you are actively engaged in armed conflict, but on your geographical location."[64] An activist from the Rwenzori region recounted the consequences to me:

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[54] Lamwaka 2016, 206.
[55] De Berry 2004, 72.
[56] Hovil 2003, 6.
[57] Interviewee 136, Male LC1 and former LDU political commissar, Kasese District, April 2017.
[58] Interviewee 1, female ex-Minister of Northern Uganda, October 2016.
[59] Focus group respondent, Ntororo District, Uganda, May 2017.
[60] Focus group respondent, Amuru District, Uganda, February 2016
[61] Lamwaka 2016, 207.
[62] Interviewee 28, female local council official, May 2017.
[63] Lomo and Hovil 2004, 50.
[64] CSOPNU 2004, 80-81.

> "As long as a community was in the vulnerable area that the ADF could access, people were ordered to move [to IDP camps]. People [who did not] would be accused of being rebels or collaborators. There were two people I knew – one an older woman – who were killed by the government because they refused to leave. Soldiers found them in their compounds, and said 'these people are associates' [of the rebels], so they were killed." [65]

In interviews, UPDF commanders and rank-and-file soldiers alike consistently emphasized that relocating the population made it easier to differentiate friend from enemy simply based on where one was. The similarities in the responses of my interviewees, which included veterans of military campaigns in both northern and western Uganda, was striking:

> "The good people were in the camps. Anyone found out of the camp was seen as a rebel or collaborator automatically."[66]

> "When we found a person outside the camp, there was no need even asking if he was a civilian because civilians were warned to stay inside camps. The only thing to do was to put that person out of action."[67]

> "Identifying who is a rebel and who is a civilian became very easy [in the camps]. But before, when people were scattered and the rebels were mixed with civilians, it was difficult to know who to shoot and who not to shoot."[68]

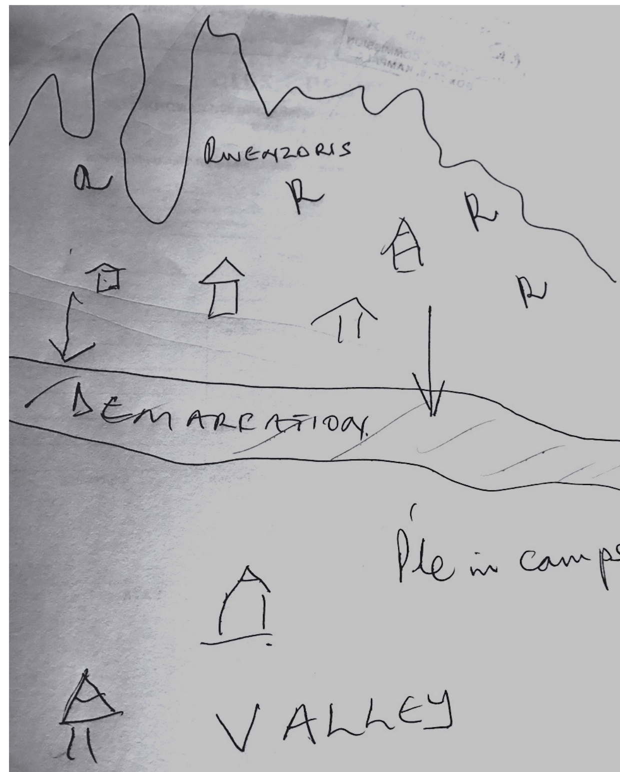
> "Some people did not want [to go to the] camp...But anybody who resisted was labeled a collaborator. This made it easier to know who was a rebel and who was not. The moment we declared it a war zone, all of you come. You had no chance if you remain. You are labeled [a rebel] immediately."[69]

A town chairman and UPDF veteran of the ADF war in Kasese District was kind enough to sketch out for me the logic underlying the government's forced relocation policy. The sketch is shown in Figure 3.3. In it, the chairman drew a demarcation line that separated the scattered homesteads of the Rwenzoris – which became territory presumably occupied only by ADF fighters and supporters – from the valley, where seemingly innocent civilians had congregated in camps. Circling the area above the demarcation line, the chairman explained that "since all people had been evacuated,

[65] Interviewee 163, Male human rights activist, Kasese District, April 2017.
[66] Interviewee 105, male UPDF veteran, May 30, 2017.
[67] Interviewee 63, male ex-auxiliary commander, November 2016.
[68] Interviewee 7, male internal security officer, April 2017.
[69] Interviewee 173, former vigilante, Kasese District, April 2017.

whoever was found there would be attacked as a rebel without question unless [he] surrenders."[70]

Figure 3.3: Sketched Logic of IDP Policy



Note: Sketch by Interviewee 172, town chairman and UPDF veteran, Kasese, Uganda, April 2017.

Civilian observers also noted that, as one man told me in Lira, "it was impossible to differentiate between who is a rebel and who is a civilian" and thus "the camps were very important [because] anybody who is now found in the bush is assumed to be a rebel."[71] Indeed, after they issued the order to relocate, the UPDF treated any activity in rural villages, unless sanctioned by authorities, as rebel activity. One former IDP camp leader in Bundibugyo told me "since civilians were ordered to go to IDP camps, if you saw smoke from a fire, you knew it was a rebel because you would not expect people to be in those areas."[72] As a result, according to a sub-county

[70] Interviewee 172, Town chairman and UPDF veteran, Kasese District, April 2017.
[71] Interviewee 44, male former UPA fighter, Lira District, April 2017.
[72] Interviewee 130, male ex-IDP camp leader, Bungibugyo District, May 2017.

official, "the army was free to shoot anyone found in the evacuated areas."[73] This was validated by a former government fighter: "whoever we saw we just shot unless that person surrendered."[74] Human rights monitors confirmed that civilians caught outside the camps were often victimized by the Ugandan military,[75] and a UPDF veteran acknowledged in an interview that "some people [outside the camps] were mistaken to be rebels and killed."[76]

Such casualties were often a direct consequence of the fact that Ugandan forces routinely drew a link between civilians' movements and support for insurgents. As one UPDF officer who fought the LRA recounted to me, "when the conflict began, civilians began cooperating with the rebels, but then later, the civilians came to our side *by coming to the IDP camps*" [emphasis added].[77] Those who failed to move were thus considered guilty by location. Civil society groups in the north reported that UPDF officers "indicated that if a civilian is seen cultivating crops outside the [camp] zone that it will automatically be assumed that they are growing food specifically for the rebels."[78] The risks associated with remaining behind provided credible grounds for suspicion, according to a government official: "in those [evacuated] areas, you are only supposed to [see] rebels or UPDF. What would you be doing there, if you really were innocent?"[79]

It is therefore clear that counterinsurgents made inferences about people's identities and loyalties based on their (im)mobility. While many civilians eventually complied with orders to move, even in the IDP camps, authorities tracked their movements, and those who disappeared without permission became suspects. Due to inadequate food in many camps, curfews were imposed allowing occupants to return and cultivate their fields during set days and times, sometimes with military escorts. According to one former commander, once people went to cultivate, "if they wanted to join the rebels, it would have been impossible to stop."[80] The curfews, then, amounted to more than just tools of control; they provided temporal markers of differentiation between rebel and civilian activity, just as the camps provided spatial ones. Thus leaving camps outside designated hours was considered risky and sent a costly signal of potential rebel affiliation:

> "People knew that moving outside the camp was a risk. Why should someone you are trying to protect sneak and move out? What makes him move out so frequently?

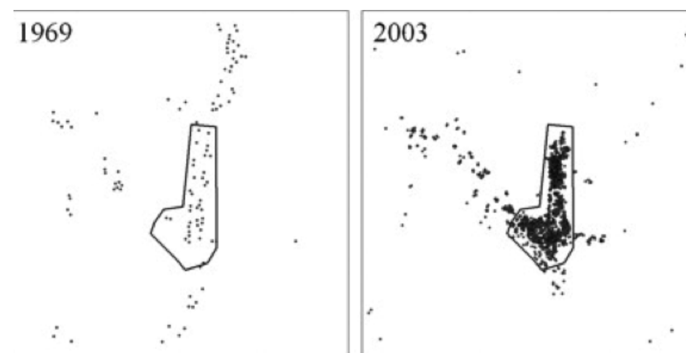
[73] Interviewee 150, male local council official, Kasese District, April 2017.
[74] Interviewee 195, male ex-homeguard, Kasese District, May 2017.
[75] Moorehead and Rone 2005.
[76] Interviewee 77, male UPDF veteran, April 2017. In an ethnography on the LRA war, Dolan (2013, 111,146) also describes multiple incidents where men and women strayed from the camps and were shot by soldiers.
[77] Interviewee 91, male UPDF officer, April 2017.
[78] CSOPNU 2004, 79.
[79] Interviewee 1, female ex-Minister of Northern Uganda, October 2016.
[80] Interviewee 57, male former senior UPDF commander, November 2016.

This was the basis for following people's movements, so we could identify exactly who they are."[81]

Mapping the Frontiers

Concentrating the population therefore enabled the government to impose "legibility" on insurgent-affected communities, as congestion and lack of privacy were critical features of the IDP camps. State authorities estimated that the average IDP camp covered just 2.5 square kilometers (one square mile) and contained 15,000 people.[82] For example, in one of the largest camps, Pabbo, "there were 42,000 people from over 120 villages, settled into eight zones of 2 square kilometers...Huts were tightly packed, often with little more than one meter between each."[83] Figure shows an image of settlement patterns in Palaro sub-county in northern Uganda based on satellite data. The change in residence locations between 1969, well before the LRA war, and 2003, around the height of the insurgency, illustrates the extent of population concentration in the area due to displacement during the conflict.

Figure 3.4: Settlement Patterns in Northern Uganda



Source: Joireman et al. 2012

In these compact settlements, occupants could monitor each other and rapidly report suspicious activities to the government, which found plenty of idle civilians to serve as operatives for its Popular Intelligence Network (PIN). As Janet Lewis has shown, since the NRM took power in 1986, it has depended heavily on a deep network

[81] Interview with UPDF 4th Division Commander, Gulu District, November 2016.
[82] Salim Saleh, *Concept: Security and Production Programme (SPP)* (Kampala: May 2003): p. 6. The author thanks Sverker Finnström for sharing these materials.
[83] Dolan 2013, 113.

of informants to suppress and combat rebellions throughout the country.[84] One parish official told me that before encampment, "the villages were so far apart so it was really difficult to bring information to the UPDF...when we gather[ed] in the IDP camps collecting information became much easier."[85] A security officer in Kitgum explained the government's approach:

> "We have informants, we recruit them. And they come to us quietly, usually in the night, and give us intelligence. This was a time [during the war] when phones were very few."[86]

In addition to the presence of PIN informants among the camp population, each settlement possessed a hierarchy of civilian leaders who were "incorporated as surveillance tools" by staffing a "myriad of committees dedicated to the collection of information."[87] As one local official described to me, "the camp leaders would monitor people's behaviors in the camps and report anyone suspicious to the army."[88] In short, encampment centralized and streamlined intelligence collection and dissemination. Camp leaders also registered all camp inhabitants, many of whom had previously resided in areas largely outside the reach of the state.[89] Interviews confirmed that registration lists were used to plan food distributions but also to identify suspected rebels and collaborators. IDPs were often given cards or letters that identified them as residents of the camps – documents of belonging many lacked when they lived in their villages (see Figure 3.5 for an example). Camp leaders would also conduct regular roll calls of residents to identify the missing, another tool for detecting guilt on the basis of location:

> "There were no secrets in this world [in the camp]. You cannot do something today without it being known tomorrow. When everybody is together and registered, if someone disappears for four days, people will know. If someone sneaked into the camp, it would be easy to identify him. Everyone would see there is this strange person there."[90]

> "IDP camps had one advantage: people were concentrated together, they talked, they had no privacy. So you could easily know, who moves out of the camp at night? Who comes back late?"[91]

[84] Lewis 2014.
[85] Interviewee 30, male LC 1, Amuru District, May 2017.
[86] Interviewee 5, Internal Security Officer, Kitgum Municipality, April 2017.
[87] Branch 2011, 102.
[88] Interviewee 19, female LCI, Lira District, April 2017.
[89] Finnström (2008) also notes that people in IDP camps were registered and observed in various ways by the government, army, and aid agencies.
[90] Interviewee 5, male government security officer, April 2017.
[91] Interviewee 3, male ex-UPDF Chief of Military Intelligence, November 2016.

Figure 3.5: IDP Camp Identification Letter

OFFICE OF THE CAMP LEADER

20th/06/2004.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: ....

This is to certify that the above named person is an IDP who is now in the above addressed Camp.

He has been displaced from:
The Sub County: ....BARR..........................
Parish: ...
Village:.......................

I therefore humbly request any Governmental, Non Governmental Organisation Individual to render to him/her any necessary assistant that is due to him.

Your co-operation towards our office will highly be appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

CAMP LEADER

Note: Obtained by author in Gulu District.

That these arrangements were motivated by a desire to enhance the legibility of the local population was further evidenced in efforts by the government to make displacement permanent. In 1999 and 2003, Salim Saleh, Museveni's half-brother and the former head of UPDF operations in Gulu, oversaw the development of proposals to transform the IDP camps in northern Uganda into militarized farms called Security and Production Units (SPUs). Each SPU would contain 2,500 households guarded by 736 civil defense personnel, and cover 800,000 IDPs in the north.[92] By formalizing the displacement camps, the stated benefits of the SPUs included increased food production, better planning and provision of social services, and making it "easy to detect strangers and suspicious elements in the settlement."[93] In 2005, the World Bank considered a similar government proposal to develop some of the larger IDP camps in Acholiland into urban centers.[94] As with Saleh's plan, local community leaders dismissed the proposal and accused authorities of scheming to seize depopulated land.

[92] Saleh, *SPP* (2003): p. 10.
[93] Saleh, 2003, p. 4.
[94] Whyte et al. 2012.

Yet even after the LRA was pushed out of Uganda, many IDPs remained in or near displacement camps due to the services and business opportunities they provided, and some camps became small towns.[95] Likewise, in the west, as one former camp leader explained:

> "Most of the trading centers you see in Bundibugyo today, they are results of IDP camps. Because some of the people had to put up different shops in camps, and they started constructing, so they could be able to work and make money. And so some of those people stayed, and those areas where there were camps are now booming as towns."[96]

These consequences may not have been fully intended by Ugandan authorities. But they reflect the broader state-building logic underlying the government's forced relocation policies. Indeed, as scholars have observed in other conflicts,[97] population displacement in Uganda was more than an expedient counterinsurgency tactic; it served as an instrument for transforming restive territories and populations into better ordered and more easily exploitable spaces.[98]

Flight, then Fight

A fourth implication of my assortative theory is that displacement should facilitate the extraction of recruits and labor from the local population. In Uganda, the state's relocation policies were inextricably linked to its broader efforts to instrumentalize civilians for the war effort. According to one UPDF general, a core aspect of the NRM's approach to combating insecurity has been "to organize the local population for defense."[99] This doctrine stems from the NRM's origins as a rebel army that embraced a Maoist strategy of "total people's war" and depended on the active participation of civilians to successfully topple the regime of Milton Obote.[100] After taking power, the NRM continued to promote the idea of people's war and emphasize, in the words of one Ugandan legislator, "the fact that the civilian population has got a

[95] Whyte et al. (2012). In a study of resettlement patterns in the north, Joireman et al. (2012) found that people were living closer together than they had previously, and observed "the establishment of homes closer to major roads" in areas most affected by violence and displacement.

[96] Interviewee 130, Male, IDP camp leader, Bundibugyo District, May 2017.

[97] Scott 1998; Ahram 2015; Van Etten et al. 2008; Peluso and Vandergeest 2011.

[98] In other words, displacement coupled security imperatives with development ones. This is suggested in Caroline Lamwaka's reporting on the LRA war, when she recounts flying over Acholiland with Salim Saleh early in the conflict: "From high above the landscape and vegetation, we could see that large portions of these areas were devoid of population or any kind of settlement activities...Now and then, we could see some homesteads, but there were no people...'What do you think of this unpopulated place?' Saleh asked. 'Couldn't it be utilized for growing cash crops and ranching to improve our economy, being such a fertile area?' We agreed that it could" (Lamwaka 2016, 162).

[99] Interviewee 52, male UPDF General, October 2016.

[100] Bell 2016.

role to play in ending insurgency in this country."[101] As a former UPDF commander told me, "our focus was to equip the people to liberate themselves...because when he [Museveni] was an insurgent, he used that [method] of using civilians...so you should make people own their war and fight."[102] Civilians were therefore seen not as innocent bystanders or mere constituents needed to be won over, but as tactical assets that could be actively utilized to wage counterinsurgency.

As a result, in 1988 the government began recruiting, training, and equipping Local Defense Units (LDUs) to secure rural areas and fend off rebel threats throughout the country. According to journalist Caroline Lamwaka, "it was not unusual for the [NRM] to entrust local security entirely to LDU forces."[103] But mobilizing these units could prove difficult since tribal and religious leaders resisted the militarization of their communities, due to concerns that LDUs were not properly equipped and could use their weapons to commit robbery and other crimes.[104] Village life also complicated recruitment and oversight. As one former LDU commander explained, "when people were in their villages, young people would run and hide in the bush because they were busy with work or afraid to join the military."[105] After the LRA escalated attacks in northern Uganda in 1995, the army attempted to dispatch LDUs only to discover that many had deserted and returned to their villages, which commanders had deliberately not reported so they could steal their salaries.[106] Yet countering the evasive guerrilla tactics employed by groups like the LRA and the ADF required considerable manpower. According to members of the Ugandan parliament, the army needed "a labor intensive strategy rather than a capital intensive strategy. You will not need tanks, rocket launchers, or helicopters to pursue five or ten [rebels]...All we need is popular vigilance."[107] But as Saleh wrote in his proposal to make displacement permanent, ensuring "collective civil defense...becomes faster because of quicker mobilization of the population" when people are "living in one community. Defending organized settlements is also easy because it is simple to apportion responsibility of securing specific areas by specific people."[108]

Thus forming the IDP camps helped the UPDF replenish and augment its forces by aiding the recruitment of LDUs and volunteer fighters known as Homeguards and

[101] Hansard [Uganda] 23 September 2003 (M. Amuriat), "Security Situation in the Country": 7688.

[102] Interviewee 179, male UPDF platoon commander, May 2017.

[103] Lamwaka 2016, 123.

[104] Interviewee 42, male Acholi religious leader, March 2017.

[105] Interviewee 66, ex-LDU Commander, November 2016.

[106] This was part of a much larger "ghost soldier" corruption scandal that plagued the UPDF in the 1990s and early 2000s. For example, the government's inspector general estimated that from 1996-1997, hundreds of thousands of dollars was stolen from the military's anti-LRA operational budget each month. See Espeland and Petersen (2010).

[107] Hansard [Uganda] 5th Sept 2000: 10559.

[108] Saleh, 2003, p. 4. He also wrote that the SPUs were aimed at "reducing the workload of the UPDF" by "beefing up local defense using community youth volunteers who are recruited and trained specifically to secure the production areas in which they live" (Saleh, 2003, p. 1.)

Vigilantes. For example, local leaders in Labuje IDP camp, Gulu District, reported to an NGO "that the UPDF is training and arming members of the IDP camp...in order to create a local militia to improve security."[109] In a separate meeting with district authorities, an IDP camp leader from Opit demanded "to know why [recruitment into the army] is still going on in the camps."[110] These were not isolated incidents. While official figures are not available, human rights reports suggest that recruitment of auxiliary forces in IDP camps was pervasive.[111] In my survey of LRA- and ADF-affected communities, 55 percent of respondents reported that they or someone in their household were recruited in the IDP camps (see Table 3.2). Moreover, 71 percent of respondents reported that recruitment of LDUs, Homeguards, and Vigilantes "increased" or became more prevalent after their communities were forcibly relocated, 19 percent reported that recruitment "decreased" or became less prevalent, while 10 percent reported that recruitment levels stayed the same as when people still lived in their villages.

Table 3.2: Survey Responses of Members of War-Affected Communities

Were you or anyone from your household recruited into LDUs, vigilantes, or homeguards while you were in IDP camps?

	Yes	No	Total
Northern Respondents	434 (60%)	292 (40%)	726 (58%)
Western Respondents	255 (49%)	266 (51%)	521 (42%)
Total Respondents	689 (55%)	558 (45%)	1,247 (100%)

After people moved into IDP camps, did you perceive that recruitment into LDUs increased, decreased, or stayed the same, compared to in the villages?

	Increased	Decreased	The Same	Total
Northern Respondents	485 (67%)	148 (20%)	93 (13%)	726 (58%)
Western Respondents	423 (81%)	69 (13%)	29 (6%)	521 (42%)
Total Respondents	908 (73%)	217 (17%)	122 (10%)	1,247 (100%)

Registering camp residents allowed authorities to identify potential recruits.

[109] Emry, 2004 (July), 13. An army commander reportedly told residents that "there [is a] need to mobilize the youth to join the militia."

[110] Stephen Ogik, Camp Leader, Opit IDP Camp, Kacoke Madit 2000, "Meeting the Challenges of Building Sustainable Peace in Northern Uganda," 24 November 2000, Nairobi, Kenya.)

[111] Moorehead and Rone 2005; Muggah 2006.

According to one UPDF officer, "we knew the number of people staying in each camp, so if we want to look for people to help us fight, we had information about how many able-bodied men, and their ages."[112] Camp authorities would provide introduction letters for potential recruits to avoid including rebels or collaborators in the militias.[113] In interviews, military officials and other observers consistently emphasized how displacement helped the government "mobilize" the population:[114]

> "Before IDP camps people had a lot of work [in the fields] that fully engaged them and met their daily needs. But in the camp such work was not there, so joining the LDUs or home guards was the only alternative."[115]
>
> "It was considered an advantage to be recruited. When people were living in their villages, the army had to force people to mobilize by threatening them. But once they came to the camps, LDUs started attaining some form of power over the people they guarded, so people started to see it as a privilege."[116]
>
> "The LDUs in the villages were unreliable. But the LDUs in camps were more reliable, because they were more dependent on the government, and we had constant interaction with them. So it was much easier to recruit and mobilize people in the camps."[117]
>
> "Congregating people into camps meant their agency was diminished. You have nothing to do. You have nothing to sell. You are living a redundant life. So if we [UPDF] are looking for homeguards, you should volunteer so you have a weapon, training, and a salary."[118]

Former militia members acknowledged that the conditions that characterized the IDP camps – "dependency, idleness, and debilitating uncertainty" – encouraged people to enlist.[119] One ex-LDU told me that "many were inspired [to join] by the

[112] Interviewee 55, male UPDF public relations officer, October 2016.
[113] Interviewee 14, former IDP Camp leader, Lira District, April 2017.
[114] Government ministers echoed this sentiment, with one declaring to parliament in 2004 that "the people are easy to mobilize, they are already available in the camps" (Hansard [Uganda] 6 July 2004: 9873).
[115] Interviewee 59, male UPDF commander, November 10, 2016. Another UPDF officer reported that "recruiting LDUs was not easy [outside the camps]. Why? Because our settlement pattern in the northern region is scattered everywhere. And it would have given us a very difficult time in mobilizing them. Because even delivering information to the population when they were still scattered in the village was not very easy" (Interviewee 58, male UPDF intelligence officer, November 2016.)
[116] Interviewee 163, male human rights activist, April 2017.
[117] Interviewee 90, male UPDF public relations officer, 5th Division, April 2017.
[118] Interviewee 48, UPDF colonel, November 2016.
[119] Weeks 2002, 4. In his ethnography on the war in northern Uganda, Sverker Finnström described the appeal of joining the militias, particularly for young people: "Instead of a life of uncertainty and idleness in displacement camps, where primary schooling is in adequate if it functions at all, recruits

suffering within the camps: little food, no work, the rebels would come and attack. So of course we decided to defend our families."[120] Another man remarked: "there was no digging [for crops], and as a man it was common to just sit redundantly so most men started to join [the LDUs]."[121] Yet another recruit cited the same motivations, and observed that recruitment was also made easier because "the government was able to find everyone in one place."[122] According to a local journalist who reported on the LRA war, when people were displaced, "they had the anger, the purpose, for joining...And they had to make sure that these people were defeated. And that is why they volunteered to participate in the war."[123] In his ethnographic research, Dolan found a similar link "between individuals' frustrated aspirations and decisions to join armed groups."[124] This reportedly included children as young as ten years old.[125] The displaced were eager to return to their villages, and as one tribal leader explained, "the message from the government was if they don't volunteer to help fight the rebels, they would not be able to go back home."[126]

These auxiliary forces helped protect displaced communities, deployed with the UPDF on patrol, and even supplemented its forces in the DRC and other places where Uganda was engaged in active military operations.[127] The army increasingly relied on what it called "integrated security," with units comprised of a combination of enlisted soldiers, LDUs, and other volunteers. IDPs unable or unwilling to fight were often made to serve as scouts, porters, or to cut brush around camps to help the UPDF spot rebel incursions.[128] In the west, as the UPDF established temporary detaches in the Rwenzoris to combat the ADF, IDPs became a key link in the military's supply chain, ferrying food and ammunition from the valley up the mountain. In my survey of formerly displaced communities, 72 percent of respondents reported being subjected to forced labor at least once while living in the IDP camps; 61 percent reported it happening more than once (Table 3.3).

into local defense groups are offered a uniform, a weapon, and a small salary" (Finnström 2008, 91).

[120] Interviewee 111, male ex-LDU, Lira District, April 2017.

[121] Focus group respondent, Kitgum District, Uganda, April 2017.

[122] Interviewee 143, male LC1 and ex-homeguard, Kasese District, May 2017.

[123] Interviewee 45, male journalist, April 2017.

[124] Dolan 2013, 210-11.

[125] According to a report from the Ugandan parliament, "the appalling situation in the IDP camps contribute to conditional recruitment of children in the Army because it is seen to be the most and only viable source of employment" (Hansard [Uganda] 19 April 2007, "Report on Children in Northern Uganda": 2220).

[126] Interviewee 132, male tribal leader, May 2017. Another former IDP described volunteering for LDUs as "a commitment by civilians to...show that they wanted to be back in their villages" (Focus group respondent, Bundibugyo District, May 2017).

[127] UPDF commanders would, according to multiple interviewees and reports, informally deploy auxiliary force members to Congo and Sudan.

[128] In the north, as one woman explained, "when soldiers saw that grasses were growing tall and could be used to hide the rebels, they forced us to cut the grass near camps and near roads" (Focus group participant, Amuru District, Uganda, February 2016).

Table 3.3: Survey Responses of Members of War-Affected Communities

Were you subjected to forced labor, other than serving in an LDU or militia, while living in the IDP camps?

	Yes, More Than Once	Yes, Once	No	Total
Northern Respondents	532 (73%)	71 (10%)	122 (17%)	725 (58%)
Western Respondents	201 (39%)	73 (14%)	247 (47%)	521 (42%)
Total Respondents	733 (59%)	144 (12%)	369 (29%)	1,246 (100%)

Robert Muggah estimates that by 2004, in northern Uganda alone, LDUs and other auxiliaries increased UPDF force strength by nearly two-thirds.[129] The auxiliaries were critical because they spoke the local languages and were intimately familiar with the local terrain. Virtually everyone I interviewed emphasized the crucial role this mass mobilization played in helping the UPDF defeat the LRA and ADF. A district official in Kasese, for example, concluded that "the population is the biggest weapon the government used to fight the ADF."[130] But according to one official, this mass mobilization may not have occurred to the extent it did without displacement:

> "It was only really after we removed people from the mountains that they decided to fight for us. *I don't know if they would have volunteered if they hadn't been forced to leave their homes* [emphasis added]."[131]

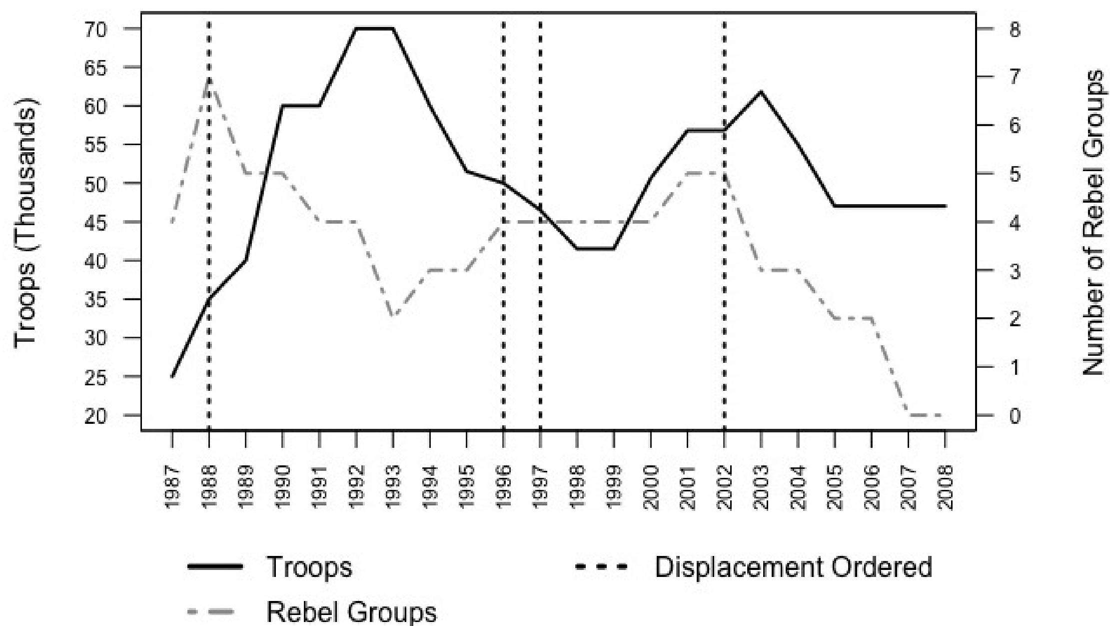
A Force Multiplier

A fifth and final implication of the assortative logic is that relocation is likely to be employed when resource constraints limit an incumbent's ability to occupy contested areas. This may help explain the *timing* of the army's displacement orders in Uganda. As Figure 4.2 illustrates, the UPDF tended to relocate villagers when it was overstretched because of donor-mandated budget cuts and force commitments to multiple battlefronts, including domestic insurgencies and cross-border operations in Congo, Sudan, and Rwanda. In 1988, when communities in Acholi and Teso were first ordered to relocate, Museveni's fledging regime faced some ten armed rebellions throughout the country. The UPDF was still transitioning from a guerrilla army into a national, professionalized military. Uganda's police force – which the NRM found to be "demoralized, corrupt, and inefficient" when it took power – had been reduced from

[129] Muggah 2006, 99.
[130] Interviewee 128, District Administrative Secretary, Kasese District, April 2017.
[131] Interviewee 103, male local council official, April 2017.

10,000 officers to a mere 3,000 by 1988, creating a "serious shortage of manpower."[132] This shortage was particularly acute in the north, where the war against the LRA, as reported by Lamwaka, "had become difficult because [the government] was fighting many fronts, against multiple guerrilla factions."[133]

Figure 3.6: UPDF Personnel and Rebel Groups (1987–2008)



Source: Singer et al. (1972).

Yet by 1991, the Ugandan security forces had ballooned to approximately 100,000 soldiers, plus 15,000 to 20,000 police, while several rebellions (including the UPA) had either been defeated or entered peace negotiations with the government.[134] Intent on fully eradicating the LRA, in March of that year the military launched a massive assault on Acholiland called Operation North. Equipped with sufficient manpower, and with fewer insurgent threats diverting its resources, the army did not attempt to herd civilians into camps. Instead, it implemented a cordon-and-search policy, spreading soldiers throughout the countryside to occupy rural areas and conduct screening exercises. According to data on one-sided violence collected by the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), large-scale massacres of civilians by Ugandan forces

[132] Uganda 2000, 186.
[133] Lamwaka 2016, 120.
[134] Uganda 2000, 238.

occurred only around this period.[135] Villages were searched and potential rebel suspects rounded up, interrogated, and imprisoned as part of a practice called *panda gari*, or "get on the lorry" in Swahili.[136] *Panda gari* seems to have served as an alternative method of combing the population for rebels and collaborators. Sverker Finnström describes how the practice worked:

> "The military arrived early in the morning, and everyone in the neighborhood, including priests, children, and women, was arrested and taken to a large field just outside town. All morning I saw army patrols arriving with groups of people, the great majority young men, who had been arrested in the nearby villages. About five thousand people were netted."[137]

As the UPDF used forced relocation in rural areas to identify potential foes, in towns such as Gulu, Kitgum, and Lira, where residents were not uprooted, *panda gari* continued to be used as a screening tool. Indeed, it is telling that, according to interviews and focus groups, *panda gari* rarely occurred in IDP camps. This suggests that the practice acted as a substitute strategy for forced relocation. As one human rights activist in Gulu told me, "*panda gari* was common before displacement, when [the army] would come into the villages and towns and bring everyone to the stadium, and one by one they would screen them...but people in the IDP camps were not affected by these operations."[138]

Therefore, in northern Uganda in the early 1990s, the military was able and willing to employ tactics of territorial occupation. But by 1996 it reverted back to a policy of forced displacement. This second phase of relocating civilians occurred as a pair of new rebellions (the ADF and WNBF) joined the LRA in challenging Museveni's regime, just as the government finished demobilizing 36,000 troops per the austerity requirements of development loans provided by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.[139] Around the same time, Uganda became involved in the civil war in the DRC, which resulted in a "massive diversion of military resources and troops."[140] By the government's own admission, between 1997 and 2003 the Congo conflict took away 18 battalions from northern and western Uganda.[141] According to one former member of parliament, the military "was investing more in its regional adventures...[but] we didn't have the resources to run so many wars at the same time."[142] All of this hindered

[135] Allansson et al. 2017. One-sided violence is the use of armed force against civilians that results in at least 25 deaths. UCDP recorded 80 fatalities by Ugandan forces in 1990 and 59 fatalities in 1991. No incidents of one-sided violence by the government were reported in subsequent years of these conflicts.
[136] Branch 2011, 72.
[137] Finnstrøm 2009, 135.
[138] Interviewee 36, Male human rights activist, March 2016.
[139] Uganda Veterans Assistance Board, 31 December 1999, 1.
[140] Branch 2011, 78.
[141] Saleh, 2003, p. 2.
[142] Interviewee 8, former MP (Gulu) April 2017.

the counterinsurgency capabilities of the UPDF. According to one parliamentary report from 1997:

> "It was [once] possible to strategically deploy and sustain zonal forces in virtually all the sub-counties of the insurgency areas to curb and contain rebel movements and operations...However, the demobilization or reduction in force policy which government implemented greatly reduced the number of troops. The policy, though well-intended, was carried out at the wrong time...the reduction in force therefore caused the army to have fewer forces patrolling the vast expanse of northern Uganda."[143]

Even politicians from northern Uganda, who were deeply critical of Museveni's handling of the LRA war, acknowledged that the government was overstretched. As one former member of parliament remarked in an interview, at the time "over one-third of Uganda was in a state of war" and "there was no way the military could protect all the villages."[144] Another former lawmaker told me the UPDF "had to deal with the north, had to deal with WBNF, had to deal with UNRF II, had to deal with ADF, and at the same time protect the borders...It was draining the resources of the government."[145] Occupying the vast expanses of Acholiland or the mountainous terrain of the Rwenzori region to root out rebels was seemingly impractical and even counterproductive. The government confronted a similar problem in 2002, when it issued its third blanket displacement order. After having replenished the UPDF with more troops (see Figure 4.2), in the early 2000s the NRM faced further demands from donors to downsize the army. The demands came soon after the government diverted part of the UPDF to eastern Uganda to help disarm 20,000 Karamojong cattle rustlers.

These imposed force reductions – and the need to combat several insurgencies simultaneously – created significant manpower problems that the military could not fully address through formal recruitment. Not only did the government require a less resource-intensive method for identifying and eliminating rebels; it also needed to find an effective way to fill the army's "acute deployment gaps."[146] The solution lay within the local population. During a parliamentary session in June 1997, legislators called "on every leadership in this country...[to] mobilize the population on matters of security so that we do not spend a lot of money on managing the security of the state."[147] According to former UPDF Chief Gen. Edward Wamula:

> "The fact that we were facing multiple rebellions at the same time really affected our manpower and strained our resources...We were forced to reduce our force to half,

[143] Uganda 1997, 24.
[144] Interviewee 10, male ex-MP (Lira), April 2017.
[145] Interviewee 11, ex-UPDF commander and MP (Teso), April 2017.
[146] Lomo and Hovil 2004, 53.
[147] Hansard [Uganda] 4 June 1997 (Okumu Ringa): 1816.

> and then we were engaged in multiple operations. So what we found logical at that time was to create auxiliary forces to fit into our restricted budget, which provided a way to increase our force level without going back to the IMF and World Bank and ask to increase the budget."[148]

As I explained earlier in this section, the IDP camps were instrumental in facilitating the mobilization of the population in contested areas. One commanding officer told me that while the UPDF "had to recruit all able-bodied people to come and contribute [to the war effort]," this "mostly happened after people were in IDP camps."[149] By operating in small, mobile groups, both the LRA and ADF sought to overextend the army. But according to one intelligence officer, military leaders were cognizant that "if you try to be everywhere, you end up being nowhere."[150] Relocating the population therefore offered the UPDF a cost-effective method of detecting its enemies and bolstering its fighting capabilities. Commenting on the LRA conflict, a northern politician observed that "it seems the government thought that this strategy [of creating IDP camps] was an economical way to fight the war."[151] Museveni himself seemed to acknowledge as much in his 2006 State of the Nation address:

> "We advised people: 'Please, instead of dying, go to the trading centers which were turned into IDP [camps] so that you save your lives.' When Amin was killing people here, my wife and I fled to Tanzania. Fleeing is common sense if there is a killer...Somebody wants to kill you - what do you do? Your friend will say: 'Please, run away.' That is what we told people...Of course the Army could not be everywhere! That is why we said: 'Since we cannot be everywhere ...you go to where we can protect you...Some people were opposing that; it was the same as telling me that I should not run to Tanzania, I should stay here and be killed...But I was not stagnant, I was moving!"[152]

The recruitment of auxiliary fighters that forced civilian relocation helped facilitate proved to be a boon to Uganda's security forces even after the LRA and ADF were expelled from the country. Interviews and focus groups revealed that thousands of LDUs, Homeguards, and Vigilantes joined the military after these wars concluded. Some were even reportedly deployed as part of UPDF assistance to an African Union peacekeeping mission in Somalia. Others entered the Ugandan police force or became informal "crime preventers" tasked with helping maintain law and order in their communities.[153] Moreover, the government registered all demobilized recruits and

[148] Interviewee 4, ex-UPDF Chief of Defense Forces, October 2016.
[149] Interviewee 99, UPDF commanding officer, May 2017.
[150] Interviewee 94, male UPDF intelligence officer, April 2017.
[151] Interviewee 8, male ex-MP (Gulu), April 2017.
[152] Yoweri Museveni, "State of the Nation Address", Kampala: Parliament of Uganda (8 June 2006): 17-18.
[153] See Tapscott (2016).

told them that, in the event that rebels return or a new threat emerges, they could be called up again to serve as a reserve force for the army. Though records are classified, both military officers and civilians made it clear in interviews that many informants recruited in the displacement camps continued to operate as intelligence assets even after they returned to their villages. As one former vigilante told me, "we were told to keep ready because if anything happened we could be called for further support."[154] Another explained that "even up to now, those of us who demobilized, we still are ready to serve as a reserve force and in case of any emergency we can be called to provide backup [for the Ugandan army]."[155]

3.4 Alternative Explanations

Denial

The LRA and ADF – and to a lesser extent, the UPA – scoured rural villages for foodstuffs and abducted civilians to fill their ranks. Kony's rebels became particularly infamous for kidnapping children in northern Uganda. One 2004 report estimated that up to 90 percent of the LRA's 3,000 fighters were abducted civilians.[156] Therefore, a desire to deprive these insurgencies access to the local population undoubtedly contributed to the government's decision to employ forced relocation: as one military spokesman publically declared during the ADF rebellion, "the camps are a military strategy...designed to deny the rebels manpower and other resources."[157] But the denial logic is insufficient to fully explain these measures for at least four reasons.

First, the LRA and ADF had access to operational bases in Sudan and Congo, and both groups received most of their resources from external, as opposed to local, sources. This was well known by the Ugandan government. Even before the UPDF ordered displacement in the north, the government broke off diplomatic relations with Sudan because, as one senior military commander told a local newspaper, "we have clear evidence that [the LRA] is kept, fed, and armed by Sudan."[158] In fact, the UPDF did not implement its displacement policy until *after* the LRA began receiving assistance from Sudan – where the group maintained "strong supply lines" and received "sophisticated weapons and landmines" from Khartoum.[159] According to Cline, this external support was a "key factor" in the LRA's survival.[160] Sudan played such a pivotal

[154] Interviewee 203, Former LDU, Kabarole District, May 2017.
[155] Interviewee 183, ex-vigilante, Bundibugyo District, May 2017.
[156] Lomo and Hovil 2004, 22.
[157] Quoted in Hovil 2003, 36.
[158] "Museveni could reap from 'political manure' in Acholi" 1995 (17 December).
[159] Omach 2002, 10.
[160] Cline 2013, 142.

role, in fact, that Gen. James Kazini, a top UPDF official, remarked in a 1997 media interview that "the real enemy is Sudan, not the rebels."[161]

Second, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the UPDF did not relocate communities in the north during its operations against the LRA's predecessors, the UPDA and HSM – groups that lacked external support and were arguably *more reliant* on civilians for resources. For example, according to Heike Behrend, although the HSM "did not conduct a classic guerrilla war" it was substantially dependent upon support from the population.[162] So too was the UPDA, for whom "most recruits joined voluntarily, and civilians shared food, livestock, intelligence and other support with these forces."[163] One could point to the fact that both the LRA and ADF engaged in forced recruitment as evidence in support of denial arguments. Yet this would not explain the army's use of relocation against the UPA – whose recruits joined "of their own volition and motivation" rather than being forcibly conscripted.[164]

Third, after evacuating rural villages, the UPDF made little effort to secure them. The logic of denial-by-displacement is that removing the local population should help combatants generate control over territories where their rivals operate. But in Acholiland, one local journalist reported that Ugandan forces actually "removed their detaches from the villages and allowed the rebels to infiltrate [them]," turning them "into sanctuaries for rebels" replete with "fields of cassava, simsim, rice, millet, and sunflowers."[165] In 1996, the northern population was ordered to flee just before the harvest season, meaning that "abandoned cassava and other crops were available in abundance in the fields for use by LRA forces."[166] Because the UPDF continued to allow IDPs to cultivate crops, albeit under restricted days and times, rebels maintained access to food supplies that they could dig up once people returned to camps. Thus rather than using displacement to enhance government control over rebel-affected areas, according to one analyst, "by depopulating large areas of the countryside, the military is, de facto, turning the land over to the rebels."[167] Military leaders I interviewed placed little tactical importance on conquering these territories. For instance, the UPDF Chief of Doctrine told me that "for us, taking territory is not that important...the ground is the ground, why should I die to capture it? We were more concerned about the people."[168] Uprooting the population, then, seemed to be less about expanding military control over the countryside and more about imposing a clear spatial distinction between government and rebel sides.

Finally, forced relocation did not prevent abductions or reduce rebel violence

[161] "Ex-LRA Rebels Reveal Kony's Plans" 1997 (2 August).
[162] Behrend 2000, 68,71.
[163] Gersony 1997, 26.
[164] De Berry 2004, 68.
[165] Lamwaka 2016, 207-208.
[166] Gersony 1997, 60.
[167] Feldman 2008, 48.
[168] Interviewee 2, Male UPDF Chief of Doctrine, October 2016.

against civilians. It actually had the opposite effect: concentrating people into large, crowded sites made them easy targets. In both the north and the west, it is clear that the "protected villages" were, in fact, not well protected at all.[169] The government often withdrew soldiers and police from the camps and entrusted them to auxiliaries,[170] despite appeals from local officials and residents for more troops.[171] For example, civil society groups in northern Uganda reported that "in most camps the absolute maximum detachment appears to be around 60 soldiers, and in most cases they are tasked with the responsibility of protecting populations well in excess of 10,000."[172]

As a consequence, rebels frequently raided the settlements to loot food and supplies, and to kill and kidnap en mass. In my survey, 79 percent of respondents reported that rebels attacked their camp at least once, including 54 percent who reported raids on three or more occasions. In a security report from a camp in Amuru District in the north, for instance, a local councilman wrote "there is frequent infiltration of the rebels in the camps."[173] According to another report from the north, between June and September 2002 alone, the LRA attacked 16 of 35 existing IDP camps in Gulu, Kitgum and Pader and "continues to do so persistently."[174] As one woman told Lomo and Hovil, "people are not safe in the camps. They are crowded and close together which makes it easy for the rebels to abduct them and steal food. When people were in their homes, they were far apart and could easily hide."[175] In a memoir of the war, a former child soldier expresses similar sentiment, writing that "every night the rebels would sneak in...the bush was a safer place to spend sleepless nights than [the IDP camps.]"[176] And in the west, human rights monitors also found that "the ADF has managed to invade [IDP] camps repeatedly,"[177] as "despite having moved into what the government called 'protected villages,' inadequate protection meant that civilians continued to be attacked by the rebels: the killing, abductions, and looting

[169] Branch 2011; Hovil 2003; Dolan 2013; Cline 2013; Finnström 2008.

[170] Branch 2011, 77.

[171] For example, the chairman of Aceh IDP Camp in Gulu requested that district officials "contact the 4th Division Commander to redeploy more soldiers to protect IDPs in the camp" (Letter from the Office of the Camp Chairman, Aceh IDP Camp to RDC, Gulu District, 29 March 2000, Gulu District Archives CR/1002/3). In 1998, officials from Pajule sent a similar appeal to district officials in Kitgum: "we beg your good office to let more soldiers be sent to Pajule Trading Centre... we have a big camp that can not be guarded properly by a few soldiers who are camping in Pajule Army Detach" (Letter from H. Okello, SCC Pajule, to RDC Kitgum, "RE: Insecurity in Pajule Division," 16 February 1998, Kitgum District Archives).

[172] CSOPNU 2004, 46. Cline (2013, 76) also writes that government security provision in the north was "skimpy" in the camps.

[173] Letter from Okiya Santo to Gulu District Council, "RE: Security Report: Amuru District", 26 January 1999, Gulu District Archives CR/213/4.

[174] Lomo and Hovil 2004, 38. A group of local leaders claimed that the UPDF responded to only 33 out of 456 LRA attacks between June and December 2002 (Cline 2013, 76).

[175] Woman in Kitgum quoted in Lomo and Hovil (2004, 38).

[176] Olango 2016, 6-7.

[177] African Rights Group 2001, 22.

continued."[178]

Thus even as encampment allowed Ugandan forces to better monitor and extract resources from the population, it was not simply a straightforward method of bringing communities from rebel-controlled zones to areas dominated by counterinsurgents. This is clear from Finnström's research in northern Uganda in 2002:

> "[the LRA] outnumbered the Ugandan military in the rural areas...typically they would arrive in the [IDP] camps in the morning hours, when people were typically more relaxed than usual after the uncertainty of the night. Frequently the Ugandan army withdrew after only a brief encounter with the rebels. The rebels would then address the displaced people, allowing them a week or so to leave the camps before they attacked. After a week the rebels would come back to carry out the threat. Hundreds of huts could be set on fire within a few minutes."[179]

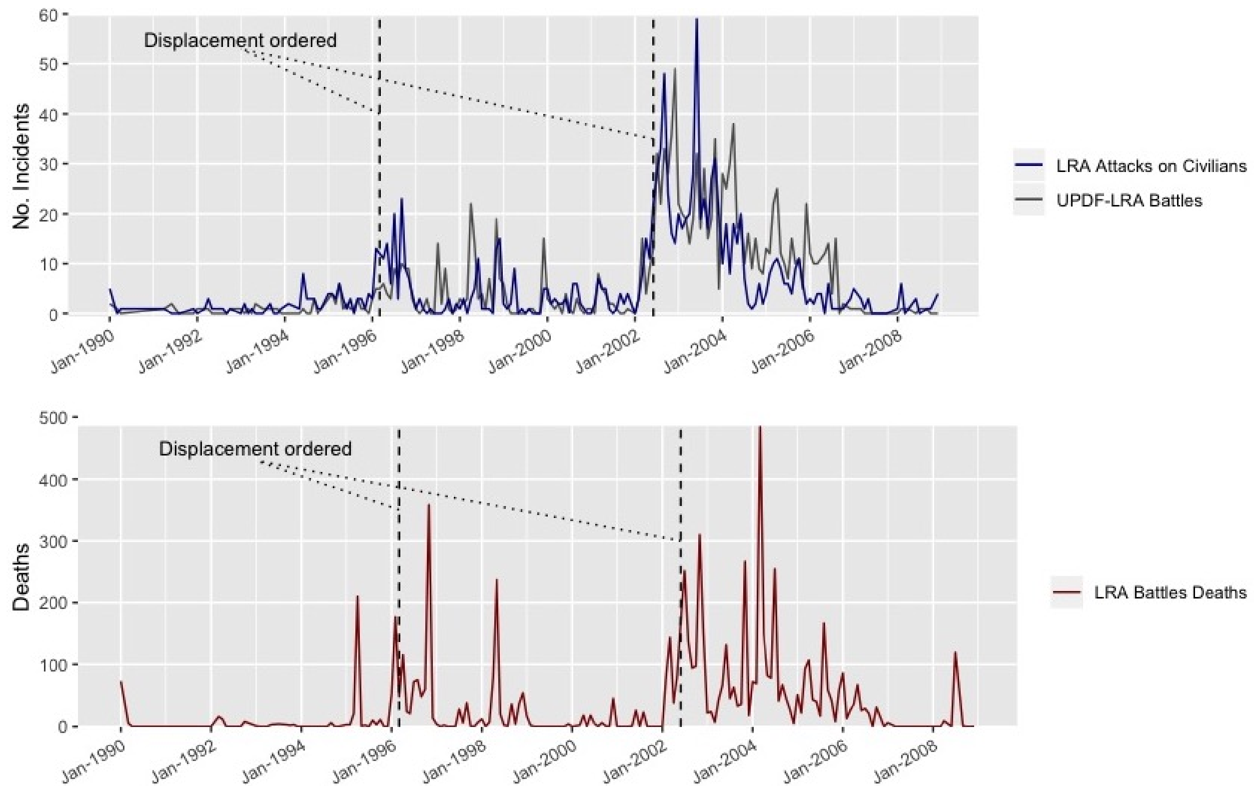
Violent events data from Uganda confirms that LRA and ADF violence against civilians increased following the government's displacement orders in each region. I analyzed geo-referenced data collected by the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), which is largely based on media reports of military battles, civilian massacres, and other episodes of political violence.[180] Since the ACLED data only goes back to 1997, I supplement it with original data on conflict events that I collected from local newspaper archives in Uganda for the years 1990-1996. Like ACLED, I distinguished rebel or government attacks on civilians from battles between government and rebel forces. For many events, I was able to triangulate dates, locations, and numbers of fatalities from multiple media sources.

Time trends in these events, which are plotted in Figures 3.7 and 3.8, indicate that rebel attacks on civilians by both the LRA (Figure 3.7) and the ADF (Figure 3.8) increased after the government forced people to relocate into camps in northern and western Uganda. This is consistent with the qualitative evidence described above. Yet during the LRA insurgency in particular, both the number of battles between UPDF and rebel forces, and the number of reported rebel fatalities, also multiplied after displacement orders were issued. These patterns generally hold when the data is disaggregated by district (see plots in Appendix D).[181]

These results suggest that population displacement in Uganda did help counterinsurgents better identify and engage rebels in combat – even as it failed to reduce rebel violence against civilians or prevent rebels from accessing them. In other words, forced relocation seemed to be effective at sorting the local population, but not at cutting it off from insurgent groups. I found similar trends when examining an

[178] Hovil and Werker 2005, 19.
[179] Finnström 2008, 136.
[180] Raleigh et al. 2010.
[181] As the plots in the appendix indicate, Apac District in the north and Kasese District in the west may be exceptions to a certain degree.

Figure 3.7: LRA Violence in Uganda (1990–2008)



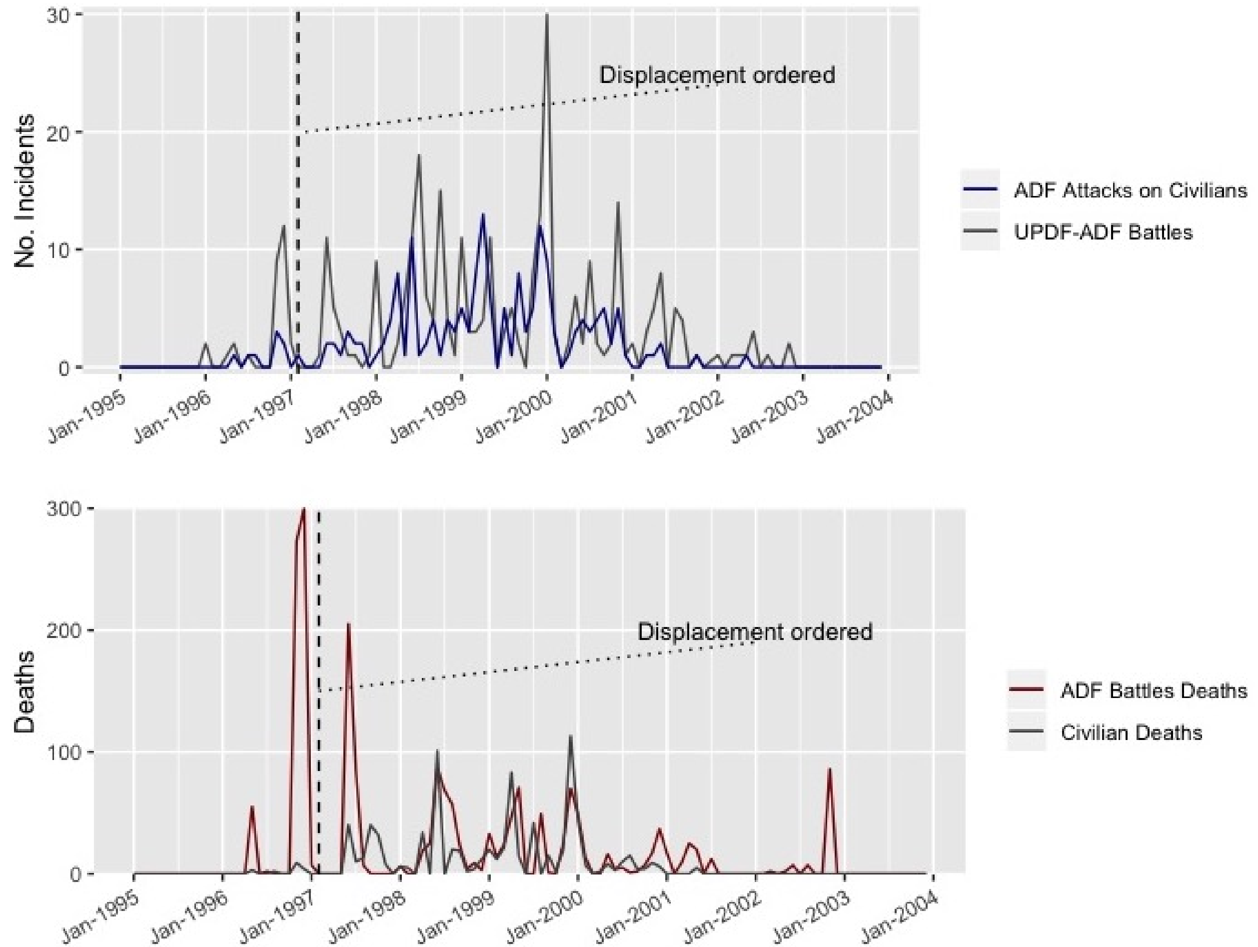
Source: ACLED (Raleigh et al. 2010) and Author

alternative source of violent events data, the UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset (GED), which covers the years 1989-2006 but is far less comprehensive than ACLED. Plots using the UCDP data are provided in Appendix D.

The post-displacement escalations in rebel violence illustrated in the figures above have been described by the LRA and ADF as collective punishment for civilians moving to camps, which rebels interpreted as tacit support for the government. This offers further evidence of the signaling effects of displacement. For instance, in a radio interview, Vincent Otti, second in command of the LRA, declared that IDP camps were inhabited by "government agents" who had "betrayed" the rebels.[182] According to a former ADF fighter, the ADF also "became angry and started killing people indiscriminately" when Rwenzori communities fled to camps, because they "felt

[182] Radio FM interview with LRA commander Vincent Otti, December 10, 2003. In a 2005 report, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre similarly reported that the LRA, "suspecting the inhabitants [of IDP camps] of tacitly supporting the government, reacted with attacks on these camps" (IDMC, 2005 (August), 8).

Figure 3.8: ADF Violence in Uganda (1995–2003)



Source: ACLED (Raleigh et al. 2010) and Author

that people had let them down by moving to [be with] the government."[183] Likewise, according to accounts of the UPA war in Teso, rebels attacked concentrated settlements as retaliation "against villagers who had shown apparent allegiance for the [NRM] by moving into the camp."[184] The LRA even issued an edict prohibiting civilians from riding bicycles "under the assumption that it meant you were taking information to the government."[185] Consequently, encampment resulted in more indiscriminate rebel violence against civilians, including – crucially – in *areas outside government control.*

[183] Interviewee 4, male ex-ADF fighter, May 2017.
[184] De Berry 2004, 90-91.
[185] Dolan 2013, 83.

According to one report:

> "A number of IDPs indicated that prior to their movement into camps...that if they had met the LRA in the bush, they would generally be allowed to continue with their business, perhaps having been forced to give food or other resources to the rebels. Since the displacement however, they found that the LRA is now less tolerant of those civilians who are found out in the fields or collecting resources ...the LRA reportedly consider those Acholi now living in camps to be complicit with the [government]...As a result, many IDPs now believe that the LRA seeks to punish them."[186]

These findings indicate that changes in rebel targeting of civilians is not sufficiently explained by shifts in territorial control.

Abductions by rebels also increased following forced relocation. In Acholiland, the number of civilians kidnapped by the LRA peaked in 2003-2004, after the third displacement order in the north, and when roughly 85-90 percent of the population resided in IDP camps (Figure 3.9).[187] One local activist therefore likened the camps to "a supermarket" for the rebels where "they found everything they needed: young boys [to abduct], food, supplies."[188] In his study of northern Uganda, Branch also concludes that "the formation of the camps made resource acquisition, if anything, easier for the rebels."[189] Interviews with ex-LRA and ADF fighters indicated that both rebel groups were indeed able to continue to obtain food and supplies following displacement – including from their external patrons[190] – and according to the founder of the UPA, "the rebels' ability to conduct the war was...not affected by the [government's] so-called isolation policy."[191]

It is possible, of course, that these outcomes simply reflect poor implementation of the government's displacement strategy. What is perplexing, however, is that despite the failure of forced relocation to deny rebels resources, authorities sustained these

[186] CSOPNU 2004, 78.

[187] According to CSOPNU (2004, 76), in northern Uganda "NGO workers specializing in the reception and rehabilitation of formerly abducted children indicate that rates of abduction did not changed appreciably after forced displacement took place in late 2002, and while the rate of attacks since the end of July 2004 did appear to decrease following the UPDF attack near Juba, informal surveys from across the region indicate that attacks on camps that lead to violence and coercion intensified in Kitgum and Pader in September and October 2004."

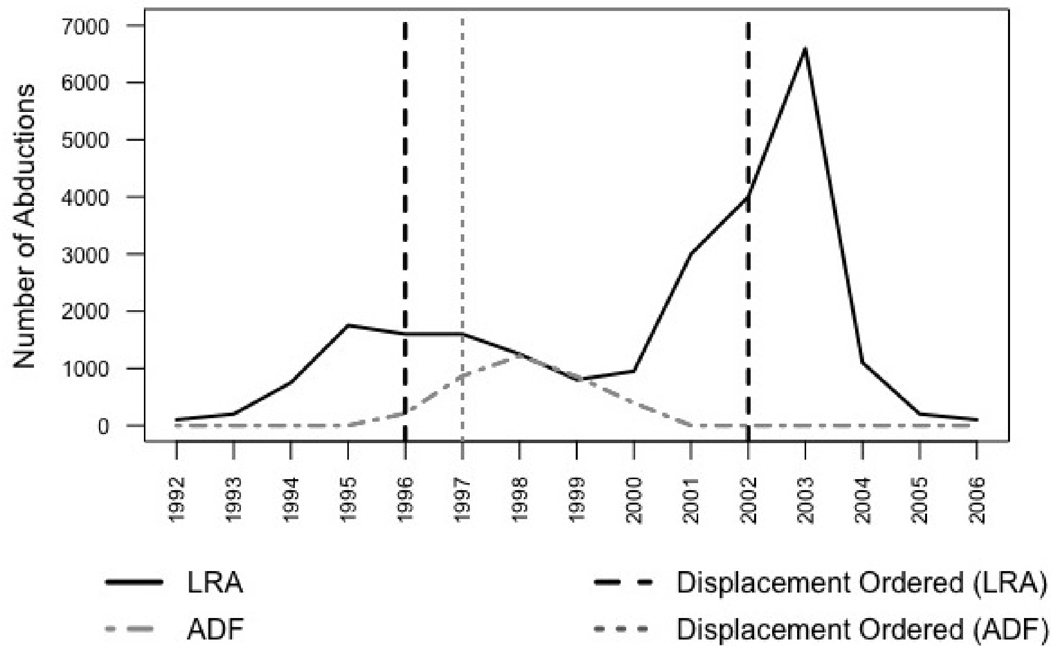
[188] Interviewee 36, male human rights activist, Gulu District, March 2016. A civil society report similarly argued that "IDP camps now provide the LRA with 'one-stop shops' in which they can achieve all of their objectives quickly, easily and with much greater impact than was ever possible when civilians were living in villages" (CSOPNU 2004, 82).

[189] Branch (2011, 77) writes that "there was so little protection and the rebels would loot and abduct so easily that some Acholi suggested giving food and medicine to the rebels so they would stop looting."

[190] Interviewee 49, male ex-LRA fighter, April 2017; Interviewee 167, male ex-ADF commander, April 2017.

[191] Okurut, 127.

Figure 3.9: Abductions in Uganda (1992–2006)



Source: Pham et al. 2007, 4.

measures for years, and even expanded them. This suggests that displacement offered other strategic benefits.

Punishment/Ethnic Nationalism

Another potential explanation for forced relocation in Uganda is that it served as a form of collective punishment. This argument is often invoked in describing the state's use of IDP camps during the LRA war. As the Refugee Law Project noted in a 2004 report, "there is a broadly held belief that the government has deliberately created displacement as a form of punishment for the Acholi people."[192] Some observers have even characterized the policy as intentional group destruction by deprivation, tantamount to genocide.[193] Such claims demonstrate that the Ugandan government maintained its displacement policies even as it faced strong criticism and normative pressure from domestic and international actors. It is plausible that these policies were collective retaliation for political disloyalty, given that two of the three rounds of relocation orders in the north – in 1996 and 2002, respectively – were issued shortly after

[192] Lomo and Hovil 2004, 40.
[193] Otunnu 2006.

national elections in Uganda. Consistent with this logic, President Museveni received just 15 percent of the vote share in Acholiland in 1996 and 17 percent in 2001. Yet the fact that the ADF-affected districts of western Uganda collectively cast 97 percent of their votes for the NRM in 1996 did not spare them from displacement (see Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: NRM Vote Share in Presidential Elections, by District

Region	**District**	**1996**		**2001**	
		Total Votes	*Vote Share*	*Total Votes*	*Vote Share*
North (Acholi/Lango)	Apac	35,532	21%	37,133	22%
	Gulu	10,473	8%	15,320	12%
	Kitgum	13,213	10%	14,077	21%
	Pader	N/A	N/A	8,918	13%
	Lira	26,076	13%	40,767	20%
West (Rwenzori)	Bundibugyo	51,255	95%	39,676	92%
	Kabrole	258,475	96%	93,414	89%
	Kasese	112,609	91%	90,620	68%
East (Teso)	Kumi	38,772	40%	50,472	52%
	Soroti	89,617	56%	62,977	54%

Source: Uganda Presidential Election Results, http://www.ec.or.ug.

In a January 1997 letter to local officials – around the time the UPDF began ordering civilians to relocate – the commissioner for the western district of Bundibugyo commended his constituents' "support to NRM government" since they gave Museveni "one of the highest percentage of votes" of any district in the election.[194] It is unlikely that the government would inflict punishment on such a bastion of support. It also seems improbable that the UPDF would train, arm, and fight alongside the very people they intend to subjugate – which they did by recruiting IDPs to serve as LDUs and other auxiliary force members. Beyond displacement, according to Andrew Bell, counterinsurgency campaigns waged by the NRM in the north have generally been marked by a high degree of "discipline and restraint" and "limited violence" against noncombatants, with the UPDF "largely eschewing the wholesale violence against

[194] RDC Gabbriel Luzira, "Re-Guideline how to Mobilize During Peace and Crisis Time," 21 January 1997 (Bundibugyo District Archives, CR/001/K15/1/6).

civilians that had come to mark Uganda's civil wars."[195]

That civilians were deliberately uprooted in the western districts of Uganda in addition to the north also questions accusations that displacement was principally motivated by ethnic enmity against the northern Acholi by Museveni, an ethnic Banyankole from the southwest.[196] Moreover, a logic of ethnic nationalism would likely result in greater ethnic homogenization of conflict-affected territories – perhaps through the wholesale expulsion of specific tribes – yet forced relocation in northern and western Uganda facilitated the intermingling of different communities and seemed to produce greater ethnic heterogeneity in the local population. Military and political authorities even highlighted ethnic intermixing as one of the benefits of the government's displacement policies. In an interview, one UPDF commander deployed to the north said that "when we changed the settlement patterns from scattered to everyone being in one area, they [civilians] became cosmopolitan, developmental."[197] A local council official in Bundibugyo echoed this sentiment, telling me that in the IDP camps, "before a person used to stay in his home alone, but in camps, people came together with different characters and from different groups, and they became mixed."[198]

Finally, the Uganda case demonstrates that while foreign aid can play an important role in helping facilitate or sustain strategies of population displacement, it cannot explain when, where, and why combatants resort to these methods. In Acholiland, after each relocation order, Ugandan authorities immediately appealed to the international community for assistance in providing food relief, distributing construction materials, and administering IDP camps.[199] The World Food Program's in-country expenditures more than doubled from 1996 to 1997, from $14 million to $31 million,[200] and quadrupled between 2002 and 2003, from $23 million to $80.7 million.[201]

[195] Bell 2016, 489, 501.

[196] This is suggested by observers such as Branch (2011, 64), who points out that the NRM "reflected its southern base" while the Acholi "were generally excluded from political power."

[197] Interviewee 59, male UPDF senior commander, November 2016.

[198] Interviewee 151, Male LC1, Bundibugyo District, May 2017.

[199] For instance, in June 1988, after the first displacement order, the government requested and received $772,000 in food aid from the U.N. to assist encamped civilians ("Ugandan President Appeals for Emergency Relief" 1988 (11 June); "Refugees and Drought Victims to Receive Emergency Food Aid" 1988 (28 July)). In December 1996 – soon after the NRM initiated its second round of evacuations – the U.N. noted in an assessment of the north that "whether or not protected villages develop over the coming weeks will...depend on the ability of aid agencies to provide the services that are lacking, and certainly beyond the means of the local authorities" (*Humanitarian Situation Report on Uganda* 1996 (4 December)). And immediately after the displacement policy was reenacted in 2002, the Ugandan Ministry for Refugee Affairs requested food aid for 1.2 million people in the north. Foreign governments responded with nearly $75 million in donations. By 2003, over one hundred organizations were involved in relief distribution, and the NRM had "abdicated virtually all responsibility" for IDPs to the international community, according to Tripp (2010, 162).

[200] World Food Program 1999.

[201] "Rights: War-Driven Famine Stalks a Million in Northern Uganda" 1998 (26 February).

Branch therefore argues that in the north:

> "The [IDP] camps were able to be created only because humanitarian agencies moved in at their conception to supply them with relief aid – in particular food – and that they have been sustained only through the government's further instrumentalization of material and symbolic humanitarian resources...by supporting the creation and continued existence of the camps, humanitarian aid agencies have enabled the government's policy of forced displacement."[202]

Yet even Branch argues that when the Ugandan government first initiated its displacement policy, "it does not seem to have foreseen the facilitating function which humanitarian aid would soon play."[203] Moreover, while external assistance also contributed to the viability of state-induced relocation in western Uganda – where some displaced people became similarly "dependent on international relief aid"[204] – the role of humanitarian agencies in the ADF conflict appeared to be much less pronounced than during the LRA war. I found no evidence that the promise of aid was a primary factor behind the government's displacement policies in the west.

3.5 Conclusion

Policies of forced displacement enacted during counterinsurgency campaigns in Uganda did not simply seek to orchestrate the departure of local communities from rebel-affected areas. Authorities were equally concerned with influencing people's destinations. The evidence suggests that variation in these strategies over space and time is better explained by an assortative logic than those emphasizing denial, punishment, or ethnic nationalism. For the Ugandan government, forcibly relocating civilians served a much broader purpose than denying insurgents resources: it helped state forces sort and capture local populations when and where information and resource deficiencies demanded it.

This chapter has therefore shown that the overarching patterns and underlying motivations of state-induced displacement in Uganda is consistent with the empirical implications of my assortative theory. Uprooting rural residents helped Ugandan forces make inferences about their identities and loyalties and impose legibility on frontier communities when rebels tactics made it difficult to differentiate friend from foe. Moreover, in a context where the government saw the population as its "biggest weapon to fight the rebels,"[205] displacement was used not only to deter defection and

[202] Branch 2008, 154.
[203] Branch 2011, 154.
[204] African Rights Group 2001, 21.
[205] Interviewee 128, male district official and UPDF operative, April 2017.

"demobilize" noncombatants – as claimed by other observers of Uganda's wars[206] – but also to *mobilize* them.

In demonstrating the assortative logic of strategic displacement during the LRA, UPA, and ADF rebellions, I find that the guerrilla methods employed by insurgents, the remote terrain, the relative inaccessibility of scattered local populations, and the lack of sufficient manpower to fight multiple groups simultaneously seemed to motivate the state's use of forced relocation. The UPDF tended to uproot civilians when a lack of manpower and multiple military commitments required the army to pursue alternative strategies to occupying contested territories. In contrast, the fact that other groups preferred conventional military tactics, and counterinsurgents faced fewer demands on their coercive capabilities, resulted in less acute information and resource problems, and no strategic displacement occurred.

But rural displacement was not simply a means of bringing the local population under the state's control through overwhelming force. By carefully tracing the mechanisms underlying these strategies, I show that their primary utility was to initiate and reify a process for determining guilt on the basis of physical association, while arranging local populations in a way that was amenable to extracting the resources needed from them to effectively combat insurgency. Indeed, IDP camps often did not reflect distinct zones of government control, but rather artificial demarcations that delineated who among the citizenry was reliably disloyal and "belonged" to each side. As a result, instead of physically separating the entire population from rebels – a virtually impossible task – encampment provided a continuous and easily observable heuristic for sorting people based on their affiliations and potential allegiances. This can explain why Ugandan authorities continued to revert to these methods despite the fact that they did not help "drain the sea" and, if anything, actually facilitated greater rebel predation and violence against civilians. State-induced displacement in Uganda, in other words, sought to "map" and "filter" the sea rather than simply "draining" it.

[206] Day and Reno 2014.

Chapter 4

Cross-National Analysis of Wartime Displacement Strategies

In this chapter I test my arguments at the macro-level by examining cross-national variation in strategic wartime displacement since World War II. The first section presents an original dataset that measures the incidence of population displacement strategies by government and rebel combatants in civil wars between 1945 and 2008. I map variation in the use of different types of displacement across conflicts, regions, and over time. As with the rest of this study, the analysis focuses on displacement by *state* actors. The descriptive data demonstrate that these strategies have been more common than previously thought, and challenge some core assumptions about where and when they are employed – strategic displacement is not, for example, unique to ethnic or secessionist conflicts.

After demonstrating this variation, I present the independent variables used to proxy for the four primary explanations for strategic displacement at the macro level: ethnic nationalism, denial, punishment, and my assortative logic. These variables correspond to the hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2. In the second section, I discuss the results of a series of quantitative tests of these propositions. I evaluate whether statistically significant associations exist between the incidence of each displacement strategy and proxies for each explanation. Some logics are potentially complementary, while some – assortative and punishment theories, for example – offer competing logics. I therefore test the four arguments separately and in joint models in order to ascertain which explanation, or combination of explanations, seem to best account for the use of strategic displacement in wartime. Because the number of cases of depopulation in my dataset is too small to draw reliable conclusions, I concentrate the analysis on strategies of cleansing and forced relocation.

The main finding is that different population displacement strategies are employed in different contexts and appear to follow different logics. Government cleansing is more likely in conventional wars, and where counterinsurgents have access to group-level identifiers that link civilians to an armed group. This strategy also strongly correlates with state-induced mass killing in wartime. Taken together, these results are consistent with the proposition that cleansing follows a logic of punishment. Government forced relocation, meanwhile, seem to follow an assortative logic: it is more likely in irregular wars waged in "illegible" territories, and where counterinsurgents lack access to other group-level heuristics for inferring civilian loyalties. Relocation strategies also tend to be employed by under-resourced incumbents engaged in multiple conflicts, and alongside state efforts to mobilize the population into civilian defense forces. These empirics are consistent with the propositions advanced in Chapter 2, and lend support to both the sorting and capturing components of my theory.

The macro-level analysis lacks the detail and precision needed to test some of my arguments directly. Therefore, in the third section I conduct a battery of additional tests to ensure the robustness of the results and to rule out other confounding factors. Since my coding process and operationalization of key concepts can be contested, I use a series of alternative measures and variables to check the reliability of the findings. I also consider three other potential explanations for strategic displacement

in wartime: opportunism, desperation, and normative pressures. While the analysis in this chapter cannot determine causality, it provides compelling indirect evidence for my assortative theory of strategic displacement. Equally important, the results question the extent to which existing explanations can account for variation in the use of particular displacement strategies – namely, forced relocation – across civil wars.

4.1 Data and Measurement

Existing data sources on conflict migration, such as UNHCR's population statistics, record annual refugee and IDP flows at the country level.[1] But this count data is of questionable quality – as described in a 2017 issue of the journal *Nature* – and provides no information about whether displacement was deliberately induced by armed groups.[2] Several scholars have therefore attempted to compile lists of strategic wartime displacements.[3] While these efforts have provided a wealth of useful data, they are neither comprehensive nor do they systematically collect data on all types of displacement employed in civil war. Appendix E lists the cases included in five previous studies and details the differences between these datasets and my own dataset. Moreover, there are a number of existing case studies of both cleansing[4] and forced relocation.[5] Yet many of these studies focus on a limited number of European cases, such as ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia, or on population relocation by Western imperial powers, such as the Malayan Emergency, the French-Algerian war, and the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya.

Strategic Displacement in Civil Conflict (SDCC)

I therefore created the Strategic Displacement in Civil Conflict (SDCC) dataset, which covers 160 civil wars between 1945–2008. SDCC includes 147 conflicts identified by Kalyvas and Balcells,[6] plus an additional 13 that meet the following definitional criteria of civil war: (1) fighting between state actors and non-state groups that were able to mount an organized military challenge for control over a government or region; and (2) at least 1,000 battle deaths in at least one year of the conflict.[7] Since I assume that

[1] UNHCR Population Statistics, http://popstats.unhcr.org/en/overview. Also see Marshall (2008).

[2] According to "Data on movements of refugees and migrants are flawed" (2017), "misinterpretation and misrepresentation of data on population movements is rife...Numbers are both diplomatically and economically sensitive – influencing, for example, distribution of aid – and so reported data can be vulnerable to political influence. Subjectivity also enters the equation – different countries often have different definitions of refugees and varying assessment procedures."

[3] Orchard 2010; Zhukov 2015; Downes and Greenhill 2015; Stanton 2016; Bulutgil 2016.

[4] Mann 2005; Naimark 2002.

[5] Jundanian 1974; Sutton 1977; Garlock 1991; Sepp 1992; Catton 1999; Markel 2006; Whittaker 2012.

[6] Kalyvas and Balcells 2010.

[7] The additional 13 conflicts were taken from Kalyvas and Balcells' PRIO100 dataset (Balcells and Kalyvas 2014). These included France v. Vietnam (1945-54); France v. Cameroon (1955-60); Portugal v. Guinea

combatants are unlikely to consider displacing civilians unless a conflict has reached a certain level of intensity, I selected this universe of cases over those that use lower battle death thresholds (e.g., UCDP/PRIO).[8] While Kalyvas and Balcells exclude colonial wars from their dataset, I include them because they constitute important contexts in which displacement was (or could have) been used, and as mentioned above, some have been the subject of extensive case study research.[9] However, later in the chapter I remove these conflicts from the sample as a robustness check.

With the assistance of a research team, I coded whether strategic displacement was employed in each conflict using previous case studies of wartime cleansing and forced relocation, individual conflict histories, and annual and country reports from UNHCR, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, the U.S. State Department, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch. These human rights sources have been utilized by other researchers to assemble cross-national datasets on violence against civilians in civil wars.[10] My unit of analysis is *conflict-perpetrator-type*.

For each conflict, the research team examined patterns and descriptions of displacement, violence, and human rights violations to determine if the displacement of civilian populations was at least partly due to state or non-state actors deliberately triggering their flight. Following the conceptual discussion in the introductory chapter, several criteria must be met for an instance of civilian displacement to qualify as strategic wartime displacement. First, displacement must be related to the conflict. This excludes planned population movements due to natural disasters or development projects, and evictions of urban squatters or other civilians that occur outside the conflict zone. Second, following Greenhill's approach to coding strategic engineered migration,[11] there must be evidence of orchestration and intent to displace. As the previous chapters make clear, not all war-related displacement qualifies as strategic displacement. *Orchestration* means that civilian flight was promoted or executed by armed actors, whether through explicit threats, evacuation orders, sustained destruction of property, or the physical removal and/or resettlement of residents by bus, truck, or train. Displacement must also be *intentional*, in that sources indicate that displacement due to government or rebel actions was deliberate. I therefore do not include instances of displacement as collateral damage, in which civilians spontaneously

Bissau (1962-74); Portugal v. Angola (1961-75); Portugal v. Mozambique (1962-75); France v. Tunisia (1952-54); U.K. v. Kenya (Mau Mau, 1952-56); U.K. v. Malaya (1950-60); France v. Algeria (1954-62); Rwanda v. ALiR (1996-2002); India v. MNF (1966-68); India v. NNC (1955-62); Pakistan v. TTP (2007-).

[8] Most scholars use thresholds of 1,000 battle deaths to define a civil war and thresholds of 25 deaths to characterize minor civil or political violence (Allansson et al. 2017).

[9] These cases were not selected on the dependent variable, however, as some colonial wars excluded from the dataset (due to the low death threshold) included instances of strategic displacement (e.g., U.K. v. Aden/Yemen, 1963-67; U.K. vs. Cyprus/EOKA, 1954-59; U.K. v. Shifta, 1945-52) and instances where it was not employed (e.g., France v. Morocco; France v. Madagascar; Netherlands v. Indonesia).

[10] Stanton 2016; Cohen 2016.

[11] Greenhill 2010.

flee in anticipation of, or during, battles between warring parties.[12]

Finally, the International Criminal Court defines criminal displacement as that committed as part of a "widespread or systematic attack" against civilians.[13] This implies a certain scale and incidence for a case to qualify as strategic displacement. In coding cases the research team focused on general patterns of violence and displacement, as opposed to estimates of the number of civilians uprooted (which can be wildly inaccurate). This made it less likely that we overlooked incidents where displacement figures were poorly documented. But as a general guide, we used a threshold of at least 1,000 civilians targeted for displacement for a period of at least one month, metrics that align with previous research on systematic violence.[14] Generally, displacement that was based on the selective targeting of specific individuals or households – the eviction or deportation of particular political adversaries, for example – was not included in the dataset.

Once a case of strategic displacement was identified, we coded the perpetrator, victim (if a particular group was targeted), location, and timing of displacement, where possible. We also coded the type of displacement employed. If there was evidence that victims were members of an identifiable group, that they were targeted due to this affiliation, and that displacement was intended to be permanent, a case was coded as cleansing.[15] If displacement was temporary and perpetrators made little effort to differentiate between particular groups – hence targeting was indiscriminate – or to resettle the displaced, it was coded as depopulation. If perpetrators did not just expel the population but sought to concentrate it by drawing people into designated settlements within the conflict zone or a nearby location, it was coded as forced relocation. Appendix E provides additional details on the coding procedure and sources.[16] Conflicts coded as "0" (no strategic displacement, or "none") included both those that experienced little to no civilian displacement at all, and those that experienced collateral, spontaneous, or opportunistic displacement that was not systematically ordered by combatants as an organizational policy.[17]

[12] Reports that fighting or military operations "led to displacement" or "displaced" a certain number of people may indicate orchestration, but they do not within themselves constitute evidence of intent. Such cases were therefore investigated further.

[13] See the ICC Rome Statute, Article 7(2)(d).

[14] Ulfelder and Valentino 2008.

[15] Indicators of permanence include perpetrators preventing the displaced from returning and/or encouraging co-ethics or political supporters to resettle in evacuated areas.

[16] Descriptions of coding decisions for each conflict are available upon request from the author.

[17] While conflicts where strategic displacement was employed tended to produce more IDPs and refugees, the average annual number of displaced people was not a significant predictor of cleansing or forced relocation, according to displacement data from Marshall (2008). This suggests that factors that explain strategic displacement are not necessarily the same ones that explain the magnitude of wartime displacement generally.

Limitations

Several limitations to the SDCC dataset are worth noting. First, the unit of analysis is the conflict. While I was able to identify the year of onset in 75 percent of cases of strategic displacement, the empirical record was not always clear about when displacement started or ended. Moreover, coding the use of these measures accurately at the dyad level was not possible because, when state actors engaged in displacement, sources were not always specific about which rebel group(s) it was intended to combat.

A second limitation is the possibility of omitted cases. Lack of access to conflict zones by foreign observers or variation in the volume and quality of sources could have led to cases of strategic displacement being overlooked, biasing the results. However, focusing on contemporary conflicts should somewhat mitigate these concerns. The development of the post-war refugee regime has made displacement a global issue, and provided international organizations and advocacy groups with the motivations and resources to publicize the causes and consequences of forced population movements. This has made it difficult for armed actors to hide these incidents or conceal their role in them.

Finally, there may be inconsistent interest in, or reports of, strategic displacement over time. For example, the issue of internal displacement did not receive widespread attention until the 1990s, which may have increased the focus of human rights organizations on IDPs. These concerns are alloyed by the fact that, as I show below, the proportion of civil wars experiencing strategic displacement is relatively consistent over time. Moreover, as a robustness check I include a control for pre- and post-Cold War conflicts to help account for temporal factors.

I also took two measures to ensure the reliability of the data. First, I cross-referenced my coding with four existing lists of wartime cleansings and relocations and found there is close agreement, though I discovered a number of missing cases (see Appendix E). Second, I included a precision ranking that reflects the degree of certainty that a case constitutes strategic displacement based on available evidence and/or the results of cross-referencing with other data collection efforts. In many instances, the strategic dimension of displacement was unambiguous: armed groups publically issued evacuation orders, defended their plans to uproot or relocate communities, and dispatched combatants to threaten or round up residents. In other cases, the intentionality of displacement, and armed groups' complicity in it, is detectable through overt action: troops or rebels engage in the systematic burning and destruction of entire villages to drive people out, and prevent them from returning. Yet there are instances where either the extent to which displacement was deliberately induced, or the type of displacement strategy, was unclear. To address this ambiguity, I used the precision ranking outlined in Table 4.1.

In coding the type of displacement strategy, I found four borderline cases. Civil wars in Iran (1979–84) and Iraq (1991–93) could be classified as experiencing state-induced depopulation or cleansing, as the method of targeting and intended

Table 4.1: Precision Ranking for Cases of Strategic Wartime Displacement

Rank	Description
3	*High confidence* Strong evidence of both orchestration and intent. Confident about the type of displacement employed.
2	*Medium confidence* Strong evidence of both orchestration and intent. Type of displacement was ambiguous.
1	*Low confidence* Limited or ambiguous evidence of orchestration and/or intent.

permanence of displacement were ambiguous.[18] Likewise, it is clear that temporary, indiscriminate displacement was employed by government forces in both Indonesia (1956–60) and Sri Lanka (1983–2002), yet these cases could be coded as forced relocation or depopulation. I classified these four cases based on the type for which there was the strongest evidence, but included the second type as an alternative coding for my analysis.

Another potential borderline case is the mass displacement of Kurdish populations during counterinsurgency operations in Iraq under Saddam Hussein (1974–75; 1985–96). According to the U.S. State Department, government forces moved "large numbers" of Kurds from military zones in northern Iraq to "distant areas," often in the south:

> "Most of the forcibly relocated have been allowed to return subsequently, although not to their original villages. Most have been resettled in government-built centers. In addition to dispersing Kurds throughout Iraq, there have been various attempts to dilute their geographic majority in the north by moving in ethnic Arabs. Persons may avoid expulsion if they relinquish their Kurdish, Turkoman, or Assyrian identity and register as Arabs."[19]

Even though the Kurdish population was resettled, this case resembles cleansing more than forced relocation because victims were moved far from the conflict zone, and there

[18] In both cases, specific subnational groups were displaced (Kurds in Iran and Shi'a Muslims in Iraq) but it is unclear whether they were targeted as a group or whether they were victimized because they happened to reside in a particular conflict-affected area. There were also conflicting reports regarding the extent to which perpetrators intended, and eventually allowed, victims to return to their homes.

[19] U.S. State Department 1983.

was a concerted effort by the perpetrator to permanently move its co-ethnics into the depopulated areas. Displacement here was clearly part of the government's program of "Arabization" and reflected an attempt at demographic engineering.

In summary, SDCC is the most systematic effort to collect cross-national data on strategic displacement in contemporary civil wars and capture key information about each case. In addition to providing the most disaggregated measure of strategic displacement to date, SDCC is more comprehensive than previous data collection attempts because it (1) encompasses instances of ethnic or political cleansing and forced relocation, (2) covers both conventional and irregular wars, and (3) includes cases omitted from existing datasets. It is therefore a critical step towards identifying and examining variation in population displacement strategies across conflicts.

Variation Across Conflicts

Perpetrators

State actors employed strategic displacement in 58 percent of civil wars from 1945–2008, indicating that these measures have been more common in modern conflicts than previous research suggests.[20] Of the wars that did experience state-induced displacement, cleansing was used in 34 percent of cases (or 20 percent of all conflicts), depopulation 13 percent (8 percent of all conflicts), and relocation 58 percent (33 percent of all conflicts).[21] Incumbents used multiple displacement strategies in only four conflicts: Burundi (1991–, cleansing and relocation); Sudan (1963–72 and 1983–2002, depopulation and relocation); and Myanmar/Burma (1960–95, cleansing and relocation). By contrast, rebel groups orchestrated displacement in only 15 percent of civil wars. Of these, cleansing was used in 54 percent of cases, and forced relocation in 46 percent (see Figure 4.1).[22] These results confirm that states are the most common architects of strategic displacement.

Variation by Region

Strategic displacement occurred in all world regions, though less than one quarter of cases were employed in Europe or by European imperial powers. This

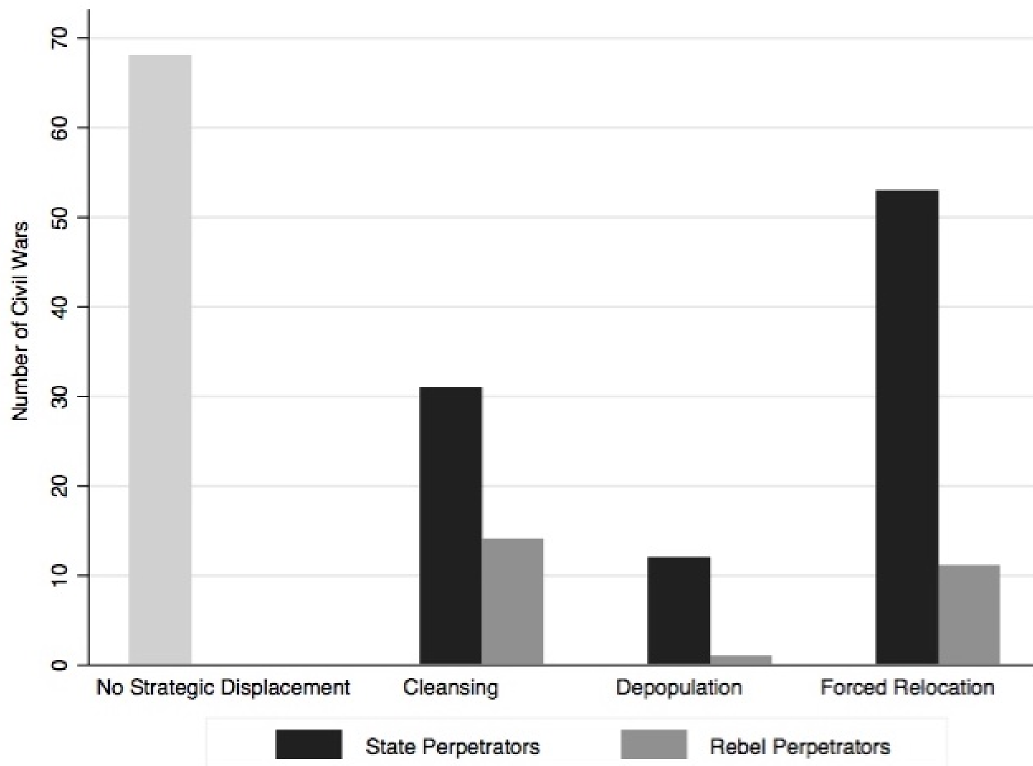
[20] For example, Zhukov (2015) estimates that displacement was employed in one-third of counterinsurgency campaigns from 1945–2006.

[21] 60 percent of cleansings were carried out by pro-government militias, while a vast majority of depopulations (73 percent) and forced relocations (93 percent) were perpetuated by the state's military or police forces.

[22] Rebel perpetrators included UNITA (Angola), Shanti Bahini (Bangladesh), the Khmer Rouge (Cambodia), the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC, Colombia), the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire (ADFL, DR Congo), the Muslim United Front (India/Kashmir), The Free Aceh Movement (GAM, Indonesia), The United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO, Liberia), Renamo (Mozambique), the Revolutionary United Front (RUF, Sierra Leone), *Sendero Luminoso* (Peru), and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE, Sri Lanka).

underscores the importance of examining the use of these practices in a broader range of cases. Europe has, however, experienced more state-induced wartime cleansings than any other region, claiming 39 percent of cases in my sample (twelve conflicts), followed by sub-Saharan Africa (32 percent, or ten conflicts), the Middle East and North Africa (16 percent, or five conflicts), Asia (10 percent, or three conflicts), and Latin America (one conflict). This is particularly striking given that only eleven percent of conflicts between 1945 and 2008 occurred in Europe, meaning that two-thirds of all civil wars in the region featured the use of cleansing by state actors. For each of the other world regions, cleansing occurred in less than one-quarter of all wars.

Figure 4.1: Frequency of Strategic Wartime Displacement by Perpetrator (1945–2008)



Of the 55 conflicts in which incumbents employed forced relocation, 43 percent (or 23 wars) were located in Asia, 43 percent in sub-Saharan Africa, eight percent in Latin America (four wars), four percent in the Middle East and North Africa (two), and two percent in Europe (one). As a proportion of civil wars in the region, relocation was more prominent in Asia (50 percent of all conflicts) than in Africa (39 percent). The twelve wars that experienced depopulation were moderately distributed across regions, though the highest number occurred in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (33 percent, or

four conflicts each). These patterns demonstrate that cleansing has been relatively rare outside of Europe, while forced relocation has been most common in Africa and Asia.

Variation by War Type

As shown in Table 4.2, nearly all instances of state-induced expulsion (both cleansing and depopulation) have occurred in ethnic wars.[23] Yet forced relocation has actually occurred in a higher proportion of non-ethnic wars (41 percent) than ethnic wars (29 percent). The results were similar when I ran the analysis on an alternative measure of ethnic war based on James Fearon's three-level variable, in which 0 indicates a non-ethnic war, 2 an ethnic war, and 1 indicates that the war was ambiguous or mixed.[24]

Table 4.2: Strategic Displacement in Ethnic Wars, 1945–2008 (State Perpetrators)

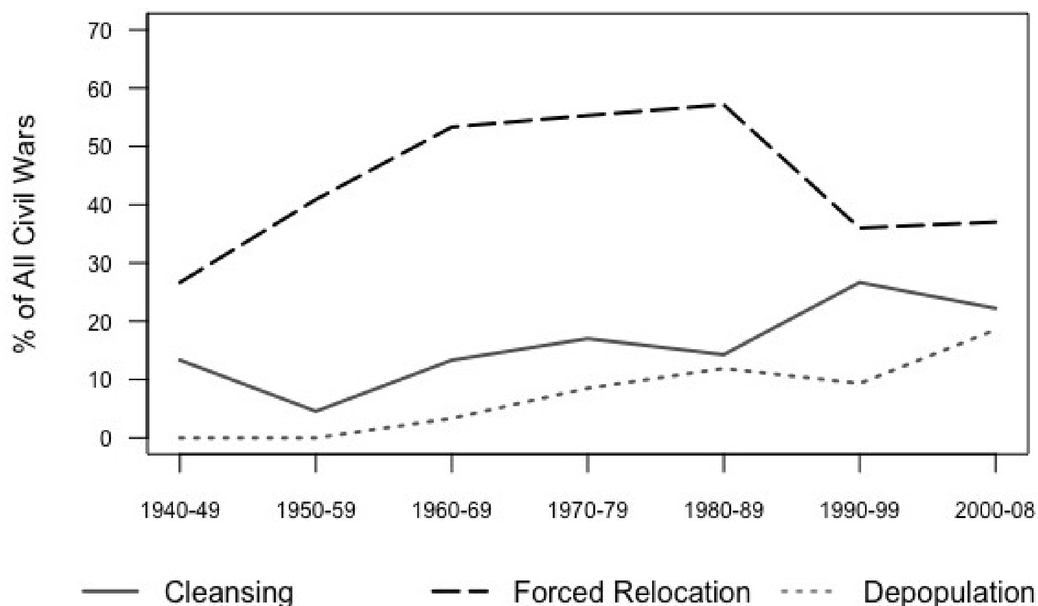
	Non-Ethnic War	*Ethnic War*	*Total*
No Cleansing	98% (53)	71% (76)	80% (128)
Cleansing	2% (1)	29% (30)	66% (32)
Total	34% (54)	66% (106)	100% (160)
χ^2 = 16.02, p=0.00***			
No Depopulation	98% (53)	90% (95)	92% (148)
Depopulation	2% (1)	10% (11)	8% (12)
Total	34% (54)	66% (106)	100% (160)
χ^2 = 3.75, p=0.06**			
No Forced Relocation	59% (32)	71% (75)	67% (107)
Forced Relocation	41% (22)	29% (31)	33% (53)
Total	34% (54)	66% (106)	100% (160)
χ^2 = 2.13, p=0.16			

I also explored whether the incidence and type of strategic displacement varied depending on the aim of the conflict. Fearon categorizes civil wars as having one of three basic aims: rebels sought to take over the central state, rebels attempted to succeed

[23] According to Kalyvas and Balcells (2010)'s coding of ethnic war.
[24] Fearon 2004.

from the state, or the goals of the rebels were mixed or ambiguous.[25] Of the 31 wars in my study where incumbents employed cleansing, 29 percent (or nine conflicts) were aimed at government takeover, 55 percent (17) were secessionist, and 16 percent (five) were mixed or ambiguous. For those that experienced forced relocation, 45 percent of wars (24) sought government takeover, while 49 percent aimed for succession.

Figure 4.2: Prevalence of State-induced Displacement Strategies



Variation by Time Period

Figure 4.2 tracks time trends in each displacement strategy by decade (state perpetrators only). The prevalence of forced relocation in civil wars peaked in the 1980s – even after the 1977 amendment to the Geneva Conventions prohibited "the forced movement of civilians" under international law – before declining after the Cold War.[26] While cleansing and depopulation have occurred in a smaller proportion of wars, they increased in frequency in the 1990s and 2000s. This is likely attributable in part to post-Cold War shifts in the nature of intrastate conflict from irregular to conventional warfare, which I discuss below.[27] Overall, the proportion of conflicts experiencing some form of strategic displacement has remained relatively consistent since the 1960s,

[25] Fearon 2004.
[26] See Article 17, 1977 Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions.
[27] Kalyvas and Balcells 2010, 423.

despite a steady increase in the number of people reportedly uprooted by violence and persecution globally (as shown in Chapter 1). This should somewhat assuage concerns that any increased interest in, or better reporting on, wartime displacement over time is biasing the data.

Dependent Variable

Because my unit of analysis is the conflict, in order to construct the dependent variable I need to determine how to treat the four conflicts in SDCC that experienced multiple types of state-induced displacement. For example, during the civil war in Burundi (1991–2005) state forces committed cleansing against Hutu residents of Bujumbura in 1993 and then engaged in the forced relocation of rural populations from 1996–2003. While fighting various insurgencies from 1960 to 1995, the government of Myanmar (Burma) employed cleansing against Rohingya Muslims in Arakan State and in other regions forcibly relocated Karen, Kachin, Mon, and Shan populations. For these cases, I coded the dependent variable based on the primary type of displacement employed in the conflict, in terms of intensity, duration, and scope. As a robustness check I used the secondary type of displacement as the outcome variable. The results were not substantively different than those presented below.

Independent Variables

Chapter 2 develops a series of hypotheses for different explanations for strategic wartime displacement. Again, the focus of this study is on displacement induced by state actors. The independent variables in my analysis correspond to the macro-level implications of each argument, and are outlined in Table 4.4. In some cases I use multiple measures to proxy for the concept in question, and in the last part of this chapter I re-run the analysis using alternative variables to check the sensitivity of the results.

Assortative Variables

For *H1a*, I set a dichotomous variable equal to one if a conflict was an *irregular* war and zero if it was a symmetric war, which covers both conventional and symmetric non-conventional (SNC) conflicts. This measure is based on Kalyvas and Balcells' coding of military technologies of rebellion at the onset of a civil war.[28]

To proxy for rural, peripheral insurgencies (*H1b*), I use two separate but related measures. The first is a dichotomous measure of border conflict (*bordconf*) set equal to one if the conflict zone (a) falls outside the capital city, (b) abuts an international

[28] Kalyvas and Balcells 2010. In ten conflicts (6 percent), technologies of rebellion change during the war, but the results are robust to using these alternative measures.

or coastal border, and (c) has a significant rural component. While wars in distant borderlands tend to be waged in the countryside, there are several exceptions where fighting primarily occurred in urban areas, such as India (1984–93), Algeria (1992–), and Chechnya (1999–2009). Data for (a) and (b) were taken from Halvard Buhaug, Scott Gates, and Päivi Lujala, who use Geographic Information System (GIS) data to measure the geography of civil wars between 1945 and 2003.[29] For (c), I relied on multiple qualitative and quantitative classifications of rural and urban insurgencies, since geo-coded datasets such as ACLED and UCDP GED are too limited in country and temporal scope.[30]

As a second measure I use *distance*, in kilometers (logged), between the capital and the conflict zone.[31] Since distance is influenced by country size, when analyzing this variable I include a control for the *land area* (logged) of the host state. Both measures were drawn from Buhaug, Gates and Lujala.[32] While previous research has attributed some of these factors at the country level to civil war onset,[33] subsequent studies have found that the geographical characteristics of conflict zones tend to differ from those of the host countries.[34]

H1c contends that cleansing is more likely where group-level information about wartime loyalties is readily available, while forced relocation is less likely. As noted in Chapter 2, such information is typically revealed in one of two ways. The first is when elections occur during (or preceding) a conflict, which reveal the political preferences of each community. I therefore use *elections*, a dichotomous variable indicating whether at least one round of competitive national or local elections occurred during the conflict or within five years prior, according to data compiled by Abbey Steele and Livia

[29] Buhaug et al. 2009. Note that this is a conservative coding procedure, and may actually underestimate the effect of border conflict on the incidence of forced relocation. Because of how the authors use GIS, their variable only captures areas adjacent to a border with another state. This means that several wars in island nations are not coded even though the insurgencies were concentrated in regions along the country's coastal periphery – including Aceh and Timor in Indonesia, Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, Jaffa in Sri Lanka, and Mindanao in the Philippines. Several of these cases have also experienced the strategic use of forced relocation.

[30] I first examined classifications of rural and urban insurgencies by Calluzzo (2010). Calluzzo looked at overall insurgent strategy, relative emphasis of counterinsurgent activity, relative tactical emphasis of insurgent activity, and location of bases of support to determine whether an insurgency primarily focused on urban areas, primarily focused on rural areas, or focused equally on both rural and urban areas. A classification of rural or mixed insurgency indicated that the conflict zone had a significant rural component. To cross-check this coding, I consulted a RAND study of counterinsurgency campaigns (Paul et al. 2010) – which includes an indicator for whether a campaign was "primarily urban" – along with qualitative classifications of urban and rural insurgencies described by Staniland (2010) and Hoffman and Taw (1991).

[31] Zhukov 2015.

[32] Buhaug et al. 2009. For *distance*, I filled in missing data using capital-conflict zone distance from Lyall and Wilson (2009). Excluding this data does not significantly change the results.

[33] Fearon and Laitin 2003.

[34] Buhaug and Lujala 2005.

Schubiger.[35] This coding actually biases in favor of the punishment argument, since it does not account for the possibility that elections may have been held *after* displacement was first employed in a conflict.

A second way in which group-level information about civilian loyalties can be revealed is when a rebel group claims to fight on behalf of a particular ethnic or religious group. This will encourage perpetrators to treat group membership as a proxy for support for insurgents. footnoteThis proposition differs from *H4b* in that it emphasizes the existence of an ethnic constituency that rebels claim to represent, whereas *H4b* focuses on how small and concentrated that constituency is. To measure this, I use the variable *rebclaim* from the Ethnic Power Relations dataset, which indicates whether insurgents made an exclusive claim to fight on behalf of a specific ethnic group.[36]

For the hypothesis on civilian instrumentalization (*H2a*), I use a dichotomous variable, *CDF*, that denotes whether civilian defense forces were mobilized during the war, according to Goran Peic.[37] CDFs are defined as a type of pro-government militia that (1) is comprised mainly of civilians; (2) is raised, armed, or supported by the state; (3) operates in the neighborhood, village, or region where they were recruited; and (4) undertakes defensive roles against insurgents. Examples include the *Rondas Campesinas* in Peru, the Thai Village Defense Volunteers, and the Sandinista People's Militia in Nicaragua. Table 4.3 displays a cross tabulation between the primary type of strategic displacement employed in each conflict and CDF mobilization. The table shows that incumbents raised these civilian forces in 37 percent of civil wars from 1945–2008.

Table 4.3: Strategic Displacement and Civilian Defense Forces (CDFs), 1945–2008

	No CDF	*CDF*	*Total*
No Strategic Displacement	58% (25)	15% (5)	42% (67)
Cleansing	25% (25)	8% (5)	19% (30)
Depopulation	7% (7)	5% (3)	6% (10)
Forced Relocation	11% (11)	72% (42)	33% (53)
Total	63% (101)	37% (59)	100% (160)

χ^2 = 62.21, p = 0.00***

[35] Steele and Schubiger 2018. The authors identified competitive national elections (presidential or legislative) in all civil wars from 1945–2004 based on NELDA (Hyde and Marinov 2012), and local elections based on a World Bank database (Beck et al. 2001). Non-competitive elections were not included.

[36] Cederman et al. 2010.

[37] Peic 2014 To fill in missing data I use Clayton and Thomson (2016).

Finally, for *H2b*, I use an indicator for whether an incumbent was fighting a parallel conflict (*parconf*), according to UCDP.[38] This included both military conflicts with another state and other domestic insurgencies.

Other Variables

To proxy for ethnic nationalism, I use Fearon's three-level variable for *ethnic war* (*H3a*)[39] and a measure of exclusionary ideology (*exclusionary*) from the Center for Systemic Peace (*H3b*).[40] Since the data for the latter only goes back to 1955, in order to code earlier cases I adopt a similar approach to Daniel Krcmaric and code "strict variants of communism and sharia law" as exclusionary ideologies.[41]

For denial arguments, two dichotomous variables serve as proxies for rebel "embeddedness" in the civilian population (*H4a*). The first, *rebextsupp*, indicates whether rebels received troops, supplies, money, or sanctuary from a foreign sponsor,[42] which weakens the interdependence between insurgents and the local population.[43] In her study on rebel governance, Reyko Huang finds that externally-funded rebels are five times less likely to "systematically rely on civilians" compared to those that lack foreign supporters.[44] The second variable, rebel forced recruitment (*rebel FR*), indicates a group's reliance on civilians for manpower and is based on data collected by Dara Cohen and several other sources.[45]

For *H4b*, I followed Stanton[46] and used an indicator for small, concentrated rebel constituency (*rebconcen*) constructed using data from Minorities at Risk.[47] Constructing this measure involved identifying rebels' base of support in each conflict using the Ethnic Power Relations dataset and setting the variable equal to one if a rebel group's ethnic base was (a) located in one region of the country, (b) 25 percent or more of the group's population lived in the region, and (c) the group constituted "the predominant portion of the population" in the region.[48]

For punishment-related arguments, I used a dichotomous measure of whether state forces perpetuated mass killing against civilians during the conflict, according

[38] Gleditsch et al. 2002.
[39] Fearon 2004.
[40] Gurr and Harff.
[41] Krcmaric 2018.
[42] According to Högbladh et al. (2011 (March))
[43] Weinstein 2006; Zhukov 2017.
[44] Huang 2016, 83.
[45] Since Cohen (2016)'s data only covers conflicts after 1980, I also used studies by Thomas and Bond (2015) and Beber and Blattman (2013), which code abduction and forced recruitment by rebel groups since the 1950s, mostly in Africa. For conflicts on which data was missing, I used case histories to determine whether rebels engaged in forced recruitment. If the evidence was unclear, the variable was coded as missing.
[46] Stanton 2016.
[47] Weidmann et al. 2010.
[48] Cederman et al. 2010.

to the Political Instability Task Force.[49] *Mass kill* is defined as "any event in which the actions of state agents result in the intentional death of at least 1,000 noncombatants."

Table 4.4: Arguments, Hypotheses, and Variables

Argument	*Hypothesis*	***Variable*** *(Source)*
Assortative (Sorting)	*H1a*: Irregular war → Forced relocation Conventional war → Cleansing	**Technologies of rebellion** (Kalyvas and Balcells 2010)
	H1b: Rural, peripheral insurgency → Forced relocation	**Bordconf** (Multiple) **Distance** (Buhaug et al. 2009)
	H1c: Group-level info. unavailable → Forced relocation; available → Cleansing	**Elections** (Steele and Schubiger 2018) **Rebclaim** (Cederman et al. 2010)
Assortative (Capturing)	*H2a*: Civilian defense forces ↔ Forced relocation	**CDF** (Peic 2014; Clayton and Thomson 2016)
	H2b: Multiple conflicts/rebel groups → Forced relocation	**Parconf** (Gleditsch et al. 2002)
Ethnic Nationalism	*H3a*: Ethnic war → Strategic displacement	**Ethnic war** (Fearon 2004)
	H3b: Exclusionary elites → Strategic displacement	**Exclusionary** (Gurr and Harff)
Denial	*H4a*: Rebel embeddedness → Strategic displacement	**Rebextsupp** (Högbladh et al., 2011 (March)) **Rebel FR** (Cohen 2016)
	H4b: Concentrated rebel constituency → Strategic displacement	**Rebconcen** (Weidmann et al. 2010)
Punishment	*H5*: Mass killing → (More/less) Strategic displacement	**Mass killing** (Ulfelder and Valentino 2008)

Controls

I controlled for the country's level of development (*GDP per capita*, logged), the size of its *population* (logged), and its level of *democracy* (Polity IV), which have all been identified as important factors influencing wartime violence and repression.[50] I also

[49] Ulfelder and Valentino 2008.

[50] GDP and population data were taken from Fearon and Laitin (2003). Polity data came from Gurr et al.

used battle deaths per month (*bdeaths*) to control for conflict intensity,[51] along with the number of military personnel (*milper*), an indicator of incumbents' capacity.[52]

Table 4.4 summarizes the hypotheses, variables, and data sources. Summary statistics are displayed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Summary Statistics

	Obs	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Cleansing (Govt)	160	0.19	0.40	0.00	1.00
Depopulation (Govt)	160	0.07	0.26	0.00	1.00
Relocation (Govt)	160	0.33	0.47	0.00	1.00
Irregular	160	0.57	0.50	0.00	1.00
Bordconf	160	0.45	0.50	0.00	1.00
Distance (l)	154	5.40	1.90	1.61	9.13
Land area (l)	159	6.03	1.71	1.79	9.73
Elections	160	0.56	0.50	0.00	1.00
Rebclaim	158	0.58	0.50	0.00	1.00
CDF	160	0.37	0.48	0.00	1.00
Parconf	160	0.34	0.47	0.00	1.00
Ethnic war	156	1.14	0.86	0.00	2.00
Exclusionary	159	0.36	0.48	0.00	1.00
Rebextsupp	160	0.54	0.50	0.00	1.00
Rebel FR	153	0.46	0.50	0.00	1.00
Rebconcen	159	0.43	0.50	0.00	1.00
Mass kill	160	0.61	0.49	0.00	1.00
GDP/capita (l)	159	1.54	1.33	0.05	6.24
Population (l)	160	9.70	1.61	4.28	13.67
Democracy	160	-1.44	5.44	-10.00	10.00
Bdeaths	156	525.16	790.25	3.44	3000.00
Milper	160	340.07	728.61	1.00	4015.00

4.2 Analysis

I begin by exploring the relationship between strategic wartime displacement and military technologies of rebellion. Table 4.6 displays cross tabulations based on the

[51] Estimates of battle deaths, taken from Lacina and Gleditsch (2005), vary by conflict-year. Using the "best" estimate where available and the "low" estimate otherwise, I calculated total battle deaths divided by the number of months the conflict lasted. Like Balcells and Kalyvas (2014), I used a variable normalized on conflict duration because I am interested in relative rather than absolute lethality.

[52] Taken from Singer et al. (1972).

primary type of displacement employed in each conflict. The results lend strong support to *H1a*, as conventional wars were more likely to experience cleansing than irregular wars (35 percent compared to 8 percent), while irregular wars were much more likely to experience forced relocation (53 percent) compared to conventional and SNC conflicts (6 and 11 percent, respectively).[53] The differences are highly statistically significant ($p <$ 0.001). In total, nearly two-thirds of cleansing occurred in conventional wars, while an overwhelming majority of forced relocations (90 percent) occurred in irregular contests. Thus contrary to what Balcells and Steele suggest in their comparative analysis of armed group displacement in Spain and Colombia, different kinds of civil wars appear to experience different forms of strategic displacement.[54]

Table 4.6: Strategic Displacement and Technologies of Rebellion , 1945–2008

	Conventional	*Irregular*	*SNC*	*Total*
No Strategic Displacement	49% (25)	34% (31)	67%(12)	43% (68)
Cleansing	35% (18)	7% (8)	22%(4)	18% (29)
Depopulation	10% (5)	5% (5)	0% (0)	6% (10)
Forced Relocation	6% (3)	53% (48)	11% (2)	33% (53)
Total	32% (51)	57% (91)	11% (18)	100% (160)

$\chi^2 = 45.31$, p = 0.000***

Moving beyond bivariate analysis, I ran a series of multinomial logistic regressions to estimate the effect of each variable on the likelihood that a specific type of strategic displacement is employed by state forces in a given conflict. I use an unordered multinomial logit with four outcomes: cleansing, depopulation, forced relocation, and no strategic displacement (the reference category). Estimates using binary logit models, in which the reference category is adjusted, are not substantially different from the findings presented here (see Appendix F for results).

I tested each set of arguments in separate models and together in two comprehensive models. I reported robust standard errors clustered by country in order to address the probability that conflicts in the same country are not statistically

[53] This relationship helps explain broader displacement patterns. Specifically, for all conflicts in SDCC waged between 1975 and 2008, according to data from Marshall (2008), the median number of IDPs produced by irregular wars (418,630) was nearly 40 percent higher than those produced by symmetric (conventional and SNC) conflicts (305,000). Yet symmetric conflicts produced nearly four times more refugees (median average of 124,500) than irregular wars (37,320).

[54] Balcells and Steele 2016.

independent of each other. The results are presented in Table 4.7. My analysis focuses on the findings for cleansing and forced relocation because the number of cases of depopulation is too small (*N=12*) to draw reliable conclusions. In each model, I include a control for *irregular* war along with the other control variables in order to account for the relationship between displacement type and technologies of rebellion shown in Table 4.6.

Assortative Logics

The findings from Table 4.7 lend support to the proposition that forced relocation is associated with rural, peripheral conflicts (*H1b*) according to multiple specifications – while cleansing is more common in wars fought at the center. The coefficients for *bordconf* and *distance* are positive and highly statistically significant for relocation, even when controlling for the size of the country, across multiple specifications. These variables are consistently negative, however, for cleansing. In terms of substantive effects, Figure 4.3 shows that forced relocation is nine times more likely in border conflicts as in non-border conflicts, whereas cleansing is three times *less* likely in border conflicts. It is important to recall that SDCC draws from a sample of conflicts that excludes urban uprisings, such as the "dirty war" in Argentina, the Troubles in Ireland, and the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN) in Venezuela – which are typically coded as civil wars in other datasets. Given the lack of reports of forced relocation in these cases, the effect of border conflict in my analysis may actually be an underestimate.

Table 4.7: Strategic Wartime Displacement: Multinomial Logit Results

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Cleansing							
Distance	−0.42∗					−0.58 ∗ ∗	
	(0.23)					(0.27)	
Land area	0.46 ∗ ∗∗					0.41 ∗ ∗	
	(0.17)					(0.19)	
Bordconf		−0.31					−0.52
		(0.68)					(0.84)
Elections	1.53	0.60				1.32	0.13
	(0.94)	(0.70)				(1.15)	(0.97)
Rebclaim	4.86 ∗ ∗∗	3.61 ∗ ∗∗				3.85 ∗ ∗∗	3.12 ∗ ∗∗
	(1.50)	(1.18)				(1.44)	(1.12)
CDF	1.55	1.08				1.70	1.78 ∗ ∗
	(0.84)	(0.73)				(0.93)	(0.77)
Ethnic war			1.02 ∗ ∗∗			0.51	0.60
			(0.35)			(0.41)	(0.52)
Exclusionary			1.55 ∗ ∗∗			0.31	0.43
			(0.50)			(0.93)	(0.84)
Rebextsupp				1.64 ∗ ∗		1.35	1.55∗

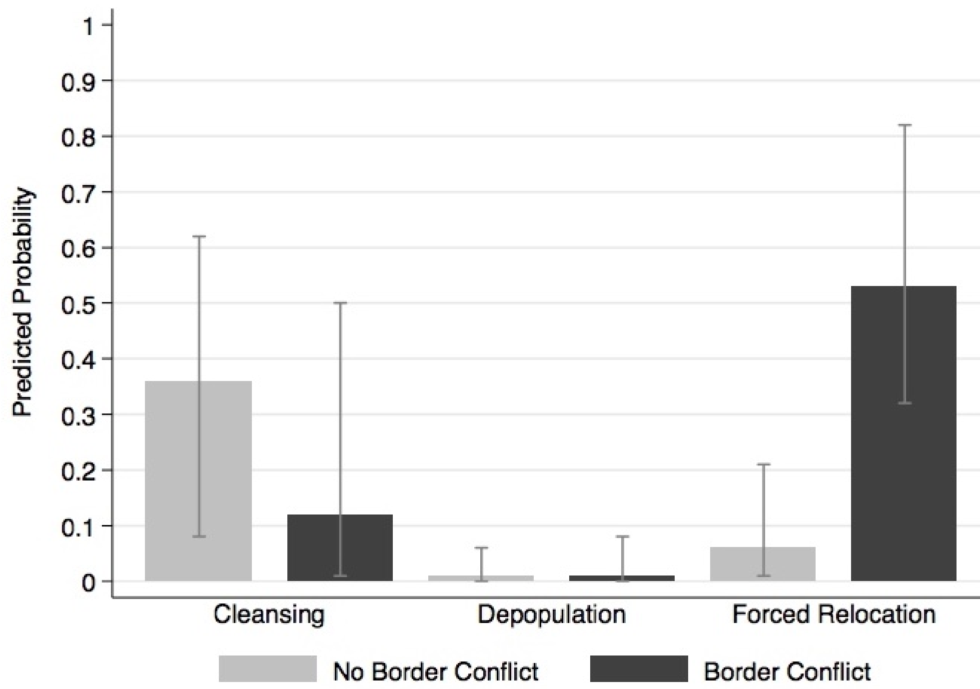
				(0.69)		(0.91)	(0.92)
Rebel FR				−0.01		−0.10	0.07
				(0.62)		(0.58)	(0.69)
Rebconcen				−0.07		−0.46	−1.06
				(0.53)		(0.83)	(0.71)
Mass kill					1.54 * **	1.94 * *	1.75 * *
					(0.59)	(0.97)	(0.69)
Irregular	−1.91 * **	−1.45 * **	−1.45 * *	−1.73 * **	−1.12*	−2.73 * **	−2.23 * **
	(0.64)	(0.52)	(0.63)	(0.64)	(0.57)	(0.93)	(0.72)
GDP	1.02 * **	0.62 * **	0.43 * *	0.61 * **	0.60 * **	1.15 * **	0.66 * **
	(0.24)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.33)	(0.23)
Population	−0.50 * *	−0.27	−0.24*	−0.28*	−0.22	−0.68 * **	−0.43*
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.23)	(0.22)
Democracy	0.01	−0.03	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.02	−0.05
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Bdeaths	0.00*	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 * **	0.00	0.00*	0.00 * **
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−3.38	−2.63	−0.84	−0.13	−0.66	−2.59	−3.21
	(2.93)	(2.24)	(1.51)	(1.61)	(1.44)	(2.58)	(2.67)
Depopulation							
Distance	0.33					0.34	
	(0.22)					(0.26)	
Land area	0.67*					0.32	
	(0.40)					(0.40)	
Bordconf		1.03					0.18
		(0.97)					(1.20)
Elections	2.37	1.88				2.17	1.44
	(1.58)	(1.48)				(1.76)	(1.11)
Rebclaim	1.77	0.61				0.20	−1.27
	(1.63)	(1.31)				(1.76)	(1.59)
CDF	1.33	0.80				0.27	0.17
	(1.40)	(1.09)				(1.57)	(1.55)
Ethnic war			1.30 * *			1.02 * *	1.28*
			(0.60)			(0.51)	(0.70)
Exclusionary			0.55			−0.03	0.67
			(0.75)			(0.74)	(0.76)
Rebextsupp				−0.09		−0.81	−0.44
				(0.92)		(1.34)	(1.18)
Rebel FR				1.65 * *		1.91 * *	1.76
				(0.79)		(0.94)	(1.15)
Rebconcen				1.99 * *		1.14	1.80
				(0.90)		(1.18)	(1.69)
Mass kill					1.07	0.09	0.80
					(0.95)	(1.07)	(1.02)
Irregular	−1.76	−0.84	−0.03	−0.14	−0.09	−1.45	−0.82
	(1.36)	(1.03)	(0.96)	(1.11)	(0.94)	(1.29)	(1.52)
GDP	1.47 * **	0.99 * **	0.75 * **	0.89 * **	0.94 * **	1.50 * **	0.79 * *
	(0.39)	(0.36)	(0.26)	(0.34)	(0.29)	(0.47)	(0.40)
Population	−0.56 * *	−0.28	−0.30	−0.27	−0.31*	−0.52	−0.17
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.19)	(0.34)	(0.33)
Democracy	−0.00	0.00	0.04	−0.00	0.05	−0.04	−0.03

	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.11)
Bdeaths	0.00 * *	0.00*	0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00 * **	0.00 * *
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−8.45	−3.65	−3.02	−3.81	−2.01	−8.28	−6.91
	(5.27)	(2.62)	(2.20)	(3.18)	(2.18)	(5.52)	(4.95)
Relocation							
Distance	1.44 * **					1.97 * **	
	(0.40)					(0.54)	
Land area	−0.63*					−0.79 * *	
	(0.36)					(0.38)	
Bordconf		2.71 * **					3.86 * **
		(0.78)					(1.13)
Elections	−0.74	−0.52				−1.56 * *	−0.78
	(0.65)	(0.75)				(0.70)	(0.83)
Rebclaim	−0.21	−1.00				−2.31 * *	−1.65
	(0.61)	(0.84)				(1.03)	(1.22)
CDF	4.05 * **	3.11 * **				4.68 * **	3.25 * **
	(0.78)	(0.59)				(1.02)	(0.75)
Ethnic war			0.28			1.35 * *	1.04*
			(0.26)			(0.62)	(0.48)
Exclusionary			0.49			−0.26	−0.72
			(0.48)			(0.88)	(0.82)
Rebextsupp				1.01 * *		1.83 * *	0.23
				(0.43)		(0.83)	(0.48)
Rebel FR				0.34		0.46	−0.82
				(0.49)		(0.78)	(0.80)
Rebconcen				0.21		−0.07	−1.67*
				(0.53)		(0.85)	(0.86)
Mass kill					0.45	1.60	1.62 * *
					(0.46)	(0.94)	(0.72)
Irregular	1.23	1.83 * *	2.26 * **	2.27 * **	2.28 * **	2.00 * *	1.84*
	(0.79)	(0.83)	(0.76)	(0.81)	(0.75)	(0.96)	(1.09)
GDP	−0.72 * *	−0.70*	−0.39	−0.34	−0.32	−1.14 * **	−0.97 * *
	(0.32)	(0.36)	(0.31)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.37)	(0.47)
Population	−0.20	−0.10	−0.02	−0.02	−0.01	−0.18	−0.27
	(0.27)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.32)	(0.24)
Democracy	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Bdeaths	−0.00 * *	−0.00 * *	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00 * *
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00*	0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−3.44	−1.35	−1.11	−1.84	−1.32	−8.11*	−0.36
	(3.51)	(1.86)	(1.52)	(1.38)	(1.54)	(4.60)	(2.66)
Observations	149	154	150	147	155	137	141
Pseudo R^2	0.51	0.46	0.25	0.26	0.21	0.58	0.54

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

According to Table 4.7, the coefficients for *elections* and *rebclaim* are positive for

Figure 4.3: Predicted Probability of Strategic Wartime Displacement



Note: Mean predicted probabilities based on Model 7 in Table 4.7 with standard errors clustered by country. Continuous variables set at mean values and dichotomous variables at median values. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Estimates calculated using CLARIFY (Tomz et al. 2003).

cleansing, and *rebclaim* is highly statistically significant across multiple specifications.[55] This supports the notion that when rebels fight on behalf of a particular ethnic group, incumbents are more likely to use ethnic affiliation as a group-level proxy for political loyalty and target members for expulsion. In contrast, both of these variables are negative for relocation. Nevertheless, it is possible that even non-competitive elections reveal information about community loyalties, and could therefore provide a marker for collective expulsion. Yet the results do not change if the *elections* variable in Table 4.7 is expanded to include non-competitive elections, according to the National Elections Across Democracy and Autocracy (NELDA) database.[56] This offers evidence for *H1c* by indicating that, while cleansing is more likely when group-level information about wartime loyalties – whether revealed through electoral results or ethnic ties to

[55] *Elections* nearly reaches statistical significant at the 0.10 level (*p=.103*).

[56] Hyde and Marinov 2012. This finding holds even when only local elections are accounted for – an important check because, as Steele (2017, 45) points out, national elections may not reveal the kind of fine-grained information about political loyalties required for collective targeting because the level of vote aggregation is too high.

insurgents – is available, relocation is more likely in the *absence* of such information.

These results support my expectations regarding the form that strategic displacement should take, and the kinds of conflicts in which it is likely to be used, if uprooting civilians is driven by an assortative logic. But the findings are also potentially consistent with alternative arguments that, while emphasizing different logics, still anticipate strategic displacement where combatants are starved for information. The results for other variables provide a better test of the assortative theory vis-à-vis competing mechanisms. Models 1-2 and 6-7 in Table 4.7 confirm that civilian defense forces are mobilized much more frequently in conflicts where incumbents employ forced relocation (*H2a*). The coefficient for *CDF* is positive and highly statistically significant for relocation, and for cleansing the coefficient is consistently positive but generally insignificant.

Given the finding from prior studies that CDFs are often part of state efforts to overcome asymmetric information, the relationship between forced relocation and the formation of CDFs may be endogenous.[57] In some conflicts, the creation of CDFs started before incumbents initiated relocation; in other cases, units were not mobilized until after civilians were relocated. This association is meant to illuminate a potential function of relocation, rather than an underlying condition that gives rise to it. While the result could simply reflect states "outsourcing" relocation to pro-government militias (PGMs), I find that other PGMs – such as death squads and paramilitary forces – are less likely to be used in conflicts with CDFs.[58]

Ethnic Nationalism

There is some support for ethnic nationalism in helping account for strategic displacement – but the results are not robust. The coefficients for *ethnic war* (*H3a*) and *exclusionary* ideology (*H3b*) are consistently positive for cleansing and forced relocation, and while they reach statistical significance in some models, the finding is not consistent across specifications. This indicates that ethnic conflicts, and those in which state leaders harbor chauvinistic beliefs, may be more likely to experience state-induced population displacement. Yet ethnic nationalism does not appear to sufficiently explain the incidence of strategic cleansing or relocation, according to these measures.

[57] Clayton and Thomson 2016.

[58] 61 percent of wars where CDFs were mobilized also featured other PGMs, compared to 64 percent of wars without CDFs. A logistic regression with an indicator for *otherPGM* as the independent variable (based on data from Carey et al. (2013)) found that the presence of PGMs other than CDFs was positively and statistically significantly associated with the use of cleansing but negatively and significantly associated with forced relocation (not shown).

Denial

The denial mechanism is not supported for both cleansing and forced relocation, as indicators of rebel embeddedness do not align with expectations. The sign for external support (*rebextsupp*, *H4a*) is consistently positive in Table 4.7 and thus not in the hypothesized direction. The results for forced recruitment by rebels (*rebel FR*) are mixed, though none are statistically significant. These findings indicate that strategic displacement is actually *more* likely where rebels are able to rely on support from sources other than the local population.

But an association between displacement and a particular type of external support – foreign sanctuaries – could still be consistent with a denial logic. If rebels have a base in a neighboring country, an incumbent might relocate civilians to prevent them from crossing the border and turning into "refugee warriors."[59] Alternatively, an incumbent may engage in cleansing to purge their territories of potential "fifth column" minority groups that ostensibly support a hostile neighbor.[60] In both scenarios, strategic displacement is driven by a need to forestall cross-border insurgencies. Yet the results for both cleansing and forced relocation do not change when *rebextsupp* is replaced with an indicator for *external base* in Models 4, 6, and 7 (not shown).[61] Finally, concentrated rebel constituency (*rebconc*, *H4b*) is statistically insignificant, and the coefficient is generally negative, for both relocation and cleansing. This is notable since it differs from Stanton, who for civil wars from 1989-2010 finds a positive and significant relationship between concentrated rebel constituencies and government cleansing strategies.[62]

Punishment

Regarding the punishment mechanism, the results in Table 4.7 show that cleansing is positively and statistically significantly associated with mass killing across multiple specifications. Yet the relationship between mass killing and forced relocation, while slightly significant in Model 7, is not significant in Models 5 and 6. This suggests that cleansing, but not relocation, may serve as a complement to, or a substitute for, punishing civilians through lethal violence.

The punishment logic also suggests a potential relationship between strategic displacement and lethal violence. On the one hand, displacement may be more likely in conflicts with higher levels of civilian victimization, since massacres are sometimes used to orchestrate civilian flight. On the other hand, displacement may serve as a substitute for – and therefore correlate negatively with – mass killing because it offers

[59] Stedman and Tanner 2004; Lischer 2005.

[60] Mylonas 2013.

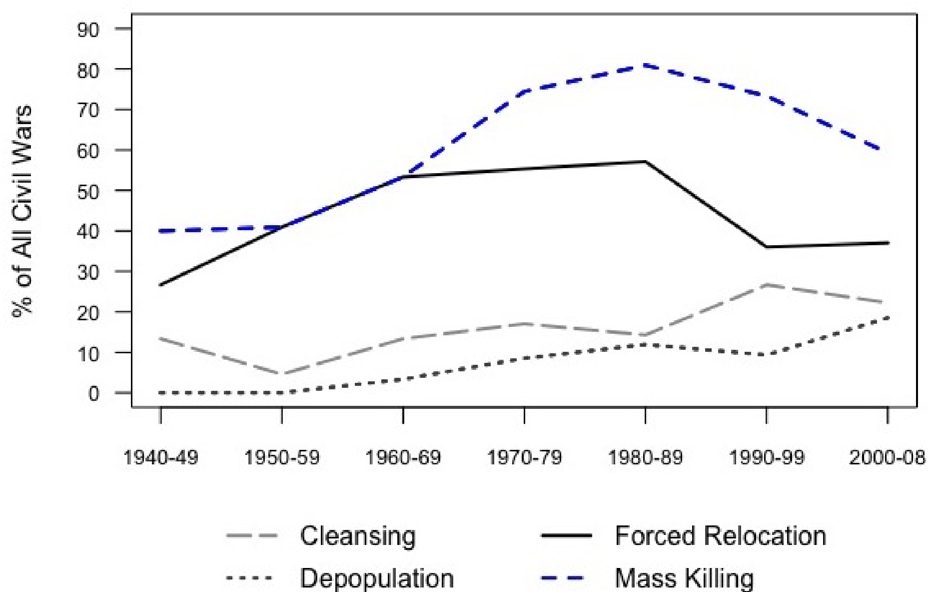
[61] To test the "fifth column" argument, in addition to *external base* I ran an indicator for whether the external base was located in a rival neighboring country. Data for both variables were taken from Salehyan (2008) and Högbladh et al. (2011 (March)).

[62] Stanton 2016.

combatants plausible deniability: they can claim people moved on their own volition, potentially avoiding the condemnation that comes with killing civilians.[63] Thus strategic displacement should correlate either positively or negatively with state-led mass violence against civilians in civil wars.

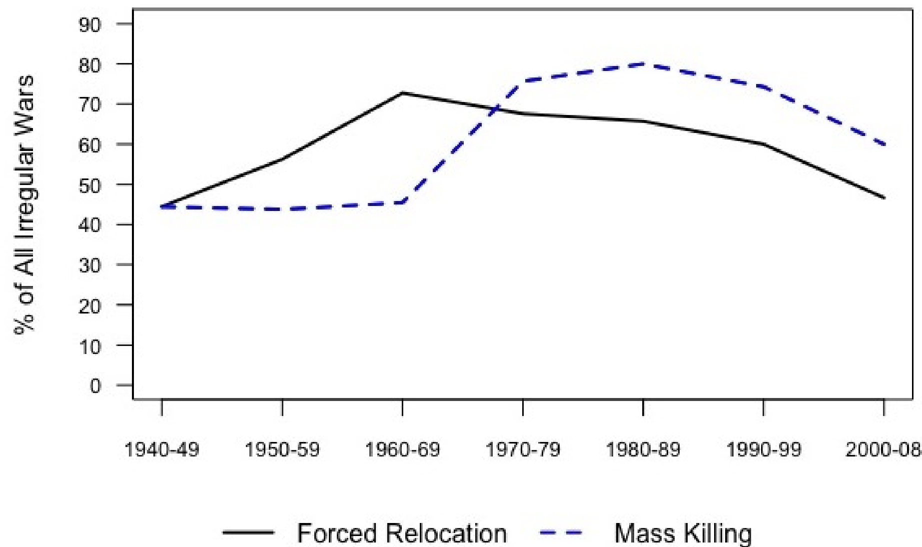
A substitution effect between strategies of mass killing and those of mass displacement could also be revealed in temporal patterns. Due to the rise of norms against killing noncombatants in wartime, it is plausible that counterinsurgents have increasingly opted for displacement over massacres in response to pressures in the international system and concerns over the reputational costs of slaughtering civilians. Time trends in strategic displacement and mass killing (Figure 5.1) indicate that this might be true for some types of displacement: the percentage of civil wars experiencing cleansing and depopulation increased in the 1990s as the relative use of mass killing began to wane. But the incidence of forced relocation in armed conflicts, like mass killing, peaked in the 1980s before declining during the following decade. Much of this decline seems to be related to the drop in irregular conflict after the Cold War: if the sample is limited to irregular wars, mass killing surpassed forced relocation in relative frequency in the 1970s, and then declined at a lower rate in subsequent decades (Figure 4.5). These trends further indicate a relationship between government strategies of mass killing and mass displacement when it comes to population expulsion, but not forced relocation.

Figure 4.4: Strategic Wartime Displacement and Mass Killing, by Decade



[63] Steele 2011, 2017.

Figure 4.5: Strategic Displacement and Mass Killing (Irregular Wars Only)



As a separate test of the punishment logic, for cases where I was able to identify when during a conflict displacement was employed, I calculated the average number of annual battle fatalities pre- and post-displacement. While my analysis primarily uses battle deaths as a proxy for conflict intensity, given the high correlation between battle deaths and civilian deaths,[64] if the primary aim of displacement is to

punish, we should observe more lethal violence after these measures are enacted. In conflicts where data was available, the results for cleansing are consistent with this logic: the median number of fatalities skyrockets from an *annual* average of 422 pre-displacement to 2,629 post-displacement. For relocation, however, fatalities actually decreased on average, from 1,500 pre-displacement to 1,155 post-displacement (Table 4.8).

Combined with the results from the main analysis, these findings provide evidence that punishment logics can explain cleansing, but not forced relocation. Overall, the results are consistent with the notion that cleansing is an *outcome* of an identification process whereby combatants make a determination about who is desirable (or potentially loyal) and who is undesirable (or disloyal) based on group-specific traits. Forced relocation, meanwhile, is more likely in conflicts where authorities lack the information to make these determinations *ex ante* – environments that may incentivize the use of displacement itself as an identification process.

[64] Weinstein 2006; Cohen 2016.

Table 4.8: Annual Battle Deaths Pre- and Post-Displacement (1945–2008)

		N	*Mean*	*Median*	*SD*	*Min*	*Max*
Cleansing	Pre-Displacement	11	3,056	422	6,341	20	20,284
	Post-Displacement	17	9,246	2,629	12,925	379	50,000
Forced Relocation	Pre-Displacement	35	5,708	1,500	10,062	25	41,947
	Post-Displacement	35	4,910	1,155	9,852	49	41,947

Additional Factors and Controls

According to Table 4.7, *irregular* is generally negative and statistically significant for cleansing and positive and significant for relocation, consistent with the bivariate results from Table 4.6. Both *GDP per capita* and military personnel (*milper*) are consistently positive for cleansing but negative for relocation, and the results for *GDP per capita* are often statistically significant. This suggests that cleansing tends to be employed by stronger incumbents in more developed countries, and relocation by weaker incumbents in poorer countries. Finally, *bdeaths* is generally positive for cleansing but negative for relocation, indicating that the latter strategy is actually more likely in *less* intense wars.

Variation in Forced Relocation in Irregular Wars

H2b posits that forced relocation may be motivated by a lack of information *and* a lack of resources. This proposition can help explain variation in the use of this type of strategic displacement within guerrilla conflicts. To test this, I re-ran the analysis using binary logistic regression on a subsample of irregular wars (*N=90*) with forced relocation as the dependent variable and the same independent and control variables used in the primary analysis, plus the variable *parconf* (for *H2b*). I also included a control for whether incumbents employed an alternative displacement strategy (cleansing or depopulation) during the conflict.

The findings (Table 4.9) are consistent with the main analysis: relocation is positively associated with *distance*, *CDF*, and *bordconf*, all of which are statistically significant. As expected, relocation has not been employed in irregular wars featuring urban revolts or insurgencies, including Algeria (1992–), Bolivia (1952), Iraq (2003–11), Nicaragua (1978–79), Nigeria (1980–85), and Zimbabwe (1983–87). While the Indian army has routinely relocated civilians during military operations against Maoist and ethnic rebels in India's northeast frontiers, these tactics were absent from its campaign against Sikh militants in Punjab (1984–93), a largely urban rebellion. Alternative explanations for forced relocation are also not supported (Models 3-7).

Moreover, the coefficient for *parconf* is positive and statistically significant across multiple specifications. Joint hypothesis tests for *borderconf* and *parconf* (Models 2 and 6) were also significant. In terms of substantive effects, Figure 4.6 shows that the predicted probability of forced relocation being employed in an irregular war increases by 65 percentage points if the war is fought along a border; if incumbents are also engaged in a parconf, the probability increases another 20 percentage points. These results lend support to *H2b*.

Finally, in Table 4.9 *GDP per capita* is negative across all models (and often statistically significant), as is *milper*, similar to the main findings. Figure 4.7 displays a boxplot of incumbent military personnel by type of strategic displacement. The plot suggests that within irregular wars, states that employed forced relocation possessed fewer personnel on average than those that employed other displacement strategies – though more than those that employed no displacement at all. This likely reflects the fact that a certain level of *absolute* capacity is needed to enact strategic displacement, which probably explains the lack of relocation by particularly weak incumbents with small militaries, such as Chad (1965–79; 1980–95) and Burundi (1965–69). However, plotting incumbents' *relative* capacity compared to rebels by using a measure of *troop ratio* provides a compelling illustration of the fact that states with limited or overstretched coercive resources tend to employ relocation (also Figure 4.7).[65]

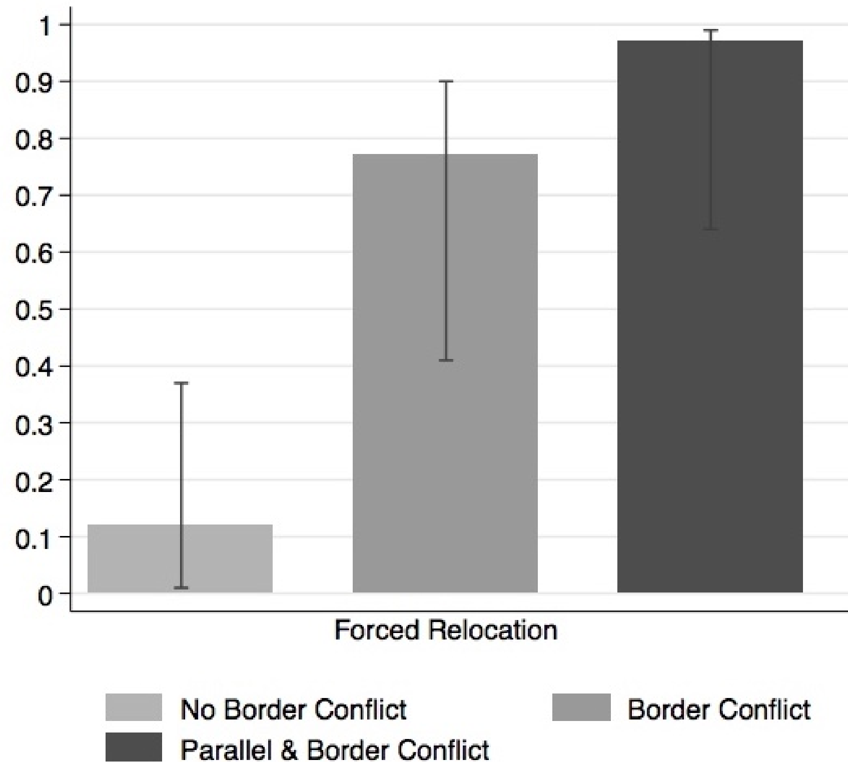
[65] To calculate *troop ratio* I divided *military personnel* by the estimated size of the rebel group(s) in each conflict, drawn from the Non-State Actor Dataset (Cunningham et al. 2013).

Table 4.9: Binary Logit Results, Forced Relocation (Irregular Wars Only)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Parconf	2.43 * **	1.97 * *	2.29 * **	2.80 * **	2.50 * **	3.36*	1.51*
	(0.62)	(0.96)	(0.65)	(0.69)	(0.63)	(1.98)	(1.00)
Distance							1.82 * **
							(0.65)
Land area							−0.51
							(0.40)
Bordconf		2.67 * **				5.17 * **	
		(0.72)				(1.83)	
Elections		0.27				1.15	−0.58
		(0.83)				(1.08)	(0.70)
Rebclaim		−1.31				−0.62	−1.73
		(0.81)				(1.49)	(1.40)
CDF		1.64 * *				1.69*	2.75 * **
		(0.71)				(1.20)	(0.72)
Ethnic war			−0.18			0.41	0.48
			(0.31)			(0.53)	(0.48)
Exclusionary			0.14			−0.74	−0.15
			(0.58)			(0.63)	(0.75)
Rebextsupp				1.70 * **		1.42 * *	2.45 * *
				(0.54)		(0.62)	(1.03)
Rebel FR				−0.31		−2.47 * *	−0.47
				(0.54)		(1.20)	(0.71)
Rebconcen				−0.73		−3.54 * *	−0.44
				(0.63)		(1.46)	(1.19)
Mass kill					0.48	1.43 * *	1.35
					(0.61)	(0.68)	(0.92)
Cleans/Depop.	−0.97	−1.36	−0.89	−1.26	−1.06	−2.06 * *	−0.86
	(0.92)	(1.40)	(0.88)	(0.84)	(0.93)	(0.90)	(1.19)
GDP	−0.36	−0.65 * *	−0.43	−0.34	−0.35	−0.94	−0.92 * **
	(0.32)	(0.28)	(0.41)	(0.31)	(0.33)	(0.63)	(0.35)
Population	−0.10	−0.09	−0.13	−0.20	−0.08	−0.42*	−0.13
	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.23)
Democracy	0.07	0.03	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.05	0.12
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Bdeaths	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00*	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00 * **	−0.00*	−0.00 * **	−0.00 * *	−0.00 * **	−0.00	−0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	1.31	0.19	1.97	1.90	0.76	2.45	−6.75
	(1.62)	(1.98)	(1.81)	(1.45)	(1.64)	(2.82)	(4.66)
Observations	88	87	85	87	88	83	80
Pseudo R^2	0.26	0.47	0.27	0.33	0.26	0.60	0.53

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Figure 4.6: Predicted Probability of Forced Relocation (Irregular Wars Only)



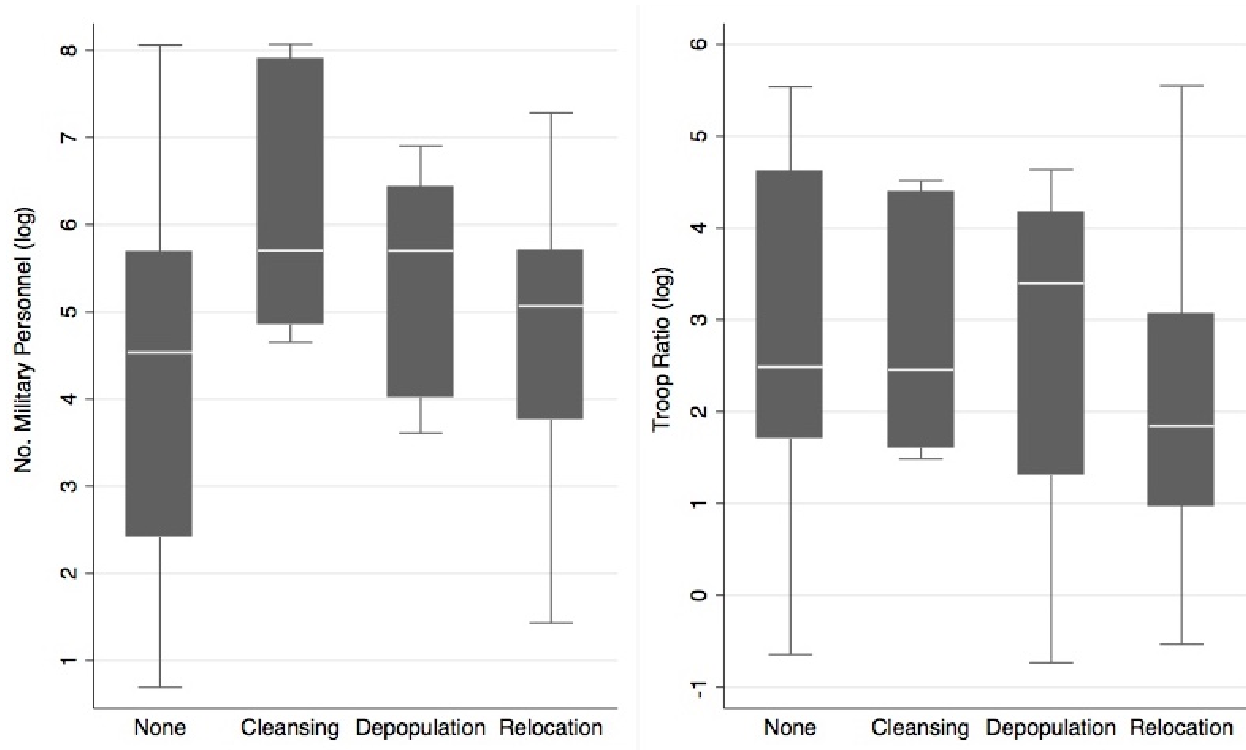
Note: Mean predicted probabilities based on Model 6 in Table 4.9. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals. Estimates were calculated using CLARIFY (Tomz et al. 2003).

Taken together, the findings in this section provide support for the proposition that in irregular wars, forced relocation serves as a "mid-range" strategy for incumbents who possess enough troops to uproot communities but lack the resources to fully occupy contested areas. This contradicts the conventional wisdom that relocating civilians requires extensive material resources and is more likely under stronger, wealthier regimes.[66] I find that it is governments in poorer countries, and those with more moderate capacity, that are more likely to forcibly relocate civilians in wartime. As explained in Chapter 2, incumbents able and willing to invest in occupying rebel-affected areas, even those on the periphery – such as Morocco in Western Sahara (1975–91) or Senegal in Casamance (1989–99) – have, rather than uprooting civilians, utilized penetrative counterinsurgency strategies such as "clear, hold, and build" and cordon-and-search. But when states have faced multiple rebel threats or committed forces to multiple military contests, constraining the resources available to counterinsurgents – as in Burma (1960–95), Ethiopia (1974–91), India (1989–), Indonesia

[66] Kalyvas 2006; Zhukov 2015.

(1975–2005), and the Philippines (1971–92) – they have frequently resorted to population relocation as an alternative to fully occupying their borderlands.

Figure 4.7: Incumbent Capacity (Irregular Wars Only)



Sources: Singer et al. 1972; Cunningham et al. 2013.

4.3 Robustness Checks and Additional Tests

I conducted a series of additional tests to check the robustness of the results. First, to address collinearity and other concerns, I repeated the analysis with each of the explanatory variables in separate models and dropped all controls except *irregular*. Second, I removed conflicts with low precision rankings for strategic displacement to exclude ambiguous cases. Third, I included regional controls. I also coded all cases of depopulation as cleansing, and restricted the analysis to the period 1975-2008, which dropped all colonial wars along with conflicts missing data for some independent variables. In all instances, the main findings held.

I also separately incorporated five additional controls into the main logit models. The first was a dummy variable for *post-Cold War* to account for the possibility

that (1) geopolitical differences between the Cold War and its aftermath influences the likelihood of strategic displacement, or (2) displacement – or reporting of it – has become more frequent over time. The second was an indicator for *secessionist war*, based on the measure of *conflict aim* used in section 4.1. The third was a measure of rough terrain – the percentage of the conflict zone covered by *mountains* (logged). [67] Finally, I added controls for *war duration* (in months) and an indicator for whether rebels engaged in strategic displacement during the conflict. The results are displayed in Appendix F. These five additional control variables were statistically insignificant in most specifications, and in all instances the results remained robust to their inclusion. *War duration* was consistently positive and significant for both cleansing and relocation, indicating that strategic displacement in general is more likely to be employed in longer conflicts.

Alternative Measures of the Independent Variables

Some of the concepts under investigation are difficult to measure. In order to mitigate concerns that my results are driven by the choice of particular variables or data sources, I tested a series of alternative measures for each argument for strategic displacement. Under the assortative logic, as a separate proxy for low-information environments (*H1b*) I used *landline* coverage, a World Bank measure of a country's number of telephone subscriptions per 100 people.[68] Poor communications infrastructure inhibits information sharing and prevents people from easily and anonymously reporting the identities of rebels and collaborators to authorities. Moreover, in developing countries, where civil wars tend to occur, it was not until after 2006 that alternative communications technologies, such as mobile phones and the Internet, became widespread. As an alternative measure of civilian instrumentalization (*H2a*), I used a dichotomous measure of *conscription* from the Military Recruitment Dataset, which encompasses both "legal" state conscription and "extralegal" measures, such as press-ganging.[69]

For ethnic nationalism, I used a country-level measure of ethnic *polarization* created by Jose Montalvo and Marta Reynal-Querol.[70] For denial arguments, I employed two alternate proxies. The first was an indicator for a *sons-of-the-soil* insurgency, defined by Fearon and Laitin as one involving "members of a minority ethnic group concentrated in some region of a country" who "think of their group as indigenous, and as rightfully possessing the area as their group's ancestral home."[71] The second,

[67] From Buhaug et al. (2009).

[68] The data only goes back to 1960, and is spotty for some countries between 1960 and 1975. See https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/IT.MLT.MAIN.P2

[69] Toronto 2007. Press-ganging describes instances where civilians are kidnapped or coerced into serving without notice.

[70] From Montalvo and Reynal-Querol 2005.

[71] Fearon and Laitin 2011.

drugs, also came from Fearon and Laitin and measured whether rebels had access to contraband or easily lootable resources (e.g., diamonds, drugs, oil), which reduces their dependence on civilian support.[72] For punishment-related explanations, I tested an alternative measure of lethal violence, *civilian victimization*, from Erik Melander, Magnus Öberg, and Jonathan Hall, which provides an ordinal scale of atrocities against noncombatants committed by state actors.[73]

Tables 4.10 display multinomial logistic regression results for these alternative measures and arguments. I control for the same potential confounders used in the main analysis. The coefficient for *landline* is negative and statistically significant for forced relocation across multiple specifications, and positive and significant for cleansing. This provides further evidence that the former strategy, but not the latter, is more likely in contexts where communicating with, and accessing information about, local populations is difficult. *Conscription* is positively associated with both strategies, but only forced relocation is highly statistically significant (at the 0.001 level) in Model 2 and Model 6.

Table 4.10: Multinomial Logit Results: Alternative IV Measures

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)
Cleansing						
Landline	0.27 * **	0.24 * *				1.46 * *
	(0.10)	(0.10)				(0.61)
Conscription		1.47 * **				3.61
		(0.53)				(2.41)
Ethpol			1.93			6.38
			(1.64)			(4.31)
Sons of soil				−0.04		−1.24
				(0.59)		(1.14)
Drugs				0.44		−1.27
				(0.56)		(1.29)
Civ. victim					1.42*	2.16*
					(0.76)	(1.18)
Irregular	−1.31*	−1.12	−1.06*	−1.08 * *	−1.59 * *	−3.81*
	(0.73)	(0.77)	(0.61)	(0.55)	(0.75)	(1.95)
GDP	−0.04	−0.14	0.41 * *	0.57 * **	0.68 * **	−1.42*
	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.26)	(0.73)
Population	0.14	0.16	−0.11	−0.19	−0.03	0.22
	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.32)
Democracy	−0.04	−0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00	−0.09
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.11)
Bdeaths	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01 * *

[72] Weinstein 2006.

[73] Melander et al. 2009. Following Balcells and Kalyvas (2014), I transformed the authors' 0-5 variable into a 0-2 ordinal scale with 0 = no to low victimization, 1 = moderate victimization, and 2 = high victimization.

	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−2.78	−3.56	−1.64	0.06	−4.35∗	−12.80∗
	(2.20)	(2.22)	(2.11)	(1.35)	(2.51)	(6.71)
Depopulation						
Landline	0.05	0.04				−0.10
	(0.13)	(0.12)				(0.26)
Conscription		−0.01				−1.73
		(0.96)				(3.15)
Ethpol			6.36 ∗ ∗			25.96 ∗ ∗
			(2.64)			(12.22)
Sons of soil				0.90		6.08 ∗ ∗
				(1.19)		(2.64)
Drugs				1.56		−0.88
				(0.95)		(1.53)
Civ. victim					3.61 ∗ ∗∗	20.16 ∗ ∗∗
					(1.09)	(3.62)
Irregular	−0.55	−0.52	−0.44	−0.26	0.27	1.32
	(1.29)	(1.29)	(1.07)	(0.98)	(1.71)	(1.41)
GDP	0.71∗	0.71∗	0.83 ∗ ∗∗	0.97 ∗ ∗∗	1.17 ∗ ∗∗	1.98 ∗ ∗
	(0.37)	(0.40)	(0.31)	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.95)
Population	−0.53 ∗ ∗	−0.54 ∗ ∗	−0.29	−0.36∗	−0.42 ∗ ∗	−0.32
	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.56)
Democracy	−0.02	−0.03	−0.01	0.00	−0.06	−0.35 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.15)	(0.13)
Bdeaths	0.00	0.00∗	0.00	0.00	0.00∗	0.00 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00 ∗ ∗∗	0.00 ∗ ∗∗	−0.00	0.00	0.00 ∗ ∗	0.01 ∗ ∗
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	0.67	0.75	−5.08∗	−1.43	−8.77 ∗ ∗	−65.95 ∗ ∗∗
	(2.68)	(3.02)	(2.91)	(2.17)	(4.15)	(12.98)
Relocation						
Landline	−0.93 ∗ ∗∗	−0.95 ∗ ∗∗				−1.78 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.28)	(0.33)				(0.51)
Conscription		2.20 ∗ ∗∗				2.84 ∗ ∗∗
		(0.54)				(0.88)
Ethpol			−2.51 ∗ ∗			−5.65 ∗ ∗
			(1.27)			(2.43)
Sons of soil				−0.07		−0.27
				(0.48)		(1.08)
Drugs				0.37		1.34
				(0.81)		(1.10)
Civ. victim					0.82	0.97
					(0.90)	(1.00)
Irregular	1.75∗	1.68∗	2.31 ∗ ∗∗	2.35 ∗ ∗∗	1.71∗	2.63 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.91)	(0.96)	(0.85)	(0.69)	(0.90)	(0.77)
GDP	0.20	−0.05	−0.12	−0.34	−0.38	0.64
	(0.27)	(0.40)	(0.22)	(0.29)	(0.37)	(0.60)
Population	−0.19	−0.03	−0.19	−0.01	−0.02	−0.21
	(0.16)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.18)	(0.33)
Democracy	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.03	−0.00	0.08
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Bdeaths	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00∗

	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00**	−0.00	−0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	0.97	−1.45	1.71	−1.04	−2.00	0.58
	(1.69)	(1.89)	(1.70)	(1.63)	(2.58)	(4.89)
Observations	120	117	133	153	95	81
Pseudo R^2	0.30	0.36	0.19	0.20	0.28	0.52

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

As in the main analysis, these findings are consistent with both the sorting and capturing logics of my assortative theory. Another possible proxy for environments where local populations are most "illegible" is population density. However, the only cross-national data on population density available is at the country level, rather than the level of the conflict zone. Yet the regional variation described in the previous section provides some suggestive evidence for a potential link between the distribution of the population and the use of particular displacement strategies. Recall that forced relocation has been most common in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia and least common in Europe, while most instances of cleansing have occurred in Europe. This could reflect a distinct feature of modern African and Asian states, particularly in comparison to European ones: their relatively low population densities.[74] In Africa, for example, scholars such as Goran Hyden have argued that, because peasants have relied on rain-fed agriculture rather than irrigated crops, the rural population in the region has remained especially "uncaptured."[75]

The findings in Table 4.10 offer further evidence that while alternative arguments can explain state strategies of population cleansing, they cannot account for forced relocation. According to Models 3 and 6, cleansing is associated with wars in more polarized societies, and relocation with wars in less polarized societies, and the results for the latter are statistically significant. Models 4 and 6 indicate that the evidence for denial arguments is weak, just like in the main results. *Sons of the soil* is not significantly associated with either displacement strategy. While the result for insurgent contraband (*drugs*) is mixed for cleansing, Table 4.10 indicates that states are more likely to engage in relocation when rebels have access to easily lootable resources and are therefore less reliant on the civilian population for supplies. Finally, cleansing is positively associated with higher levels of *civilian victimization* – as punishment arguments would expect – and the results are statistically insignificant. Forced relocation, however, is actually associated with *less* victimization of civilians.[76]

[74] Herbst 2014; Scott 2010.
[75] Hydén 1980, 9-18.
[76] Cleansing is also positively and statistically significantly (at the 0.05 level) associated with the most extreme form of civilian victimization: genocide, according to a country-level indicator for genocides from Marshall et al. (2017). Forced relocation, meanwhile, is positively but *very weakly* associated with genocide (results not shown).

Other Explanations: Opportunism, Desperation, and Norms

In a final series of tests, I consider three other potential explanations for strategic displacement in wartime: opportunism, desperation, and normative pressures. I outline each of these arguments separately, along with the measures I use to evaluate them and the results of a multivariate analysis, which is presented in Table 4.11.

Opportunism

It is possible that displacing civilians in wartime is driven largely by opportunism. While I conceptually distinguish opportunistic from strategic displacement in Chapter 1, making this distinction empirically is more challenging. A breakdown of state institutions or an erosion of command-and-control in the military could provide openings and even incentives for soldiers or militia members to uproot civilians in order to loot and steal their land. Displacement that to external actors appears to be a calculated incumbent policy could instead be the collective manifestation of individual greed and predation.

To proxy for opportunism, I follow Dara Cohen in her study of wartime rape[77] and use a measure of the magnitude of state failure (*statefail*), a five-point scale from the Political Instability Task Force (PITF) that ranges from zero (no state failure) to four (state collapse).[78] According to Models 1, 6, and 7 in Table 4.11, cleansing is positively and statistically significantly associated with higher levels of state failure. Forced relocation, meanwhile, is negatively associated with state failure. This potentially underscores the notion that strategies of relocation require a certain degree of organizational capacity to carry out. Overall, there is weak evidence for opportunism in explaining strategic displacement.

Desperation

Another alternative hypothesis posits that forced displacement, like other strategies of civilian victimization, is a method of last resort. Governments may target populations when the costs of conflict reach unacceptable levels, such as following military losses or when facing the prospect of defeat on the battlefield.[79] If this proposition is correct, then we would expect strategic displacement to occur in more intense conflicts. Yet as I show in the main analysis, battle deaths – a common measure of conflict intensity – is positively but weakly associated with incumbent cleansing, and negatively associated with incumbent forced relocation.

A second implication of the desperation hypothesis is that displacement strategies will be disproportionately employed by losing counterinsurgents, particularly

[77] Cohen 2016.
[78] Marshall et al. 2017.
[79] Downes 2008.

since, as I outlined in the introduction, studies of the historical record suggest that these strategies have not been particularly effective at helping governments defeat rebels. Table 4.12 compares strategic displacement and conflict outcomes: whether the war ended in an incumbent victory, an incumbent loss, or a draw, when the incumbent "is forced to concede some rebel demands via a settlement and neither side obtains its maximal aims."[80] Incumbents who lost wars were only slightly more likely to have used forced relocation as those who won them (31 percent versus 28 percent), though they were twice as likely to have employed cleansing (24 percent versus 12 percent). These differences were not statistically significant, however, so overall, there does not appear to be a significant relationship between the use of displacement in wartime and conflict outcomes.

Table 4.11: Multinomial Results: Other Explanations

	Model 1 (Opportunism)	Model 2 (Desperation)	Model 3 (Desperation)	Model 4 (Norms)	Model 5 (Norms)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Cleansing							
Statefail	0.27*					0.57 **	0.30*
	(0.15)					(0.23)	(0.16)
Rebstrength		−0.21				−0.55	
		(0.38)				(0.53)	
Rebterrcont			0.55 **				0.62 **
			(0.26)				(0.30)
Unstablereg				−0.50		−0.43	−0.46
				(0.52)		(0.76)	(0.74)
Trade					−1.06 ***	−1.33 **	
					(0.30)	(0.62)	
IGO					−0.11		−6.65
					(3.28)		(5.12)
Irregular	−1.54 **	−0.90	−0.64	−1.06 **	−1.86 **	−2.33 **	−0.95
	(0.67)	(0.55)	(0.55)	(0.53)	(0.73)	(0.98)	(0.68)
GDP	0.57 ***	0.57 ***	0.55 ***	0.53 ***	0.81 ***	1.08 ***	0.53 ***
	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.19)	(0.29)	(0.17)
Population	−0.18	−0.13	−0.11	−0.14	−0.24	−0.31	−0.05
	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.17)
Democracy	0.02	−0.00	−0.03	0.01	0.01	0.02	−0.00
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Bdeaths	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	−0.00 ***	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−0.30	−0.25	−1.44	0.10	−3.06*	−3.59	−1.10
	(1.49)	(1.39)	(1.45)	(1.45)	(1.83)	(2.84)	(1.88)
Depopulation							
Statefail	0.22					0.67	0.17
	(0.26)					(0.41)	(0.29)
Rebstrength		−0.99				−2.93*	
		(0.87)				(1.53)	

[80] According to data from Balcells and Kalyvas 2014.

Rebterrcont			0.76 * *				0.93 * *
			(0.36)				(0.38)
Unstablereg				−1.08		−1.65*	−1.21
				(0.69)		(0.93)	(0.80)
Trade					−0.23	−0.71	
					(0.49)	(0.49)	
IGO					2.03		3.12
					(3.19)		(5.23)
Irregular	−0.44	−0.25	0.51	0.10	−0.25	−1.22	0.27
	(0.93)	(1.08)	(1.02)	(0.90)	(1.23)	(1.25)	(0.95)
GDP	0.88 * **	0.86 * **	0.90 * **	0.87 * **	1.13 * **	1.37 * **	0.85 * **
	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.44)	(0.27)
Population	−0.42 * *	−0.27	−0.19	−0.18	−0.51 * **	−0.68 * **	−0.22
	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.19)
Democracy	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	−0.02	−0.04	−0.04
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.09)
Bdeaths	0.00	0.00 * *	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 * *	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00*	−0.00	0.00	0.00	−0.00	0.00*	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−0.53	−0.15	−3.58*	−1.90	−0.98	2.14	−3.84*
	(2.13)	(3.05)	(2.12)	(1.92)	(2.92)	(4.28)	(2.28)
Relocation							
Statefail	−0.15					−0.00	−0.03
	(0.13)					(0.18)	(0.14)
Rebstrength		0.00				0.54	
		(0.49)				(0.68)	
Rebterrcont			−0.03				0.09
			(0.20)				(0.24)
Unstablereg				−0.44		−0.32	−0.35
				(0.45)		(0.54)	(0.48)
Trade					0.12	−0.10	
					(0.29)	(0.37)	
IGO					1.27		−9.08*
					(1.72)		(5.09)
Irregular	2.02 * *	2.43 * **	2.40 * **	2.18 * **	2.72 * **	2.91 * *	2.34 * *
	(0.81)	(0.92)	(0.76)	(0.79)	(0.93)	(1.48)	(0.91)
GDP	−0.32	−0.31	−0.33	−0.31	−0.21	−0.13	−0.31
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.27)
Population	−0.12	−0.03	−0.03	−0.03	−0.13	−0.21	−0.02
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Democracy	0.00	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.02	−0.01	0.02
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Bdeaths	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00*	−0.00	−0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	0.22	−0.92	−0.84	−0.40	−0.26	−0.48	0.87
	(1.53)	(2.00)	(1.61)	(1.53)	(2.13)	(2.57)	(1.62)
Observations	139	144	146	147	132	106	127
Pseudo R^2	0.22	0.20	0.21	0.20	0.31	0.36	0.27

Standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Table 4.12: Strategic Displacement and Conflict Outcomes (for Incumbent)

	Loss	*Draw*	*Win*	*Total*
No Strategic Displacement	40% (17)	13% (30)	51%(38)	43% (68)
Cleansing	24% (10)	23% (10)	12%(9)	18% (29)
Depopulation	5% (2)	5% (2)	8% (6)	6% (10)
Forced Relocation	31% (13)	43% (19)	28% (21)	33% (53)
Total	26% (42)	28% (44)	46% (74)	100% (160)

$\chi^2 = 8.53$, p = 0.20

A final strand of the desperation hypothesis contends that governments facing particularly strong insurgencies are more likely to resort to extreme military tactics, such as killing or displacing civilians.[81] To explore this possibility, I examined two variables. The first is an ordinal ranking of the strength of a rebel group relative to the government, accounting not only for its number of fighters but also its military and mobilizational capacities (*rebstrength*). The second is a measure of the extent to which rebels controlled territory during the conflict (*rebterrcont*).[82] Both of these variables, which were drawn from the Non-State Actor Dataset, reflect the level of threat faced by incumbents.[83] According to Models 2 and 7 in Table 4.11, *rebstrength* is negatively associated with the use of cleansing by counterinsurgents – contrary to what the desperation argument would predict – and is positively but weakly correlated with the use of forced relocation. Models 3 and 7 show that the more territory controlled by rebels (*rebterrcont*), the more likely cleansing will occur and the less likely relocation will

[81] Valentino et al. 2004. Kalyvas (2006, 168), on the other hand, makes the opposite prediction: non-selective violence against civilians is more likely when insurgents are weak and unable to protect the population.

[82] *rebterrcont* takes the following values: 0 = none, 1 = low, 2 = moderate, 3 = high. Testing rebel territorial control is also important for ensuring the validity of my measures of rural, peripheral insurgency in the main analysis. Because rural hinterlands often serve as insurgent strongholds – and combatants are more likely to perpetuate indiscriminate violence in areas dominated by the other side (Kalyvas 2006, 419) – the *distance* and *bordconf* variables may actually reflect a tendency for states to utilize displacement where and when rebels control territory.

[83] Cunningham et al. 2013.

occur. Overall, then, the evidence for the desperation hypothesis in explaining strategic displacement in general, and forced relocation in particular, is relatively weak.

Normative Pressures

A third potential argument for why governments victimize civilians in wartime – which could potentially extend to the use of strategic displacement – focuses on the role of international norms. Jessica Stanton argues that incumbents' relationships with international actors shapes their incentives to deploy violence against noncombatants.[84] Most governments seek to present themselves as legitimate members of the international community eligible for political and economic assistance, and the increasing acceptance of human rights and humanitarian norms have incentivized armed groups to restrain themselves from targeting civilians in war. Stanton posits that governments in need of building domestic and international support – specifically, governments with "unstable regimes" – are more likely to exercise restraint.[85]

The implications of this hypothesis for the incidence of strategic displacement depends on whether one characterizes uprooting civilians as "restraint" (compared to, say, mass killing), or as a failure to exercise restraint. Either way, the argument suggests an association between unstable regimes and the use of population displacement strategies, whether positive or negative. I therefore followed Stanton and created a variable, *unstablereg*, which measures whether the government experienced a change in regime or an attempted coup within the five years prior to the start of the conflict.[86] Such events also provide "critical junctures" during which, according to Straus, political leaders can fashion founding narratives and recast the goals of the nation to create in-groups and out-groups, raising the risk of large-scale, group selective violence such as ethnic cleansing.[87] According to Models 4, 6, and 7 in Table 4.11, there is no statistically significant relationship between unstable regimes and the use of cleansing or forced relocation.

A related argument suggests that governments that are more embedded in the international system should refrain from strategic displacement. As I discussed in Chapter 1, the post-WWII period experienced the development of relatively strong norms against population displacement, and armed groups have not been spared from criticism for even inadvertently driving civilians from their homes. We would therefore expect this to discourage more internationally-embedded states from engaging in these practices, since a higher degree of embeddedness is likely to make governments

[84] Stanton 2016.
[85] Stanton 2016.
[86] Like Stanton, I use Polity IV's data and definition of regime change: a three or more point shift in polity score within a three-year period (Marshall and Jaggers 2017). Data on coups are from the Center for Systemic Peace's Coup D'état Events Dataset (1946–2017, see https://www.systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html).
[87] Straus 2015.

more sensitive to "international pressure arising from normative commitments."[88] and raise the economic and reputational costs of norm violations. I employ two common measures of the extent to which a government is embedded in the international system. The first is trade openness (*trade*, logged), the sum of imports and exports as a share of GDP. For this variable I relied on data from Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, who combine information on trade from the International Monetary Fund with GDP data from the World Bank.[89] The second measure is *IGO* membership: the ratio of the number of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) of which a state was a full or partial member compared to the number of which it could have been a member, in the year the war began.[90]

Models 5-7 in Table 4.11 show that, consistent with expectations, incumbents that are less embedded in the international system through global trade are more likely to employ strategies of cleansing, and the results are statistically significant. The findings for *IGO*, while also negative, are statistically insignificant. There is no significant relationship between the level of *trade* and forced relocation, and the results for *IGO* are mixed. While the coefficient for *IGO* is statistically significant for relocation in Model 7 (at the 0.10 level), the sign is negative and therefore not in the hypothesized direction. Moreover, this finding is not robust to more simplified model specifications.[91] Normative factors may therefore help account for the use of cleansing in wartime, but not relocation.

4.4 Conclusion

Using original data on population displacement strategies in civil wars, this chapter maps and analyzes cross-national variation in the use of different types of displacement across conflicts. The quantitative analysis focuses on displacement induced by state actors – who I show to be the primary perpetrators of these methods – and provides compelling evidence for a central argument of this dissertation: that different displacement strategies occur in different conflict environments and follow different logics. Cleansing tends to be employed in conventional civil wars, where the need to acquire or defend territory trumps other concerns. Forced relocation, which I find to be the most common type of displacement, is predominately used in irregular conflicts, where the primary challenge for incumbents is to effectively identify rebel fighters and detect the loyalty of civilians.

[88] Lyall and Wilson 2009, 84.

[89] Lyall and Wilson 2009. The results are substantively similar if I use an alternative measure of trade openness from the World Bank, which only goes back to the 1960s (see https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS.

[90] Data on IGO membership was taken from the Correlates of War (War 2007).

[91] When other covariates are removed, *IGO* becomes positive and statistically insignificant for forced relocation.

Cross-national tests appear to confirm the finding from studies of individual wars that cleansing operates through a logic of punishment: it is more likely when territory-seeking counterinsurgents have access to group-level information linking civilians to an insurgency, either through election results or shared identity characteristics with rebels.[92] This tactic may serve as a complement or substitute for mass killing, but the evidence is not conclusive. There is also some evidence that ethnic nationalism may play a role in these strategies, but the results are not robust.

Yet neither ethnic nationalism nor punishment logics explain the use of forced relocation, the most prevalent form of strategic displacement in wartime. This strategy is best explained by an assortative logic: states are more likely to relocate civilians against insurgencies fought in low-information, "illegible" environments, and where incumbents lack access to group-level indicators of loyalty and affiliation, incentivizing them to sort the local population through the process of displacement and resettlement. Forced relocation also tends to occur alongside counterinsurgent efforts to mobilize civilians into local defense forces, as the capturing components of my theory suggests. But why, then, is relocation not used in all guerrilla wars waged in a country's periphery? I find that another important factor is whether a state possesses sufficient capacity to fully penetrate its frontiers. When incumbent forces lack the means of territorial occupation – particularly because parallel military engagements divert their attention and strain their resources – ordering civilian communities to move offers a cheaper method of differentiating friend from foe, and an effective means of mobilizing recruits.

My analysis also finds little support for arguments claiming that strategic displacement is principally driven by a logic of "draining the sea." Contrary to a key observable implication of denial-based theories, strategic displacement in general, and forced relocation in particular, is actually more common against rebels that are *less* reliant on the local population for food, recruits, and other resources. This does not rule out denial as a potential motivating factor in states' decision to uproot civilians. Rather, just as this explanation was insufficient to explain micro-level variation in strategic displacement in Uganda, it does not seem to adequately explain macro-level patterns in these strategies across civil wars.

One could argue that the statistical tests in this chapter do not fully distinguish between each explanation for strategic displacement – particularly those predicated on information asymmetries. Measuring the concepts underlying these arguments, particularly cross-nationally, is difficult, and the proxies I employ are imperfect. But I utilize several measures to proxy for each argument, and control for a variety of plausible omitted variables; the results are also robust to a variety of different specifications. I attempt to ameliorate concerns over measurement error and selection bias by examining a diverse set of empirical implications. Moreover, I test a series of alternative explanations to evaluate whether broader theories of why armed groups

[92] Steele 2017; Balcells and Steele 2016; Hägerdal 2019.

target civilians in wartime can account for cross-national variation in population displacement strategies. I find some evidence for these arguments in helping explain the use of cleansing, but not forced relocation.

Overall, my quantitative analysis lends indirect support for my assortative theory of displacement. While the results indicate that the theory can account for strategies of relocation, it remains unclear whether it also applies to depopulation, for which the statistical tests were inconclusive due to the small number of cases. I explore this possibility in Chapter 6 through an out-of-sample case study of the Syrian civil war. First, however, in the next chapter I provide additional direct evidence for my arguments and demonstrate the assortative logic of wartime relocation in contexts beyond Uganda.

Chapter 5

Comparative Evidence of the Assortative Logic: Burundi, Vietnam, and Indonesia

The cross-national tests presented in Chapter 4 provide indirect evidence for my arguments by demonstrating an association between the use of forced relocation – the most common displacement strategy – "illegible" conflict environments, and civilian instrumentalization by state forces in civil wars. Yet some of these patterns could still be potentially consistent with alternative logics of strategic displacement, particularly those predicated on information and identification problems. Therefore, in order to illuminate the mechanisms driving the statistical correlations and provide direct support for my assortative theory in a broader range of cases, in this chapter I present three shadow case studies from my civil war sample. Because my goal in this chapter is to evaluate evidence for the assortative logic rather than demonstrate links between my independent and dependent variables – which was the focus of the cross-national analysis – I select on the dependent variable.[1] The purpose is to explore whether the key ideas presented in this dissertation can shed light on other cases of wartime relocation and apply to conflicts beyond the ones in Uganda that I examined in Chapter 3.

The three shadow case studies featured below are Burundi (1991–2006), Vietnam (1960–75), and Indonesia (1999–2005). A shadow case, according to Hillel David Soifer, seeks to evaluate "some element of causal process within the case rather than just examining the values of independent and dependent variables."[2] Shadow cases are oriented to external validity, carried out through a quick survey of the secondary literature to assess claims of generalizability.[3] I therefore selected three diverse conflicts for analysis. Burundi is a "least likely" case for my theory: an ethnic war in a highly polarized society with a history of ethnic cleansing and mass violence that some would classify as genocidal. Vietnam is an "influential" case of forced relocation: the Strategic Hamlets Program implemented during the conflict is one of the most extensively researched and discussed instances of civilian relocation in counterinsurgency campaigns. Finally, Indonesia, like Burundi, is a least likely case not only because it was an ethnic war, but also because it was waged by a secessionist insurgency – a context in which territorial acquisition had significant strategic value and thus seemed ripe for ethnic cleansing. Together, the three cases comprise a "most different" research design that is intended to assess whether my arguments extend to a diverse set of contexts.

In all three cases – Burundi, Vietnam, and Indonesia – I argue that forcibly relocating civilians was driven by information and resource problems and acted as a mechanism for sorting and capturing the population. Perpetrators used displacement to draw inferences about the identities and allegiances of the population based on its movements or lack of movement. They used displacement to enhance the legibility of rural territories and their residents. And they used displacement to extract material

[1] As Seawright and Gerring (2008, 295-96) argues, "given the insufficiencies of randomization as well as the problems posed by a purely pragmatic selection of cases, the argument for some form of purposive case selection seems strong."
[2] Soifer 2015, 4.
[3] Soifer 2015, 2, Gerring 2006, 20.

resources, including recruits, from local communities and mobilize people for the war effort, both politically and militarily. My evidence is only exploratory, but it suggests that the conditions, dynamics, and motivations regarding uprooting civilians present in Uganda exist in other cases. This confirms that my theory is generalizable and that its core mechanisms can account for the empirical associations identified in Chapter 4.

5.1 From Cleansing to Regroupment in Burundi

The civil war in Burundi (1991–2006) demonstrates that even in ethnic conflicts, combatants have used population displacement, not just ethnic affiliation, to detect and target potential enemies. More uniquely, in this case state forces employed strategies of both cleansing and forced relocation. The use of the former is not surprising given the country's deep ethnic schisms. Like neighboring Rwanda, pre-war Burundi was largely ruled by its Tutsi minority – which makes up some 14 percent of the population – over the Hutu majority, which comprises around 85 percent. The country has experienced periodic outbursts of ethnic violence since independence. For example, in response to a Hutu uprising in 1972, the army and affiliated Tutsi militia killed an estimated 100,000 people, mostly Hutus, in what some scholars have called a "selective genocide."[4]

Initially, strategic displacement in Burundi's civil war did indeed take the form of ethnic cleansing. After the election of Melchior Ndadaye as the country's first Hutu president in 1993, a group of Tutsi soldiers staged a putsch, capturing and executing the new president along with other senior political officials. This sparked successive waves of inter-ethnic retaliatory violence that continued in 1994 and 1995. The Tutsi-dominated army – which operated autonomously from the surviving members of the severely weakened Ndadaye regime – meted out violence against Hutus, often in response to reprisal killings of Tutsi. In the capital Bujumbura, Tutsis burned and looted Hutu homes, and Hutus responded in kind. The violence led to a "massive urban influx of rural Tutsis" into the city, while Hutus were "chased out of ethnically mixed but predominantly Tutsi neighborhoods."[5] Thus according to the U.S. Committee for Refugees, forced displacement in Burundi was "no longer merely an accidental byproduct of violence; it has become a deliberate goal of the violence."[6] And the goal, particularly for the army and its supporters, appeared to be the permanent expulsion of ethnic rivals. As explained by Tomas Van Acker:

> "While Bujumbura became a refuge for rural Tutsi, fragmentation and segregation also occurred within the city itself. The modest but real ethnic diversity that existed in some of the densely populated neighborhoods completely disappeared

[4] Lemarchand and Martin 1974.
[5] Van Acker 2018, 315.
[6] USCR 1998, 32.

during the first years of the war, in a process that can only be described as ethnic cleansing...most of the Hutu population vanished from previously mixed areas."[7]

The State Department concurred with this characterization, reporting in 1994 that seven out of eleven districts in the capital had become "largely segregated along ethnic lines."[8] Meanwhile, Hutu officials who fled following Ndadaye's assassination launched an insurgency called the National Council for the Defense of Democracy (*Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie*, or CNDD).[9] The CNDD established bases among Hutu refugees in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) and remote areas of the Burundian countryside. It joined other smaller Hutu rebel groups – including Palipehutu, the National Liberation Forces (*Forces Nationales pour la Libération*, or FNL) , and the National Liberation Front (*Front pour la Libération Nationale*, or Frolina) – in launching attacks against military and civilian targets in Burundi. According to observers, the CNDD received material and logistical support from civilians and organized parallel political structures in the remote provinces of Karuzi, Muramvya, Ngozi, Gitega, Kayanza, and Bubanza.[10]

By 1995, the civilian government had become "paralyzed" and was "los[ing] effective control of the country."[11] Tutsi militias, with assistance from soldiers, continued to expel Hutu from Bujumbura; the military was reportedly "actively involved in driving the population out of predominately Hutu neighborhoods."[12] Thousands of additional Hutus fled to the countryside as a result of military operations against the CNDD.[13] As fighting between the military and the rebels escalated, hundreds of (mostly Hutu) civilians were killed by counterinsurgency forces during so-called "pacification" campaigns.[14]

In July 1996, Major Pierre Buyoya, a former Tutsi president of Burundi, took power in a military coup. Buyoya said that he resumed the presidency in order to avert more ethnic killing, presenting himself as "a comparative moderate who had stepped in to prevent more extreme Tutsi elements...from taking power."[15] During his first stint in office (1987–93), Buyoya demonstrated political moderation by appointing a Hutu prime minister, holding presidential and parliamentary elections, and peacefully stepping

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[7] Van Acker 2018, 315-16.

[8] U.S. State Department 1994. Amnesty International also characterized these episodes of violent displacement as "ethnic cleansing" (Amnesty International, 1994 (1 July)).

[9] For simplicity's sake I refer to the rebel group as CNDD, though technically CNDD is the name of its political wing, while its armed wing is named the Forces for the Defense of Democracy (*Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie*, or FDD).

[10] Longman 1998, 42, Human Rights Watch 2000.

[11] Longman 1998, 26.

[12] Longman 1998, 42. Prunier (2008, 63) similarly claims that the army "ethnically cleansed the whole city between March and June 1995."

[13] Van Acker 2018, 315.

[14] Longman 1998, 25.

[15] Longman 1998, 27.

down after he lost the election in 1993. Early in his second term Buyoya took "firm control over the armed forces and the administration"[16] and backed up his conciliatory rhetoric by keeping urban Tutsi militias and youth gangs "in line," while resisting the chauvinist impulses of some Tutsi political and military leaders.[17]

Under Buyoya the army adopted a new counterinsurgency measure called "regroupment." Civilians residing in rural areas affected by the rebellion were ordered to assemble in designated camps. Between 1996 and 1998, villagers were regrouped in the provinces of Bubanza, Bujumbura-Rural, Bururi, Cibitoke, Gitega, Karuzi, Kayanza, Makamba, Muramvya, Muyinga, and Ruyigi. Since its inception observers characterized regroupment as a "military strategy" in which civilian displacement was "dictated...by the government administration and armed forces."[18] Many *regroupés* were allowed to return to their homes in 1998, but in late 1999 the government initiated a second wave of forcible regroupment that lasted until 2002. At its peak the policy resulted in the concentration of at least 300,000 people into some 50 camps.[19]

Regroupment in Burundi bore a strong resemblance to Uganda's forced relocation policy discussed in Chapter 3. Soldiers would arrive in rural areas "where most people live in homes scattered across the hills" and order residents to gather at designated sites, either immediately or within a specified timeframe.[20] Most of the *regroupés* ended up encamped "a few hours walk" from their villages; 90 percent were confined within their province of origin and 70 percent within their home commune.[21] The camps ranged in size from 3,000 to 22,000 occupants and generally suffered from overcrowded and unsanitary conditions.[22] Since regroupment occurred at the same time that camps for Burundian refugees were being closed in Zaire and Tanzania, many of the displaced were unable to seek refuge outside the country. Regroupment also received widespread criticism from the international community. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch conducted extensive investigations and produced scathing reports denouncing the policy, while United Nations officials called it a "gross violation" of international humanitarian law.[23] Diplomatic, humanitarian, and human rights officials pressured the government to "halt its policy of forcing and confining people to regroupment camps, prevent the setting up of any new camps and allow those within existing camps to return home if they wish to do so."[24]

[16] Longman 1998, 31.
[17] Van Acker 2018, 316.
[18] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 3.
[19] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July); Longman 1998.
[20] Human Rights Watch 2000, 8.
[21] USCR 1998, 35.
[22] Longman 1998, 57.
[23] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July); Longman 1998; Human Rights Watch 2000.
[24] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 2.

Identification Problems and Spatial Profiling

What was the logic behind regroupment? The evidence strongly suggests that it was motivated by the difficulties faced by the military in identifying members of the CNDD and other insurgent groups, which practiced guerrilla tactics and tended to evade army patrols. As one military commander commented to journalists, "who are we fighting? Rebels wearing civilian clothes."[25] Thus according to an army spokesman, "We can only identify them [the rebels] when they fire on us."[26] This identification problem was exacerbated by the topography of the countryside where the rebels operated, which was "composed of rugged, mountainous terrain well-suited to guerrilla warfare."[27] Population relocation sought to resolve these challenges. As reported by Amnesty International, "the government has said that regrouping the population...reduces the possibility of confusing civilians with members of armed groups."[28]

Ironically, the ethnic cleansing campaigns of the mid-1990s helped create the conditions that made regroupment attractive to state forces. Cycles of forced expulsions resulted in the Tutsi becoming increasingly urbanized, while most Hutu fled to rural areas. As a consequence, Burundi became "divided territorially into almost isolated enclaves, ethnically purified to a high degree."[29] Moreover, this division meant that by the time Buyoya took power in 1996, "the epicenter of the [Hutu] violent resistance shifted to the countryside."[30] Yet because the countryside had become so ethnically homogeneous – and because Hutu comprised such a large majority of the country – the military could not rely on ethnicity to differentiate combatants from civilians. The regroupment policy provided an alternative method of enemy profiling. While most residents of areas targeted for displacement were Hutu, some Tutsi were also forced to regroup,[31] and in some areas "the two ethnicities fled together and remain together."[32]

The purpose of regroupment, then, was "to separate the innocent from those who are against order," according to one local official.[33] The army hoped to make it easier to detect insurgent fighters. As one soldier explained, "before the camps, it was hard to tell the civilians from the rebels. The rebels would just throw down their arms. Then they looked like any civilian."[34] In response, the government "said that people who believed themselves innocent should assemble themselves" in camps.[35] Those who failed to move within a specified time period "would be considered a [rebel] agent and

[25] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 2.
[26] Longman 1998, 84.
[27] Human Rights Watch 2000, 7.
[28] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 2.
[29] Van Acker 2018, 315-16.
[30] Van Acker 2018, 316.
[31] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July); Longman 1998.
[32] Longman 1998, 80.
[33] Longman 1998, 2.
[34] Longman 1998, 40.
[35] Longman 1998, 41.

therefore treated as a legitimate military target."[36] An advisor to Buyoya told Amnesty International that people "who refuse to go to the camps are those who are fighting the government or who have weapons."[37] Human Rights Watch also reported that "soldiers ordered people to go to the camp, and those who stayed at home would be treated as rebels, according to local administrators and military officials."[38]

Many complied with the orders and even "welcomed" the relative security of the camps, which were often located near military posts.[39] There were some people who elected not to move,[40] and therefore risked being tarred as rebels or collaborators and suffering the same fate as an enemy combatant.[41] Moreover, while the military imposed strict curfews on movement outside the camps – just like the UPDF did for IDPs in Uganda – people often snuck home to retrieve food, tend their crops, and protect their property from theft.[42] *Regroupés* could obtain passes that authorized them to leave the camp, but according to the State Department, "those who are found in the hills without a camp pass are considered to be rebels and often are shot by government soldiers, according to a number of sources."[43] A provincial governor interviewed by Human Rights Watch effectively captured how regroupment was supposed to help sort the local population:

> "When [the rebels] came to Bururi commune...the population fled to the cities and to [the camps]. This was the case in Rutovu and Songa communes as well. Thus, soldiers could easily target rebels without targeting the local population...The situation in Burambi and Buyengero was more complicated. There was confusion. Where people fled, the military was not confused about who the rebels were. But in these sectors, the population did not go to the centers. There were problems there, because the people didn't flee...There, some people are with the [rebels]."[44]

For state forces, regroupment aimed to improve the legibility of Burundi's rebel-infested rural environs and its occupants. Camps were located on barren hilltops and in other spaces with relatively high visibility.[45] Upon arrival, *regroupés* would be "asked to denounce those who may be involved in armed opposition" and supply other

[36] Longman 1998, 47.
[37] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 1.
[38] Human Rights Watch 2000, 8.
[39] Human Rights Watch 2000, 16.
[40] IDMC, 2006 (April), 59.
[41] U.S. State Department 1997. According to Amnesty International, in the army's orders to relocate to camps, "the underlying message that to stay would mean that they [residents] would be treated as rebels was made clearly" (Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 7).
[42] IDMC, 2006 (April), 59. Agriculture was the primary source of revenue for nearly 90 percent of people displaced into camps (IDMC, 2006 (April), 92).
[43] U.S. State Department 1997.
[44] Longman 1998, 85.
[45] Human Rights Watch 2000, 10.

intelligence.[46] As in Uganda, these new settlements did not necessarily constitute islands of government control in a sea of rebel territory. Rather, they represented contrived markers of differentiation that facilitated spatial profiling. Consider the fact that many camp residents "said that rebels continued to call on them for contributions, even within camps situated adjacent to military posts and supposedly protected by soldiers."[47] Regroupment did not, in other words, deprive rebels of contact with and access to civilian communities. There are numerous accounts of CNDD members and other fighters "circulating freely in the camp sites...to visit families or friends and to seek new supporters," sometimes by holding public meetings.[48] In some instances rebels even launched attacks on army garrisons from *within* the camp.[49]

Subsequent patterns of violence indicate the use of spatial profiling after state-induced regroupment: people were targeted based on their physical locations. Following the deadline for assembling in a camp, the military launched *nettoyage*, or cleanup operations, in which soldiers "systematically swept the hillsides, pillaging, burning and destroying homes, and capturing or killing anyone they encountered".[50] According to Human Rights Watch, the prevailing view in the military was "if civilians fail to follow government orders or if they support the rebels, it is their own fault if they become military targets."[51] As a consequence, human rights observers found that many of the cases of extrajudicial killings that they discovered occurred in areas where regroupment accompanied counterinsurgency operations.[52] Violence against civilians inside the regroupment camps was limited and typically selective.[53] Outside the camps, however, "it was clear that the armed forces considered anyone...without authorization to be a military target."[54]

Extractive Elements of Regroupment

In addition to providing an approximation of potential rebel affiliation through guilt by location, regroupment enabled government and military authorities in Burundi to extort critical resources from the local population. In 1997, shortly after the policy was implemented, the interior ministry levied a war tax – dubbed the Contribution to National Solidarity – arguing that "the population needs to make an effort in this war."[55] While the ministry claimed that *regroupés* would be exempt, in practice all

[46] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 10.
[47] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 17.
[48] Human Rights Watch 2000, 33.
[49] Human Rights Watch 2000, 16.
[50] Longman 1998, 48.
[51] Longman 1998, 86.
[52] IDMC, 2006 (April), 59.
[53] Longman 1998, 62.
[54] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 1.
[55] Longman 1998, 180.

citizens, including the displaced, were expected to pay.[56] The need for the tax was abundantly clear. In response to the 1996 coup that returned Buyoya to power, many international donors imposed a boycott on Burundi; removing a key source of public financing from a state that had become heavily reliant on external aid. At the same time, the government was fighting four different insurgent groups and had dispatched a couple thousand soldiers to Zaire in 1996 to assist rebels engaged in the First Congo War. Buyoya therefore had few resources to relieve his overextended and beleaguered army. Ahmedou Ould Abdallah, the former U.N. special representative in Burundi, noted at the time that "the security forces are tired. Since October 1993 they have been trying to hold the floodgates; they have to provide security in the country and ensure security at the border."[57]

Since the army had "insufficient troops available" to occupy the multiple rebel-affected provinces of Burundi, regrouping the population offered a more viable alternative.[58] And for a government in need of resources for countering insurgency, easing the ability of authorities to collect taxes from dispersed communities was not the only extractive benefit of regroupment. The camps also provided a ready supply of military recruits. While the Burundian army doubled in size during the initial period of regroupment (1996–98), reaching a force strength of 40,000,[59] its real force multiplier proved to be displaced civilians. Soldiers recruited *regroupés*, including children, to spy for them in camps and serve as lookouts and scouts when they scoured the countryside for insurgents.[60] In many instances, the military "made the civilians walk in front of them so as to shield them from any ambush by the rebels."[61] The army also ordered regrouped men to form patrol groups and militias tasked with defending the camps. Participation was compulsory. Men were made to patrol nightly, sometimes accompanied by armed soldiers, who took attendance to ensure everyone was present.[62] When out on patrol, according to the testimonies of participants, "any unknown person encountered is arrested and taken to military or political authorities."[63]

While fighting-age men helped bolster the military's manpower, other *regroupés* were mobilized for non-combat tasks. Human rights groups reported at the time that "the use of forced labor within the camps is a widespread practice."[64] Soldiers required male and female residents to cultivate food, carry water, and make charcoal for them, a process that is very labor intensive.[65] Young boys would help the military clear underbrush around army posts and regroupment camps to deny cover to rebels,

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[56] Longman 1998, 180.
[57] Quoted in Prunier (2008, 61).
[58] Human Rights Watch 2000, 4.
[59] Longman 1998, 171.
[60] Human Rights Watch 2000, 30, IDMC, 2006 (April), 71.
[61] Human Rights Watch 2000, 26.
[62] Longman 1998, 3.
[63] Longman 1998, 3.
[64] Longman 1998, 70.
[65] Longman 1998, 70.

and ferry goods and equipment for soldiers from one post to another.[66] Finally, encampment enabled local officials to subject the rural population to "re-education" or "detoxification" programs. These largely entailed political indoctrination through, for example, the "repetitive singing of pro-government messages."[67]

Regroupment therefore proved to be a crucial vehicle through which "government and military leaders...sought to incorporate unarmed Hutu civilians in their war effort."[68] The idleness of camp life, greater proximity to state authorities, and threat of sanction encouraged widespread participation. Facing limited resources and manpower constraints, mobilizing the local population through regroupment meant that "the military simplifies its job by enlisting Hutu to monitor themselves."[69] It appears, then, that the state often considered Hutu civilians to be an asset, not just a threat, to its counterinsurgency operations. This is made clear in an analysis by Human Rights Watch: "by requiring Hutu to participate in patrols and pay a special war tax, the government and armed forces have used the Hutu population to assist in hindering [rebel] activity in the country."[70] In many areas, utilizing the population in this way likely would have been difficult, if not impossible, without regroupment.

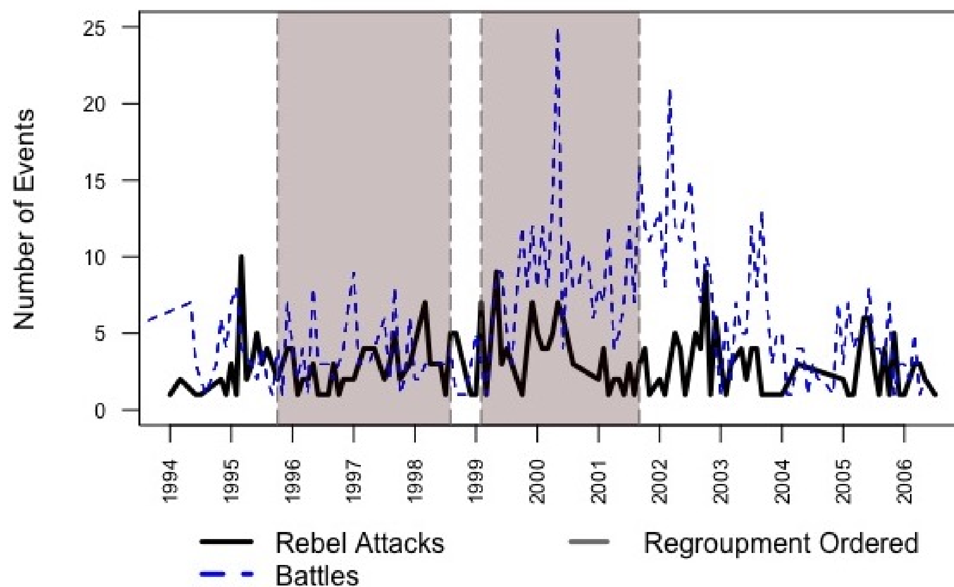
One may wonder how a poorly-resourced and overstretched regime could afford to sustain the abrupt relocation of hundreds of thousands of civilians. Despite the post-coup boycott of Burundi by donor countries, upon initiating regroupment in 1996, the Buyoya government told the international community that it needed assistance building and supplying the camps with food, water, sanitation facilities, and other services.[71] U.N. agencies and NGOs responded with a "carefully calibrated" relief program to ensure that "the most urgent, life-sustaining needs of the affected populations were covered."[72] Authorities in Burundi attempted to shift the burden of caring for the *regroupés* onto the humanitarian community:

> "Non-governmental organizations are believed to have been heavily pressured to work in the camps, and the government has made public its disapproval of those who have been reluctant to work in the camps. The government has made it clear in a statement issued to diplomatic representatives, nongovernmental organizations and others that those who do not comply with its policy of coordination, including working in the camps, 'are at liberty to withdraw from Burundi.'"[73]

[66] Human Rights Watch 2000, 26. When confronted with allegations of forced labor, Burundi's Defense Minister admitted to Human Rights Watch that regrouped civilians were providing free services to soldiers, but claimed that "the civilians had volunteered to provide the services to show their appreciation for the protection afforded by the soldiers" (Human Rights Watch 2000, 27).
[67] Human Rights Watch 2000, 13.
[68] Longman 1998, 177.
[69] Longman 1998, 178-79.
[70] Longman 1998, 177.
[71] Longman 1998, 62.
[72] IDMC, 2006 (April), 26.
[73] Amnesty International, 1997 (15 July), 12.

Still, in many regroupment camps facilities remained inadequate and services remained poor. Some settlements received no international aid at all.[74] The government continued to try to divert responsibility for the deteriorating humanitarian situation, as it "attempted to blame the international community for the dire conditions in the regroupment camps."[75] Some organizations began refusing to provide assistance; Médecins Sans Frontière, for example, suspended its activities in camps in several provinces. Foreign governments also withheld or withdrew support, claiming "that the creation of camps was a military strategy which the international community had no business supporting."[76] In fact, multiple observers partly attribute the government's decision to begin dismantling camps in 1998 – and its eventual termination of the program in 2002 – to international pressure.[77] Without financial support from external actors, regroupment became increasingly untenable.

Figure 5.1: Military Battles and Rebel Attacks in Burundi (1993–2006)



Source: UCDP GED (Sundberg and Melander 2013). Only includes data for provinces that experienced regroupment.

Whether regrouping the population was effective in helping the government

[74] Human Rights Watch 2000, 11.

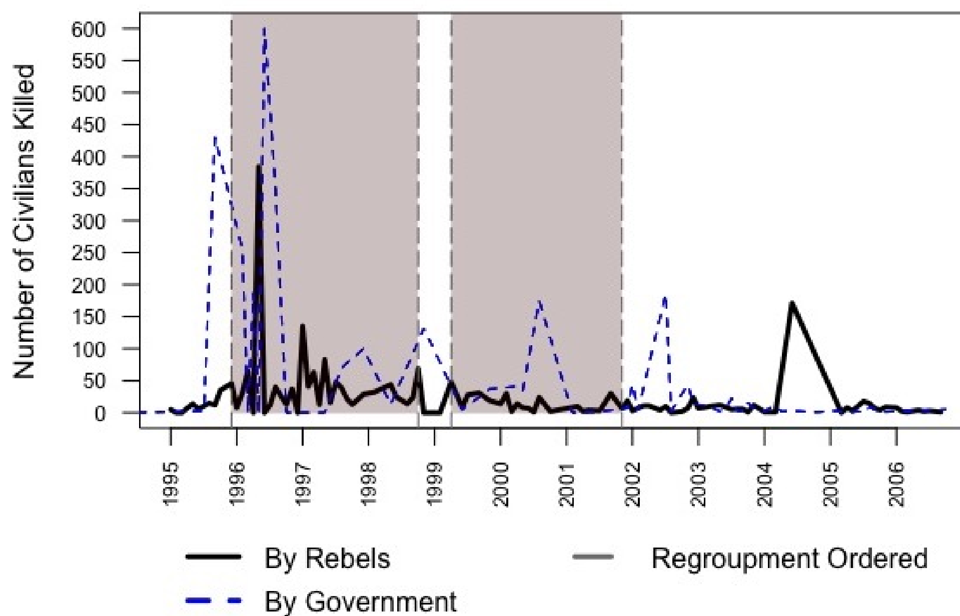
[75] Longman 1998, 62.

[76] Longman 1998, 62.

[77] IDMC, 2006 (April), 26, Longman 1998, Human Rights Watch 2000.

weaken the insurgency is unclear. Human Rights Watch claims that the policy "helped reduce rebel attacks on both military and civilian targets," though it does not explain how or why.[78] According to violent events data from the UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset (GED), provinces subjected to regroupment did not seem to experience much of a decline in rebel attacks during the periods in which the policy was in place (Figure 5.1). Battles between military and insurgent forces, however, increased during the second regroupment period, so it is possible that regroupment helped expose rebels to counterinsurgents or forced them to engage in direct combat. Moreover, the number of civilians killed by *both* rebel and government combatants spiked during regroupment (Figure 5.2). This is potentially consistent with the idea that relocating the population encouraged collective targeting by each side. These trends are similar if we examine violent events in specific provinces (See Appendix H).

Figure 5.2: Civilians Deaths from Rebel and Government Attacks (1993 – 2006)



Source: UCDP GED (Sundberg and Melander 2013). Only includes data for provinces that experienced regroupment.

There is little evidence, however, that regroupment effectively cut rebels off from civilian contact, starved them of food, or deprived them of other supplies. As discussed above, rebels frequently entered regroupment camps and continued to solicit

[78] Human Rights Watch 2000, 8.

"contributions" from *regroupés*. For example, members of the FNL accessed a camp in Kavumu "to recruit and mobilize adherents as well as to collect contributions."[79] Another camp in Bubanza, which surrounded a military detach, was attacked by fighters from the FDD, who pillaged food, weapons, and other items.[80] When reporting such incursions residents noted that the rebels typically "took only what they needed to sustain themselves."[81] The guerrillas also benefitted from the spoils of village evacuations:

> "The rebels...helped themselves to food and other goods found in vacant homes after the countryside had been emptied of its usual population. Many camp residents said that when they went back to work in their fields, they often found that others – presumably the rebels – had been living in their houses and eating their crops."[82]

Conclusion for Strategic Displacement in Burundi

During the Burundian civil war, state-induced strategic displacement initially took the form of cleansing and tended to take place in urban, ethnically mixed areas. Yet precisely because this displacement created a more ethnically homogenous countryside, as the conflict shifted to remote, rural areas, the Tutsi-led government could not rely on ethnic identity to proxy for insurgent support among a local population that was overwhelmingly Hutu. Instead, to combat the shadowy guerrillas of the CNDD, FNL, and other groups, state forces enacted a policy of regroupment to profile people along spatial lines. The identification problems posed by the insurgency, the government's limited resources, and the army's need to confront adversaries in multiple theaters all seemed to encourage counterinsurgents to use regroupment to delineate friend from enemy, while extracting critical economic and military resources from the population.

Overall, the case of Burundi provides strong evidence of the assortative logic of strategic displacement. The patterns and dynamics of regroupment shared striking similarities to the strategy of "protected villages" employed by the government in Uganda. This case study not only supports my propositions regarding where and when forced relocation is likely to be employed; it also demonstrates that relocation indeed acted as a mechanism for sorting, capturing, and converting the local population into useful assets. Burundi is also unique because it allows us to compare the use of cleansing *and* the use of forced relocation by the same state in the same conflict. In doing so, the case study provides within-case evidence that these two displacement strategies tend to arise in different contexts and have different objectives and motivations.

[79] Human Rights Watch 2000, 20.
[80] Longman 1998, 135.
[81] Human Rights Watch 2000, 33.
[82] Human Rights Watch 2000, 32.

5.2 Strategic Hamlets in Vietnam

The Vietnam War (1960–75) is a paradigmatic case of forced relocation. Moving and reorganizing the rural population was a cornerstone of South Vietnamese and American military strategies during the conflict, most notably through the Strategic Hamlets Program – an initiative that is considered a key development in modern counterinsurgency practice.[83] South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem launched the Strategic Hamlets Program in 1961 with financial and military support from the United States.[84] To combat the North Vietnam-backed communist insurgents of the National Liberation Front (NLF) – also known as the Vietcong – the program aimed to concentrate the rural peasantry of the south and reduce its 16,000 hamlets to 12,000 nationwide.[85] Many peasants were forced to relocate, though some fled to the hamlets voluntarily. Architects of the program intended that no resident would be moved "more than a reasonable distance from his land, i.e. up to a maximum of three miles."[86]

Strategic hamlets had three primarily objectives, according to Sir Robert Thompson, head of the British Advisory mission to Vietnam. Thompson had served as the British Secretary of Defense in Malaya during the Malayan Emergency (1950–60), where he oversaw the counterinsurgency scheme that became the inspiration for the Vietnam strategy: the resettlement of some 500,000 civilians into "New Villages." In Vietnam, the Strategic Hamlet Program aimed to (1) ensure the protection of the population; (2) "unite the people and involve them in positive action on the side of the government"; and (3) spur "development in the social, economic, and political fields."[87] Thus the purpose was much broader than constructing fortified villages. As noted by American military officials in the Pentagon Papers, the objective of the program "was political though the means to its realization were a mixture of military, social, psychological, economic and political measures."[88]

While the U.S. played a pivotal role in helping design and fund the strategic hamlets, they were in many ways a continuation of a rural relocation policy enacted in 1959 by President Diem. Known as *agrovilles*, the policy sought to mitigate growing instability and communist infiltration in the countryside by moving peasants into *khu tru mat*, or "closer settlement areas." These settlements were meant to feature schools, access to social services, and training on agricultural techniques. Created on a much smaller scale, most *agrovilles* were transformed into strategic hamlets. In 1964, not long after Diem's assassination in a November 1963 coup d'état, the Strategic Hamlet Program officially ended. Before his death, Diem claimed that nearly 874,000 people had

[83] Bass 2008, 236.
[84] While the program was not officially adopted until April 17, 1962, it unofficially started in some provinces in 1961.
[85] In Vietnam, a hamlet is the administrative sub-unit of a village.
[86] Thompson 1966, 122.
[87] Thompson 1966, 124-125.
[88] Edition 1954, 128.

been resettled into 8,600 completed hamlets, but U.S. officials could only confirm that twenty percent of them met minimum standards of readiness.[89] The end of the program did not, however, mean the end of the use of forced relocation by American and South Vietnamese forces, as I will describe below.

A War with No Fronts and Many Enemies

The Vietcong were particularly adept at guerrilla warfare. Many of its leaders were trained by the North Vietnamese and adhered to the precepts proposed by Mao Zedong in China and adapted successfully by Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi. Only numbering some 5,000 combatants in 1960,[90] the Vietcong "assumed the role of guerrillas fighting on their own account with unconventional strategies;" ones that privileged selective terrorism, assassinations of local authorities, and hit-and-run assaults on government targets.[91] The insurgents "did not stand and fight, but simply melted away into the jungle."[92] As a result, according to Bernd Greiner, "the frontline was everywhere and nowhere."[93] Indeed, Vietnam has often been described as a war "without fronts,"[94] waged in an environment characterized by an "impenetrable landscape – woods, mountains, and marshes" where "only [the Vietcong] could read the landscape, move about in it, identify with it and use it to their advantage."[95]

For those fighting on behalf of the government, then, the conflict became characterized by the inability to distinguish combatants from non-combatants. The enemy was invisible yet omnipresent. Vietcong eschewed military fatigues in favor of the traditional dress worn by all Vietnamese peasants,[96] meaning that "normal men and women" were "suspected of turning into guerrillas at night after their day's work in the fields."[97] Reliable intelligence on Vietcong members was also lacking. In his account of the war, Thompson laments the "a complete failure" by the South Vietnamese "to establish a competent internal security intelligence organization to collect and collate the information necessary to disrupt and defeat and insurgent movement."[98] Consequently, the intelligence services were in "no position to assess" the quality of information given by the population.[99] Thus when British and American military advisors arrived in 1961,

[89] Hilsman 1967.
[90] Thompson 1969, 67.
[91] Greiner 2010, 29.
[92] Wiesner 1988, 39.
[93] Greiner 2010, 22.
[94] Greiner 2010; Thayer 2016.
[95] Greiner 2010, 35, 132.
[96] Hunt 2018, 240.
[97] Greiner 2010, 35.
[98] Thompson 1969, 124.
[99] Thompson 1969, 142. Even U.S. reconnaissance officers recounted that "we had no way of determining the background of [intelligence] sources, nor their motivation for providing American units with information...our paid sources could easily have been either provocateurs or opportunists with a score

they found that the guerrillas were not "identifiable."[100] Yet "if the Vietcong were to be fought, it was essential to identify and locate them."[101]

Despite the primacy of insurgent identification, the South Vietnamese government and its foreign backers lacked a basis for profiling Vietcong and their supporters. The defining feature of the insurgency was ideology, not identity, and the population from which it vied for support was relatively homogenous, both ethnically and religiously. While a vast majority of South Vietnamese were Buddhists, the country did possess a distinct Catholic minority whose members included President Diem and other political elites. Yet many Catholics were émigrés from North Vietnam who had fled repression and persecution by communist officials in the 1950s; as a result they tended to be staunch anti-communists and strong supporters of the Diem regime.[102] The regime therefore did not enforce strategic hamletting in Catholic localities, since their residents' loyalties were generally known. According to Louis Wiesner, the government perceived the Catholics as having already "voted with their feet" by opting to flee the north for the south.[103] But within Vietnam's Buddhist-majority population, attempting to classify or separate communities along tribal or ethnic lines provided little benefit to the state's counterinsurgency efforts. The social homogeneity of the countryside had actually been accelerated by Diem himself. Before the war, his regime engineered population resettlements to intermix highland tribes with the rest of Vietnamese society in order to facilitate political assimilation and to "civilize" the tribespeople.[104]

In the absence of easily-observable signifiers of potential Vietcong affiliation within the rural population, counterinsurgents in South Vietnam saw the Strategic Hamlet Program as a way to pressure peasant communities to signal which side they were on. Wiesner notes that when people were driven into the hamlets, it "gave Diem the satisfaction of being voted for 'with the feet.'"[105] Territory outside the hamlets "became a free-fire zone" where remaining dwellers were considered to be affiliated with the guerrillas.[106] Likewise, American military officers described the program "as a response to 'a substantial majority of the population remaining neutral'" that sought "to isolate those 'of doubtful sympathy'":

> "This will bring about a moment of decision for the peasant farmer. He will have to choose if he stays alive. Until now the peasant farmer has had three alternatives: he

to settle" (Greiner 2010, 62).

[100] Thompson 1969, 131.

[101] Zasloff 1962, 328.

[102] Nguyen-Marshall 2009; Wiesner 1988. When Vietnam was partitioned in two, approximately 810,000 migrants from the north chose to move to the south. More than three-fourths of them were Catholic. According to Wiesner (1988, 59), the Vietcong perceived Catholics as "anti-communist" and "hostile" to the insurgency.

[103] Wiesner 1988, 54.

[104] Wiesner 1988, 15-16.

[105] Wiesner 1988, 47.

[106] Latham 2006, 35.

> could stay put...He could move to an area under government control. Or he could join the [Vietcong]. Now if he stays put there are additional dangers."[107]

Despite the coercive nature of the hamlet program, as we observed in Uganda and Burundi, some people did not comply with the orders to uproot. Others left their villages but refused to settle or remain in their designated hamlet. Wiesner, for example, observed that the hamletted population contained "significantly fewer" men of military age, suggesting that "many managed to escape movement."[108] Some were undoubtedly Vietcong fighters and supporters. Others, however, could simply not bear to abandon their homes. As Greiner explains, "in the eyes of their inhabitants, villages were much more than places to live or cultivate; they were revered as shrines, the natural world around them was the home of the spirits they prayed to and the graves of their ancestors were symbols of death and reincarnation. Leaving these places was unthinkable."[109] Some of those who did move to the hamlets would return. Just as the strategic hamlets could discourage, but not completely prevent, people from leaving, they often did not forestall insurgent infiltration. Reports abounded of Vietcong attacking the settlements – which they sometimes were able to "penetrate with ease" – and "tearing down walls and fences, kidnapping young men, assassinating hamlet officials, and in general destroying the morale and will to resist of the rural population."[110] According to Michael Latham, "in case after case, and in province after province, [Vietcong] infiltrated or overwhelmed hamlets."[111]

This indicates that one of the primary benefits of the Strategic Hamlet Program – and its predecessor, the *agrovilles* – was not that they severed ties between insurgents and civilians.[112] Rather, it was their ability to enhance the legibility of Vietnam's "jungle-clad and ill-defined frontiers" and their dispersed populations, which was essential for identifying and rooting out Vietcong guerrillas and collaborators.[113] According to President Diem, the motivation for the *agrovilles* program was the fact that "the population...is living in such spread out manner that the government cannot protect them...Therefore, it is necessary to concentrate this population."[114] It is no surprise, then, that the *agrovilles* followed "a very legible layout" in which houses were constructed in lined blocks all facing the same direction.[115]

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[107] U.S. General William C. Westmoreland quoted in Fitzgerald 2009, 458.

[108] Wiesner 1988, 358.

[109] Greiner 2010, 73.

[110] O'Donnell 1965, 29.

[111] Latham 2006, 37.

[112] According to Thompson (1966, 143), a major weakness of the strategic hamlets was that "no real effort was made to separate the population in the strategic hamlets from the Vietcong by eliminating their agents and supporters inside the hamlets."

[113] Thompson 1969, 43.

[114] Zasloff 1962, 328.

[115] Tan 2006, 234.

Just like the areas targeted for the *agrovilles* possessed "a high degree of illegibility" to the South Vietnamese state,[116] for the Americans, the insurgent-infested jungles throughout the country "seemed fundamentally unassailable."[117] One U.S. Air Force captain remarked that in the Mekong River Delta, "the villages were very small, like a mount in a swamp...There were no names for some of them."[118] American servicemen typically referred to the Vietnamese countryside as "Indian Country" populated by unknown and potentially hostile communities. Thus as soon as rural Vietnamese were moved into strategic hamlets, security officials were ordered to "establish new identity files and family records for each house, take photographs of each person, investigate the financial status of each family...and issue plastic covered identification cards to the inhabitants, as soon as possible."[119] Residents were organized into cadres and charged with gathering "detailed information on all aspects of hamlet life."[120] These techniques, according to Nicole Sickly, "were designed to map the political loyalties of peasants and disentangle communist from noncommunist," making "peasants' political allegiances more legible to...military and state authorities."[121] The swift implementation of the hamlet system allowed for the rapid cataloguing of the rural population: in less than three months more than three million national identification cards were issued.[122]

The Strategic Hamlet Program officially ended in 1964. However, after the U.S. began deploying ground troops to Vietnam in 1965, the military continued to forcibly uproot civilians as part of its counterinsurgency operations. As noted by Guenter Lewy, "until 1968 the prevalent but uncodified policy was that of compulsory relocations and displacement by military pressure."[123] American troops repeatedly used loud-speaker vehicles and leaflets to warn people to flee Vietcong or contested territories, "so any who remained were considered [rebels] and were fair game."[124] Some evacuations were prompted by the creation of additional free fire zones that allowed the U.S. military to attack its adversaries from the air. Since the pilots "could not distinguish ordinary farmers from guerrillas,"[125] these free fire zones made it so that "anyone who did not want to be evacuated had forfeited the right to protection."[126]

In some cases, these tactics resembled depopulation more than forced relocation – in the sense that residents of evacuated villages were not explicitly told where to go (though the establishment of strategic hamlets may have given them destinations to

[116] Tan 2006, 210.
[117] Greiner 2010, 132.
[118] U.S. Air Force captain quoted in Greiner (2010, 132).
[119] "The Creation of a Strategic Hamlet" 1962, 27.
[120] Wiesner 1988, 43.
[121] Sackley 2011, 500.
[122] Ernst 1993, 72-73.
[123] Lewy 1980, 65.
[124] Wiesner 1988, 355.
[125] Wiesner 1988, 60.
[126] Greiner 2010, 72.

target). Yet the logic was the same. Those who failed to heed orders to flee, or those who attempted to return prematurely, were manifestly guilty of enemy activity. Staying behind was equated with supporting the Vietcong. This is evident in the testimonies of American soldiers, commanders, and military advisors. As one advisor to the 25th Infantry Division explained, "if [those] people want to stay there and support the communists, then they can expect to be bombed."[127] A report from the U.S. Army similarly stated that "friendly" civilians "had no right to be in the areas in question and if they were, they were paying or helping the V.C. [Vietcong]."[128] In other words, according to another soldier's account, in evacuated territories "all people – regardless of what they are doing – are enemy."[129] For a member of a U.S. Reconnaissance Platoon, "it didn't matter if they were civilians. If they weren't supposed to be in an area, we shot them."[130]

These were not simply post-hoc rationalizations for the use of capricious violence during the war. While reporting from Vietnam, journalist Jonathan Schell revealed a mentality, conveyed in real time by American forces, that can be best described as a presumption of guilt by physical association. "There's a V.C. havin' his supper. There shouldn't be anyone down there. He shouldn't be there," Schell quotes one soldier as saying. Another explains that "in the mountains, just about anything that moves is considered to be V.C. No one has got any reason to be there."[131] Some were even more blunt. According to a soldier from Charlie Company, when patrolling the free fire zones "Any man found was shot, with little or no questions asked. It was the policy that no one should be living in that area."[132] Even in the strategic hamlets, U.S. troops "were instructed to shoot at anyone moving outside his house after curfew."[133] Whether those deemed guilty actually were Vietcong affiliates was often unclear. Yet according to Wiesner, "in the period up to late 1966, most of the Vietnamese who had an ideological enmity to the Vietcong...left VC-controlled and contested areas as refugees."[134] Again, we see here that combatants treated civilian flight and resettlement as a political act, even if this was not the intent of the displaced themselves. For South Vietnamese and American officials, "more refugees were considered indicators of increasingly successful pacification; they were counted as having voted with their feet, even when they were only trying to escape death."[135]

[127] An advisor to 25th Infantry Division, quoted in Greiner (2010, 72).
[128] Quoted in Greiner (2010, 74).
[129] Comments on the Schell Manuscript quoted in Greiner (2010, 156).
[130] William Doyle, Tiger Force Reconnaissance Platoon, 1st Battalion, United States 101st Airborne Division, quoted in Greiner (2010, 156).
[131] Quoted in Schell (2013, 10-15).
[132] Charlie Company soldier Robert L. Keck quoted in Greiner (2010, 250).
[133] West 2003, 74.
[134] Wiesner 1988, 101. When the author refers to "refugees," he means both those who remained within Vietnam (what we would now call IDPs) and those who fled the country.
[135] Wiesner 1988, 355.

Incorporating Peasants into the "Anti-Communist Struggle"

As noted at the beginning of this case study, one of the stated aims of the Strategic Hamlet Program was to involve the population "in positive action on the side of the government."[136] Hamletting therefore sought to facilitate both the identification *and the mobilization* of the rural peasantry. While civilian relocation helped establish distinct (if tenuous) spatial demarcations between loyalists and disloyalists, South Vietnamese and American officials also envisioned that "loyalists relocated to the [hamlets] could then provide friendly 'self-defense forces.'"[137] The premium placed on incorporating the population into the conflict proved to be an important factor in the creation of strategic hamlets:

> "With increasing urgency, Diem sought ways to win not simply the passive loyalty of peasants but their active participation in the anti-communist struggle...Nowhere were the regime's expectations of this popular mobilization better illustrated than in [its] ambitious ideas about strategic hamlet defense...[The regime] evidently expected inhabitants to wage their own guerrilla war against the Communists; residents would assume the responsibility for hamlet security after the completion of fortifications...and the creation of a militia. The primary responsibility for the defense of the country would thus rest with a hamlet-based citizen militia, with the regular army and provincial forces reduced to a supporting role."[138]

Former U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam William Colby also saw strategic hamlets as "one of the best forms of political mobilization"[139] that was meant to "facilitate the active participation of the rural population in the war against the [Vietcong]."[140] Relocating the peasantry was not, therefore, a punitive measure. On the contrary: it was an extractive tool by which people who had been residing outside the reach of the central government "became wards of the state" and were consequently subjected to taxation and conscription.[141] State tax collection and repayments of government-provided agricultural credit loans reportedly increased after the creation of the hamlets.[142] Each settlement was required to form a militia trained and armed by government and American forces; militias that eventually supplied hundreds of thousands of fighters for counterinsurgency operations. Hamlet residents also served as forced labor, required "to make heavy contributions of labor, material, and money to the construction of the hamlets."[143] Even after the Strategic Hamlets Program ended, the

[136] Thompson 1966, 124-25.
[137] McClintock 1992, 254.
[138] Catton 1999, 922, 927, 929-930.
[139] Colby and McCargar 1989, 99.
[140] Herring 1979, 103.
[141] Wiesner 1988, 361.
[142] Wiesner 1988, 44.
[143] Pike 1966, 67.

displaced continued to be seen as assets, in both a material and a symbolic sense. This is captured in an account of displacement dynamics in Phu-Yen province from 1965 to 1966:

> "the refugee migration represented a major loss to the Viet Cong and a potential gain to the [government]...it drained an estimated 5,000 men of military age and a total of about 21,000 from the labor force accessible to the VC, as well as reducing the tax base...The movement of people into [government] areas offered a corresponding potential political-psychological gain to the government...the Saigon government pointed out that refugees were a potential asset to the national cause."[144]

The impetus for population exploitation through relocation largely stemmed from resource constraints. As Catton persuasively argues, the idea that Vietnamese civilians needed to be mobilized in order to help "carry the burden of defeating the nation's enemies" was "deemed a necessity because of the government's limited resources."[145] In 1961 South Vietnam had no active police force stationed in rural areas, and it lacked the security personnel to blanket the countryside with troops. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara opined in a 1963 briefing that Saigon "is going to be right on the ragged edge of running out of the money needed to win the war."[146] While American forces were much better resourced, according to Thompson, they "were not trained to conduct deep penetration operations in the jungle."[147] Thus concentrating rural inhabitants proved more attractive. An American military scholar indicated as much at the time: "since the government does not have the capability of dispersing and projecting its military strength to cover these remote settlements...it must bring the inhabitants of these villages to areas which it can directly control."[148]

Of course, large-scale population relocation is not cheap. But the government of South Vietnam had a generous patron in the United States. When the Diem regime rolled out the Strategic Hamlet Program, the U.S. government was underwriting nearly 60 percent of the state's non-defense expenditures, and had provided a total of $1.65 billion in assistance since 1955.[149] Upon entering office in 1961, the administration of President John F. Kennedy further increased aid for Diem's army, doubled the number of U.S. military advisors, and embarked on what many observers have called an "expanded nation-building program" in South Vietnam.[150] The U.S. mission in Saigon

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[144] Wiesner 1988, 106.
[145] Catton 1999, 927.
[146] "Memorandum of Discussion at the Special Meeting on Vietnam," Honolulu, Hawaii, November 20, 1963. Washington National Records Center, RG 334, MAC/VM Files: FRC 69 A 702, 204-58 Policy and Precedent Files (1963).
[147] Thompson 1969, 138.
[148] Pustay 1965, 100.
[149] Hunt 2018, 20.
[150] Latham 2006, 31.

quickly became the largest in the world.[151] Along with direct military support, agencies such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) funded many aspects of the strategic hamlets – providing assistance to cover the costs incurred by relocated families, equip the hamlets with basic services, and recruit and train hamlet officials and militias.[152] The Pentagon Papers even contain accusations that the Diem regime viewed the Strategic Hamlet Program as a way of obtaining American financial assistance to help the government bring the countryside under its control.[153]

Why did the use of forced relocation dwindle around 1968? As my theory would predict, counterinsurgents in Vietnam moved away from these strategies as the conflict evolved into a conventional war. By 1968, the military contest was "no longer just a struggle to defeat Vietcong insurgents" but had become "a war between conventional North Vietnamese forces that had entered South Vietnam and American ground forces."[154] The insurgency had also made significant inroads in urban areas. In January 1968, as part of the Tet Offensive, the Vietcong – which had grown to 80,000 strong – launched assaults on town centers throughout South Vietnam, including 36 out of 44 provincial capitals.[155] These spectacular attacks indicated that, as Greiner puts it, "the asymmetrical war stood at the threshold of symmetrical escalation."[156]

In response, U.S. and South Vietnamese forces engaged in more pitched battles and shifted tactics to "search-and-destroy" missions that aimed to dismantle the leadership cadres of the Vietcong.[157] These missions were in many ways enabled by the creation of the strategic hamlets. By imposing legibility on the rural population, the hamlets provided the access to peasant communities and the detailed information on its members that intelligence officers needed to interrogate, infiltrate, and capture rebel agents under the infamous Phoenix Program. Phoenix, described as a set measures that were intended to destroy the "political infrastructure" of the insurgency, lasted from 1968 until 1972.[158] The invasion of South Vietnam by 200,000 members of the North Vietnamese Army in the Easter Offensive of 1972 completed the transformation of the conflict into a full-fledged conventional battle.[159]

[151] Herring 1979, 62.
[152] Wiesner 1988, 12. For example, when strategic hamlets were created in Binh Duong province in March 1962, USAID "provided $300,000, about $21 per family, to compensate resettled peasants for their property losses and to equip civic action teams with medicine, fertilizer, farming implements and ID cards" (Latham 2006, 36).
[153] Edition 1954, 147.
[154] Hunt 2018, 28.
[155] Greiner 2010, 181.
[156] Greiner 2010, 185.
[157] Greiner 2010, 35.
[158] Hunt 2018, 47-48.
[159] In describing violence against civilians during this period, Greiner argues that the U.S. and South Vietnam engaged in "overkill" and even "political cleansing" in rural settlements, because they mostly tried to "bomb the peasants out of their support for the guerrillas" (Greiner 2010, 68, 72).

Conclusion for Strategic Displacement in Vietnam

Like in Burundi, forced population relocation in Vietnam followed an assortative logic. The strategic hamlets sought to weed out evasive guerrillas and communist sympathizers while organizing and mobilizing rural peasants to fight on behalf of the government. Though the program failed to achieve many of its objectives – in large part because it was poorly coordinated and implemented far too quickly[160] – the evidence suggests that it was about much more than "draining the sea." The Vietcong did levy taxes on, and forcibly conscript, civilians. Yet much of the insurgency's material support was provided by the governments of North Vietnam and the Soviet Union instead of by the local population.[161] This case study corroborates my findings from Burundi and Uganda and demonstrates that the logic of my theory extends to conflicts beyond sub-Saharan Africa.

Further, the Vietnam case shows that, consistent with my argument, counterinsurgents eschewed forced relocation as the insurgency shifted from irregular to conventional warfare. This substantiates my within-case comparison of conflicts in Uganda – which exploited spatial variation in war type – by demonstrating temporal variation that conforms to my expectations. Finally, I find some preliminary evidence suggesting that tactics of depopulation may, at least in some cases, adhere to an assortative logic. I examine this proposition in more detail in Chapter 6.

5.3 Relocating the Acehnese in Indonesia

The Aceh conflict in Indonesia is another seemingly unlikely case of forced relocation, not only because it was an ethnic war, but also because the rebels of the "Free Aceh Movement" (*Gerakan Aceh Merdek*, or GAM) sought independence from Jakarta. As I show in Chapter 4, in secessionist struggles and other conflicts over territory, state-induced strategic displacement is likely to take the form of cleansing, due to the premium placed on conquest and territorial annexation. This case study focuses on the second phase of the Aceh conflict in my dataset (1999–2005) during which there is clear evidence of state-induced population relocation.[162]

GAM formed in the Aceh region in 1976, but was quickly neutralized by the Indonesian military (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*, or TNI) under President Suharto. The insurgency re-emerged in 1989 and resumed attacks on local police outposts. Through a campaign of "shock therapy," the army responded by indiscriminately detaining, abusing, and killing members of the local population. By the time Suharto resigned in 1998 and Indonesia began a rapid transition from military dictatorship

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[160] Nagl, 135, Thompson 1969.

[161] Thompson 1969, 60.

[162] Indonesian forces also employed forced relocation during insurgencies in West Papua (1976–78) and East Timor (1975–99). Some of the dynamics I highlight in Aceh were present in these conflicts as well. However, due to space constraints, I limit the case study to the Aceh conflict.

to parliamentary democracy, GAM had garnered support from large segments of the Acehnese population.[163] After the post-Suharto administration granted Aceh autonomy status, the rebels continued to express grievances regarding the government's neglect and exploitation of the province's natural resources. GAM increased its assaults on state security forces, emphasizing that the insurgency's objective was to secure Aceh's independence. Despite its support among the population, observers estimate that GAM's forces did not exceed 5,000 fighters.[164] TNI officers themselves recognized that the insurgency did not come close to matching the Indonesian military in manpower or resources.[165]

After peace talks collapsed in 2001, President Megawati Sukarnoputri – the daughter of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno – faced growing pressure to take decisive action against GAM. When a final attempt at peace negotiations stalled in May 2003, Megawati declared martial law in Aceh and dispatched 28,000 troops and 12,000 police to the province. As part of the counterinsurgency operation, the military evicted between 150,000 and 200,000 villagers from their homes and transported them to some 85 government-run camps spread across sixteen districts. By July, the International Crisis Group reported "woefully inadequate" services at relocation sites, including water, sanitation, and livelihoods assistance, and claimed that the strategy was only "fueling support" for GAM.[166] Despite reports that the evacuations were having little effect on the military campaign, in November 2003 TNI announced that it would extend its operation – and the relocation order – for another six months. GAM eventually suffered a series of setbacks, prompting Indonesian officials to lift martial law in May 2004, and the two sides eventually reached a peace settlement in August 2005.

Compared to Burundi and Vietnam, there are fewer detailed accounts of the dynamics of violence and displacement in Aceh. The Indonesian government tightly controlled press coverage of the conflict, and after imposing martial law it significantly restricted access to the region for local and international NGOs. Amnesty International estimated that two dozen employees of human rights and humanitarian organizations were arrested in Aceh between May 2003 and October 2004 alone.[167] Reporting on human rights abuses was therefore limited due to fear of retaliation by the authorities.[168] Nonetheless, there was still clear evidence of forced relocation by government forces. According to Eva-Lotta Hedman:

> "While conflict and violence in the pre-martial law era also produced flows of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees, forced displacement took on added significance with the public declaration of a military emergency...This was

[163] Robinson 1998.
[164] Kell 2010.
[165] Aspinall 2008.
[166] International Crisis Group, 2003 (July), 5.
[167] Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October), 14.
[168] Stanton 2016, 129.

> the first time the Indonesian government publicly announced plans for the mass evacuation of civilian population to form part of counterinsurgency operations in Aceh."[169]

Ali Ramly also argues that the imposition of martial law "signaled a new round of armed conflict in Aceh during which internal, indeed forced, displacement of civilian populations emerged as a deliberate strategy of war."[170] Similar to the regroupment policy in Burundi, as soon as the strategy was announced it was widely condemned by human rights groups.[171] This did not discourage the government from carrying it out, however. The rest of this section explores the logics and dynamics underlying this strategy of forced relocation.

"Who is GAM? Where is GAM?"

The Megawati administration declared that the objective of the 2003 military operation in Aceh was to "separate GAM from the civilian population."[172] This could be an indication of a denial logic – by uprooting the population, the government sought to divest the rebels of their civilian supply chain. Yet according to Human Rights Watch, the push for "separation" principally amounted to "an effort to identify GAM members."[173] GAM employed classic guerrilla warfare, relying on "its superior knowledge of Acehnese territory, its access to intelligence through links with local communities, and its ability to retreat within Aceh's mountainous interior to carry out small-scale guerrilla attacks."[174] The population of Aceh had also become more homogenous during the conflict, in part due to a concerted effort by the separatists to purge the province of ethnic minorities. While the Indonesian state had encouraged the "transmigration" of ethnic Javenese into Aceh since 1975, as a result of ethnic cleansing campaigns by GAM, the government estimated that 130,000 transmigrants left between 1998 and 2005.[175] Thus in a 2003 survey, nearly 83 percent of the population identified as ethnically Acehnese.[176] Similar to Burundi, the use of ethnic cleansing – this time by the rebels – increased the homogenization of the conflict zone and precluded the use of ethnicity as a simplifying heuristic for inferring political loyalty.

[169] Hedman 2005. Buiza and Risser (2003) report that prior to martial law (1998 – 2002), "the majority of the IDPs took flight at the rumor or news of killings, disappearances, or arson in neighboring villages."
[170] Ramly 2005, 11. *The Independent* also reported in May 2003 plans by the government "to force thousands of people to leave villages" in GAM-affected areas "and intern them in temporary camps" ("Aceh Food Crisis Looms As Supply Lines are Cut" 2017 (27 May)).
[171] Human Rights Watch 2003, 2002; Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October).
[172] Sukma 2004, 14.
[173] Human Rights Watch 2002, 3.
[174] Stanton 2016, 164.
[175] Aspinall 2009, 173.
[176] Aspinall 2009, 4.

In Aceh, the Indonesian military employed a diverse set of methods, including patrols and "sweepings" of villages; vehicle searches and document checks; and arbitrary arrests, detentions, and interrogations.[177] Security forces continued to abuse civilians, but as Stanton argues, they exercised far more restraint than in previous military campaigns under Suharto.[178] Post-Suharto counterinsurgency operations all seemed to share a common goal, as argued by human rights observers: to "identify GAM members and supporters."[179] For government forces, detecting the disloyal took primacy. Acehnese interviewed by Human Rights Watch "described being interrogated with the accusation 'You're GAM!' or the questions 'Who is GAM? Where is GAM?'"[180]

It is not surprising, then, that relocating villagers was also used as a tool for rebel identification. General Endriartono Sutarto, the army chief of staff, admitted as much when he publicly acknowledged that the military "forced people to leave their homes...while soldiers tried to root out the rebels, who often try to blend with civilians in their villages."[181] Hence civilians were deliberately displaced, according to a military spokesperson, in order to "distinguish them from [GAM] rebels."[182] The spokesperson also declared that the TNI "would regard villagers who refuse to be moved as GAM because that means they are protecting GAM and that makes them GAM members or its supporters."[183] Secretary Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, then Indonesia's minister for political and security affairs, invoked similar logic in describing the planned relocations: "First we will ask the women and children to leave their houses. Then, we will ask unarmed men to do the same. The rest who stay behind must be those with arms."[184] In practice, the forced relocation strategy reflected the rhetoric of these officials. Amnesty International reported that Indonesian soldiers would arrive in villages and issue orders "for immediate evacuation without allowing for any pre-departure preparations," telling villagers "to leave or they would be considered members of GAM."[185]

Despite the threat of violence, some villagers ignored the orders to relocate, either because they were rebel affiliates or supporters, or because – as Barter found in his field research – of their economic, social, and cultural attachments to their homes.[186] GAM associates or not, these resisters risked getting caught up in the TNI's subsequent sweeps of evacuated districts. While media reporting was significantly curtailed by the government, there were multiple dispatches indicating that the military followed through on its threats. People remaining in emptied areas were, at least in some

[177] Human Rights Watch 2003, 2002; International Crisis Group, 2003 (July); Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October).
[178] Stanton 2016, 131-45.
[179] Human Rights Watch 2003, 27.
[180] Human Rights Watch 2003, 27.
[181] Human Rights Watch 2003, 43.
[182] Hedman 2005, 10.
[183] Human Rights Watch 2002, 4.
[184] Hedman 2005, 9.
[185] Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October), 11.
[186] Barter 2016, 99.

instances, "assumed to be GAM members and shot."[187]

Yet the military ascribed guilt not only whether people left, but also where they fled. Anyone caught decamping to the mountains, which tended to be inhabited by rebels, was "viewed as either GAM, or as a supporter bringing rice or other supplies to the armed separatists."[188] As one displaced Acehnese reported, "If we [go into the hills] we'll be seen as GAM and they [the military] will shoot us."[189] The only way to avoid condemnation was to move to the displacement camps designated by the government. Fleeing the region was even seen as a dubious move. Human Rights Watch found that "those who leave Aceh are more likely to be suspected as members of GAM by the military upon their return."[190] Thus the government's displacement tactics, instead of forcing people *out* of Aceh – as would be the principal objective of ethnic or political cleansing – sought to keep them *in* the province, concentrated in specific delineated areas.

The imperative to concentrate the population emanated from the state's desire to render Aceh – which it "has long represented...as a wild and ungovernable frontier"[191] – legible. Located on the northern edge of Indonesia's Sumatra Island, the province encompassed an expansive, peripheral territory on the marginalized hinterlands of the country and was inhabited by dispersed, agriculturally dependent communities with a low population density. Efforts to expand the presence of the state in the area had largely failed, and many scattered, rural villages remained difficult to access. A report in May 2003, for example, found that local government structures were no longer functioning in nearly 80 percent of Aceh's 5,947 villages.[192] In such an illegible environment, forced relocation enabled Indonesian authorities to create a clear, if artificial, distinction between "state" and "anti-state" zones. Relocated residents were registered and monitored, so that anyone moving back into anti-state zones could be detected and considered exactly that – against the government. When security forces conducted searches of camps or villages, simply being absent was grounds for suspicion, as "the presumption [was] that young men who have left...have joined GAM."[193]

How did the rebels respond to the state's efforts to impose legibility on Aceh? They tried to reverse them. GAM forcibly collected identification cards from villagers – at least, those who possessed them – in order to make it "impossible for Indonesian forces to separate...GAM members and supporters from other Acehnese."[194] The government reacted in a predictable way. It announced that new identity cards would

[187] "Aceh Food Crisis Looms As Supply Lines are Cut" 2017 (27 May).
[188] Human Rights Watch 2003, 37.
[189] Human Rights Watch 2003, 37.
[190] Human Rights Watch 2003, 6.
[191] Smith 2015, 57.
[192] Schulze 2006, 231.
[193] Human Rights Watch 2003, 16.
[194] Human Rights Watch 2002, 4.

be issued to all Aceh residents, since without them, rebels had been able "to pass through [military] sweepings undetected."[195] According to Human Rights Watch, an important motivation for reissuing the cards was to "force all Acehnese to present themselves in front of officials. Those who did not were then presumed to be members of GAM."[196]

The process of applying for new cards was an exercise in intelligence gathering; one that complemented the cataloguing of the local population in displacement camps. Applicants were required to provide information on family members, friends, and their activities over the past year; pass a security check by the local police; and submit a letter swearing allegiance to the state.[197] While allowing authorities to screen the local population, this process helped expose those who remained illegible to the government. Such state-evading people were often equated with rebels. The governor of one Aceh province, for example, declared that "unidentified, suspicious looking people will be shot on sight."[198] Accounts from Aceh resident confirm this: "if we didn't have a [new] identity card, we were considered to be that – separatists...Lots of people became victims like that."[199] In general, the military's actions during counterinsurgency operations indicate that it was less concerned with the precision of its identification practices than with having a basis to profile and categorize the population. Consider the following incident reported by the International Crisis Group:

> "The TNI in one area...asked the local village heads and local army personnel about residents who might be GAM. They then marked the houses of every person so identified in black paint with the words, 'This is a GAM house.' Of course no one who lived there dared go back. But that process involves blaming everyone in a family for the activities of one member; it assumes that the data received is accurate with no personal score-settling involved."[200]

For counterinsurgents who did not hesitate to engage in collective profiling, forced relocation was part of a larger effort to identify enemies by sorting the population into distinct camps, and one of several tools the government used to infer disloyalty.

Mobilizing the Moved Masses

Due to access restrictions placed on journalists, NGOs, and human rights groups, there is a general lack of information about life in Aceh's displacement camps. It is therefore difficult to ascertain the extent to which the government's relocation strategy

[195] Human Rights Watch 2003, 33.
[196] Human Rights Watch 2003, 33.
[197] International Crisis Group, 2003 (July), 3.
[198] Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October), 38.
[199] Smith 2015, 73.
[200] International Crisis Group, 2003 (July), 6.

served as an instrument for appropriating the local population. Yet we know that the Indonesian military, according to Rizal Sukma, has "historically made extensive use of civilians" in repelling challenges to the state.[201] One of the TNI's most notable methods was *pagar bettis*, or "fence of legs," in which civilians were recruited to physically encircle rebel-controlled hills. Armed with bamboo sticks and pots and pans, villagers would stand shoulder-to-shoulder around the base of a hill and motion to military units when rebels attempted to escape.[202] As Hedman notes, the tactic, "while requiring a good deal of intimidation and coercion to enforce, effectively minimized the manpower needed" for counterinsurgency.[203]

There is evidence that civilians were also used in military operations in Aceh. Both Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch received reports of villagers being forcibly enlisted to serve as scouts and human shields.[204] Security forces took people "to the mountains to search for GAM";[205] this undoubtedly included the displaced. But the most prevalent instance of "civilian participation in defense" in Aceh was compulsory guard duty, or *jaga malam*.[206] All males over the age of fifteen, including old men, were forced to take turns guarding their communities at night. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs claimed that the program sought "to create [a] secured and order situation" in Aceh by "stimulat[ing] the bravery of the local society to fight against [GAM]."[207] While *jaga malam* was not solely confined to IDP camps, it reportedly started after the imposition of martial law – thus at the same time as the forced relocation of civilians – and supposedly produced significant results, with the government claiming in a progress report that participation in "neighborhood watch" had increased "from 0% to 70%."[208]

Besides night patrol, the military also mobilized Acehnese residents into civil defense and militia groups. Such groups have been "integral to military operations in the past" in Indonesia.[209] In 2004, Amnesty International found that "a wide range" of "anti-GAM civil defense-style groups" had been formed throughout Aceh.[210] Equipped with spears and swords, these militias were primarily responsible for identifying and rooting out rebels and participating in loyalty ceremonies staged by the government. Local leaders were tasked with selecting members for civil defense groups from their communities, and while some people joined voluntarily, others were forced to enlist by the military.[211] Again, it is unclear whether these mobilization practices and dynamics

[201] Sukma 2004.
[202] Hedman 2005, 39.
[203] Hedman 2005, 39.
[204] Human Rights Watch 2003; Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October), 40.
[205] Human Rights Watch 2003, 40.
[206] Human Rights Watch 2003, 40.
[207] Human Rights Watch 2003, 40.
[208] Human Rights Watch 2003, 40.
[209] Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October), 5.
[210] Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October), 6.
[211] Amnesty International, 2004 (7 October), 6.

differed between displaced and non-displaced villages. But the use of forced relocation alongside widespread efforts to instrumentalize the local population in Aceh indicates that the two could be linked. This would be consistent with other cases I have presented throughout this dissertation, which suggest that strategies of civilian relocation are often used to help incorporate local communities into the state's war-fighting effort. In Aceh, the Indonesian government certainly saw the displaced as assets – at least symbolic ones. Barter describes how political and military officials would reference the relocation camps in discussions with local journalists in order "to showcase GAM cruelty."[212]

While the TNI had previously enlisted the civilian population to help extend the state security apparatus in Aceh, these efforts took on a particular urgency in the post-Suharto period. In the early 2000s Indonesia was reeling from the lingering effects of the Asian financial crisis, which had crippled the country's economy and precipitated Suharto's downfall.[213] Government expenditures allocated to the military were cut in half,[214] dropping from 1.5 percent of GDP in 1997 to 0.7 percent in 2002.[215] Funding shortfalls were significant enough that soldiers were accused of monopolizing the production of commodity resources and seeking profits from the windfalls in order to supplement their "meager" income.[216] At the same time, the military was coming off a failed, decades-long counterinsurgency campaign in East Timor, which Indonesia relinquished control of in 1999.[217] The Megawati administration also faced growing political pressure over its handling of GAM; in 2003 analysts observed that the president "desperately needs a winning strategy."[218] Soon after the armed forces vowed to "crush" GAM within a period of months – a pledge that "added to pressures on officers and soldiers on the ground to fulfill their mission and destroy those they believe to be members or supporters of GAM."[219]

Considering alternative arguments, there is no evidence that forced relocation in Aceh was driven by ethnic nationalism. While GAM purported to fight on behalf of an ethnic minority, by 2003 Indonesia had transformed into a full-fledged democracy, and the Megawati administration attempted to appeal to a broad domestic constituency. Public support for ethnic equality was high: in a 1999 national poll, 87 percent of participants responded positively to the question of whether "members of all ethnic

[212] Barter 2016, 63.

[213] The financial crisis caused Indonesia's GDP to plummet and inflation to skyrocket, significantly devaluing its currency (Stanton 2016).

[214] Stanton 2016, 144.

[215] World Bank Data, "Military expenditure (% of GDP)", available at https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS.

[216] Kingsbury and McCulloch 2006.

[217] The government was concerned about the impact that East Timor's succession could have on Aceh, where according to Stanton (2016, 170), "GAM believed that they might be able to generate enough international pressure to compel the Indonesian government to agree to a similar [independence] settlement." This probably made a military victory in Aceh even more urgent for authorities in Jakarta.

[218] "Megawati's opening gambit" 2003.

[219] Human Rights Watch 2003, 5.

groups in Indonesia should have the same rights as citizens."[220] Moreover, in the post-Suharto era authorities in Jakarta undertook a series of conciliatory measures towards Aceh, including policy reforms giving the Acehnese greater control over religious, educational, and cultural issues.[221]

I cannot rule out arguments that stress a denial logic. A desire to sever the logistical and material support GAM obtained from the local population may have been a contributing factor underlying the government's relocation strategy. The separatist movement did, after all, create a "shadow government" that taxed civilians and businesses and adjudicated local disputes.[222] Yet as we have seen in other cases, relocating civilians in Aceh did little to starve the rebels. If anything, it had the inverse effect: Human Rights Watch found that the displaced camps provided opportunities for GAM "to recruit and travel among the wider community."[223] Seeking to cripple the insurgency's capacity through civilian relocation would have been an especially peculiar choice in Aceh, since GAM had actually started to use "large refugee-camp situations" to publicize the conflict and generate international pressure on the government to negotiate with rebel leaders.[224]

Finally, there is little support for the notion that forced relocation was a means of punishing the local population. Aceh was too homogenous to use ethnicity as a proxy for insurgent support, and not every ethnic Acehnese was relocated. All accounts of violence by counterinsurgency forces between 2001 and 2004 generally indicate that those suspected of GAM membership were killed or detained, not displaced. The broader set of tactics and practices employed by the Indonesian military at the time also demonstrated a degree of restraint that stood in contrast to the widespread repression of the Suharto era. As Stanton argues:

> "Rather than killing civilians or destroying villages suspected of aiding GAM, as was common under Suharto, the military issued identity cards to aid in distinguishing civilians from insurgents and forcibly relocated civilians from a number of villages...These tactics were not without problems...but they did represent a shift away from more direct forms of violence against civilians."[225]

Conclusion for Strategic Displacement in Aceh

The characteristics of forced relocation in Aceh are consistent in several respects with the arguments of this dissertation. First, counterinsurgents in Indonesia used

[220] Stanton 2016, 133.
[221] Stanton 2016, 136.
[222] Stanton 2016, 161.
[223] Human Rights Watch 2001a.
[224] Aspinall 2008.
[225] Stanton 2016, 138-39.

displacement to differentiate friend from foe by forcing people to send visible clues of their potential loyalties and affiliations. Deviation from the departure and destination patterns dictated by authorities provided a premise for suspecting an association with the enemy. Second, the government pursued forced relocation in an illegible frontier, where it was preoccupied not only with the challenge of identifying guerrillas, but also with the difficulties of accessing and cataloguing a highly dispersed population. This explains why authorities, in uprooting local residents, attempted to keep them in Aceh as opposed to expelling them elsewhere.[226] Third, forced relocation coincided with an intensified effort by the armed forces to instrumentalize the civilian population for military purposes. While I cannot prove that relocating civilians was a part of this effort, it is easy to see how relocation would have aided it. Finally, the Indonesian state engaged in relocation at a time of relative economic and military weakness, which likely limited its alternative strategic options and amplified the potential rapid informational and material benefits of civilian displacement.

5.4 Conclusion

An assessment of forced relocation across the three cases shows that the assortative logic proposed in this study can explain the statistical associations discovered in Chapter 4. While those cross-national tests indicate that strategies of forced relocation are driven by information and resource problems, the case studies provide evidence of *how* and *why* such strategies attempt to surmount these problems. The cases examined in this chapter differ significantly in historical, political, and social aspects, along with the type of rebellion confronted by the state (ethnic versus Marxist), the aims of insurgent groups (government overthrow versus succession) and the level of threat they posed. Yet the cases exemplify similar patterns in the logic underlying government-induced relocation and corroborate the findings from my in-depth study of civil wars in Uganda. In all three countries, identification problems, human geography, and resource constraints proved to be important factors. More importantly, the evidence shows that state forces used relocation as an instrument to coarsely sort the population by inferring the identities and affiliations of individuals through guilt by physical association, and by imposing legibility on dispersed and obscure communities. In addition to simplifying the process of identifying hostile and disloyal subjects, this helped counterinsurgents fill resource gaps by facilitating the extraction of capital and labor from war-affected populations.

Beyond illustrating the assortative logic of strategic displacement, each case study offers unique within-case comparisons. Burundi is one of the few cases in my dataset where state actors employed multiple types of strategic displacement, specifically the two that are the focus of my cross-national analysis: cleansing

[226] Indonesia could also be unique since it is an island nation, so there is no adjacent country for people to move to (at least on foot).

and relocation. The evidence shows that even within the same conflict, these two strategies tend to be used in different settings – cleansing in more urbanized, socially heterogeneous areas and relocation in rural, homogenous frontiers – and have different aims. Vietnam is unique in that the conflict transformed over time from an irregular war into a conventional one. Accordingly, as my theory would predict, strategies of forced relocation dissipated. Finally, the Aceh case demonstrates how relocation can complement broader repertoires of violence by counterinsurgents, which prioritized the identification of elusive guerrillas in a highly illegible environment.

This chapter has therefore demonstrated that the most prevalent population displacement strategy cannot be fully understood unless we account for the assortative logic of displacement. While there is some evidence that a logic of denial helped motivate forced relocation to some extent, in all three cases explaining why these strategies were pursued, sustained, and often repeated cannot be reduced to a simple effort to "drain the sea." Evidence of ethnic nationalism was also lacking, and in each instance there is little to indicate that relocating civilians served as a method of punishment, particularly given the ways in which the displaced were themselves armed and trusted to fight on the government's behalf. Nor did relocation serve as a mere substitute for mass killing, particularly since, in Burundi and Indonesia especially, authorities were extensively criticized by both domestic and international actors for engaging in these strategies. Together, then, these case studies illustrate that my assortative theory applies in a number of diverse settings and is not unique to Uganda. The question remains, however, as to whether my theory can also extend to cases of depopulation – a proposition that the case study on Vietnam deems potentially plausible. To address this question, in the following chapter I conduct another in-depth case study, this time from Syria.

Chapter 6

Cleansing and Depopulation in Syria

"Syria is now experiencing a displacement crisis of a magnitude the world has not seen for many years. The extent of displacement and the widespread destructions of homes and infrastructure were not collateral damage from the fighting, but resulted instead from the protagonists' deliberate actions..[of] targeting civilians with the aim of forcing them to evacuate from certain areas."

-Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2014[1]

"The doctors of this neighborhood might also be informers who would consider Abdel Latif a terrorist if they knew where he'd been these last few years – stubbornly clinging on inside that besieged village.
Suspicions alone were enough to lead to corpses lining the streets. Suspicions alone were enough to cause someone to disappear without a trace."

-Khaled Khalifa, *Death is Hard Work*

The Syrian civil war (2011–present), an out-of-sample case study, provides an opportunity to probe the scope conditions of my "assortative" theory and evaluate whether it can apply to the third type of displacement strategy identified in Chapter 1: depopulation. Syria is an especially difficult test for my theory for two reasons. First, it is a conventional civil war, characterized by artillery battles between government and rebel forces across clearly defined frontlines, with both sides controlling significant swathes of territory.[2] As I show in Chapter 4, strategic displacement in such contexts should mostly take the form of cleansing, which in turn is unlikely to be motivated by an assortative logic. Second, while multiple observers argue that the deliberate displacement of civilians by pro-government forces has been a key aspect of the Syrian conflict, they have almost uniformly characterized these measures as "ethno-sectarian cleansing" or "demographic engineering" and – implicitly or explicitly – attributed them to sectarian motivations.[3]

The war in Syria, when paired with the Uganda case study from Chapter 3, also serves as a "most different" case for comparative purposes, in line with the "diverse" case study method.[4] These cases occur in different regions, different time periods, and different cultural, historical, economic, and geo-political contexts. Unlike in Uganda, the rebels in Syria have focused on engaging the state in military battles as opposed to conducting predatory attacks against the civilian population. This, and the fact that the conflict evolved out of a popular uprising, means that the Syrian insurgency has enjoyed a substantially higher level of civilian support than the LRA or ADF ever did in Uganda. The urbanization of the war in Syria, where large cities and towns have been

[1] IDMC, 2014 (2 October), 1.
[2] Balcells and Stathis Kalyvas 2013.
[3] See, for example, Balanche (2015a), "Silent Sectarian Cleansing: Iranian Role in Mass Demolitions and Population Transfers in Syria" (2015), El-Bar (2016 (3 September)), Al-Ahmad (2016 (6 April)), Syria Institute (2017 (February)), and Eskaf (2016 (5 September)).
[4] Seawright and Gerring 2008.

the primary battlefields, stands in stark contrast to the rural, peripheral insurgencies of northern and western Uganda. Finally, unlike in Uganda, the Syrian rebels have presented a formidable challenge to the state, seizing and holding territory, building oppositional governance, and posing an existential threat to the incumbent regime.

This chapter analyzes the strategies and tactics employed by the regime of President Bashar al-Assad and its allies, which have, according to the U.N.[5] and other observers,[6] embarked on a deliberate campaign to uproot civilians through punishing airstrikes, the targeted shelling of civilian infrastructure, besiegement, and forced evacuations. Pro-regime forces have been the primary perpetrators of strategic displacement in Syria, which has been puzzling for two reasons.[7] First, displacement has often been induced by the state's relentless use of use of indiscriminate violence against civilians, which has persisted throughout the conflict despite significant changes in territorial control – including steady gains by the regime since 2015. This runs counter to two central claims in the literature on civil war violence. The first is Kalyvas' assertion that, as a conflict wears on, incumbents should shift from non-selective to selective violence.[8] The second is Balcells' contention that, in conventional civil wars, the use of indirect violence – namely airstrikes – should be aimed at military targets, not civilian ones.[9]

Another puzzling aspect of the regime's behavior pertains to its tactics after its forces have reasserted control over former rebel-held territories. In many instances, people remaining in these recaptured communities have been given a choice: either to stay in regime-controlled territory or to relocate to areas that remain under rebel control. This defies scholars' general expectations about the objectives of armed actors in wartime, which tend to presume that combatants will either aim to exert control over the local population, or seek to expel it in order to eliminate any potential opposition. Why has the government offered people a choice of destination?

I argue that these actions reflect a desire by the Syrian regime to sort the population into loyal and disloyal camps, for which triggering civilian flight has served as a critical tool of differentiation. This challenges the notion that displacement in Syria has been intended solely, or even primarily, to achieve demographic change. I show that, while some patterns of violence and displacement induced by pro-government forces are consistent with cleansing, they occurred early in the conflict in religiously-mixed and non-cosectarian enclaves. They also occurred under certain conditions: when

[5] *Protection and assistance to internally displaced persons: situation of internally displaced persons in the Syrian Arab Republic* 2013.

[6] "Silent Sectarian Cleansing: Iranian Role in Mass Demolitions and Population Transfers in Syria" 2015; Al-Jablawi 2016; Syria Institute, 2017 (February).

[7] Other actors in the Syrian conflict, including the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and the Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG), have also been accused of ethnic cleansing. But as with the rest of this study, I only focus on displacement by state actors.

[8] Kalyvas 2006, 168.

[9] Balcells 2011.

perpetrators were acquiring or consolidating control over a given territory, which allowed them to collectively identify and remove individuals through direct, face-to-face violence. The evidence suggests that collective targeting was often driven not by sectarian animosity, but rather a tendency to use sectarian identity as a proxy for political loyalty. This is consistent with the idea that cleansing follows a logic of punishment.

Yet most state-induced displacement in Syria has taken the form of indiscriminate depopulation. I demonstrate that, in employing these tactics, the regime used displacement not only to "push" local populations out of specific areas, but also to "pull" them into their territories. While the government's cleansing campaigns seemed designed to get rid of people, its depopulation methods had an assortative element. Pro-government forces made inferences about people's affiliations and allegiances based on whether they abandoned areas targeted for displacement, and whether they fled to regime or rebel-held territory. Moreover, I show that the regime and its allies increasingly turned to depopulation when they faced acute information and resource problems, in line with what my theory would predict.

These findings illustrate that even within the same conflict, strategic displacement can take multiple forms and serve multiple purposes. It also demonstrates that strategies of depopulation can share some of the same sorting and capturing logics as strategies of forced relocation. The Syrian government's efforts to depopulate rebel-held areas was likely also motivated by a desire to deny the opposition the civilians and infrastructure it needed to build a viable counter-state. I argue, however, that attributing these practices to a logic of denial paints an incomplete picture of one of the most disturbing and consequential aspects of the Syrian war.

6.1 The Syrian Civil War

In March 2011, pro-democracy protests erupted in the southern province of Dera'a, Syria, after authorities tortured a group of teenagers caught spraying anti-regime graffiti. Demonstrations calling for political and economic reform quickly spread to the central, northern, and eastern parts of Syria, in addition to suburbs surrounding the capital, Damascus. The protests were comprised largely of members of Syria's Sunni majority, while the regime of Bashar al-Assad is dominated by Alawites, a sect of Shi'a Islam. But the protestors, buoyed by the Arab Spring revolts in Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya, emphasized their democratic, non-sectarian, and largely secular values. Syrian security forces responded to the uprising by arresting and firing on participants, which only fueled public resentment and galvanized the opposition.[10] Months of brutal suppression, coupled with only limited promises of political reform by

[10] For documentation of abuses against protestors in this period, see Amnesty International (2012).

Assad, transformed a peaceful revolution into a violent rebellion intent on overthrowing the regime.

Armed insurgency first broke out in July 2011. A wave of resignations from the ruling Ba'ath Party and the desertion and defection of members of the Syrian Arab Army (SAA) supplied tens of thousands of fighters to the opposition, which mobilized a variety of rebel brigades under the banner of the Free Syrian Army (FSA). By the end of 2011, the FSA and its affiliates were launching regular ambushes against government and military targets around the country. In 2012, the conflict became a conventional war as rebel factions started overrunning SAA positions and taking control of towns and villages in the provinces of Aleppo, Idlib, Rural Damascus, and Homs. The war took on a sectarian character as the regime sought to portray the opposition as foreign-backed Islamist extremists. Assad increasingly stoked fears that Alawite and other minority communities would be subjected to violent reprisals should he be overthrown. Meanwhile, the failure of FSA brigades to unite under a single leadership structure provided an opening for the emergence of Salafi jihadist groups, including Al-Qaeda affiliate Jabhat al-Nusra (JAN).

Despite the growing fractionalization of the insurgency, rebels continued to make advances from early 2012 to mid-2013, often confronting regime forces directly in pitched battles. External actors began to pour money, arms, and fighters into Syria, as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, the U.A.E., Turkey, and the U.S. backed the opposition, while Shi'a fighters from Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards and Lebanese Hezbollah provided battlefield support for the Syrian government. A series of U.N.-backed peace talks and other meditation initiatives beginning in 2014 eventually failed. Infighting and poor coordination further weakened the FSA, and hardline groups like JAN became the insurgency's potent fighting forces. In the summer of 2014, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) broke away from its affiliates in JAN and seized parts of eastern Syria and western Iraq, declaring the Syrian city of Raqqa the capital of its Islamic Caliphate. A suspected chemical weapons attack by regime forces in the suburbs of Damascus in August renewed calls for international military action in Syria.

As a coalition of NATO countries began launching airstrikes against ISIS territories, the rebels made further gains, taking the provincial capital of Idlib City in March 2015. The SAA was forced to strategically withdraw from some towns and seemed increasingly imperiled until the Russian government, at Assad's request, dispatched its air force in September to help Syrian forces repel rebel advances and retake parts of Aleppo, Homs, and Rural Damascus. The regime subsequently went back on the offensive. In early 2016, the Syrian Kurds and its militia (the People's Protection Units, or YPG), who had filled the political vacuum in parts of northern Syria by establishing its own autonomous governing areas, joined forces with Arab, Assyrian, and Turkmen groups to form the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF). With support from an American-led coalition, the SDF began steadily pushing ISIS out of its territories in northern and eastern Syria, recapturing Raqqa in September 2017. Alarmed by the advances of the Kurdish units, Turkey – which continued to fight a rebellion by its

own Kurdish separatists, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) – launched Operation Euphrates Shield, occupying parts of northern Syria to stem SDF encroachment and fortify the Turkish border.

Meanwhile, the Syrian regime, after expelling rebels from Aleppo City in December 2016, made steady territorial gains throughout 2017. The U.S. began to soften its opposition to Assad. Still, after a chemical weapons attack in rebel-held Khan Shaykhun in April 2017, American forces bombarded a Syrian air base with 59 cruise missiles. One year later, the U.S., Britain, and France responded to another chemical attack in Rural Damascus by striking alleged chemical weapons facilities near Damascus and Homs. These limited interventions made little difference on the ground, however. The SAA and its allies continued to wipe out rebel strongholds around Damascus, in southern Aleppo, and in northern Hama, prompting Russia to announce its partial withdrawal from the conflict at the end of 2017. In June 2018, having solidified their hold on Damascus and Homs, Syrian forces launched a successful operation to recapture rebel-held territories in the southern provinces of Dar'a and Quneitra. Afterwards, Turkey and Russia negotiated an agreement to enact a buffer zone in Idlib province, the remaining rebel stronghold, beginning in October. By the end of 2018, a regime victory in the civil war appeared imminent, and the conflict had claimed an estimated 500,000 lives.

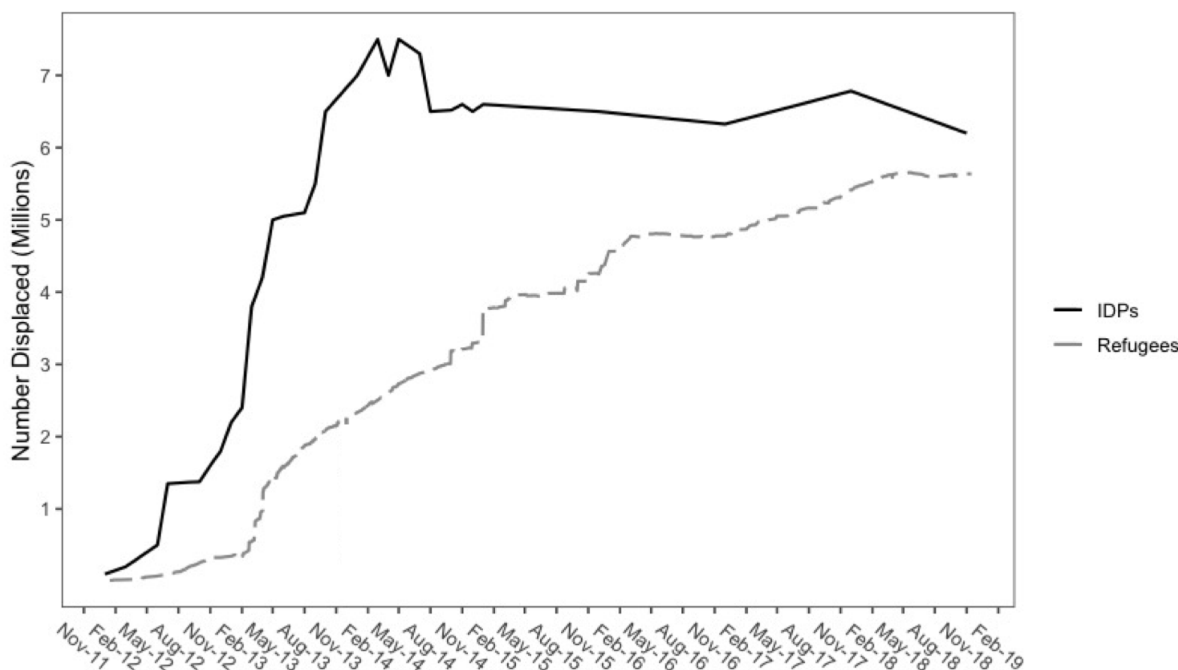
Overall Patterns of Displacement

The high death toll of the civil war in Syria has been matched by massive civilian displacement. Half of the country's population has been uprooted, including more than 5 million refugees and another 6.5-7 million internally displaced (Figure 3.1). While many of the displaced fled spontaneously, others were deliberately forced to leave their homes as part of a calculated strategy by parties to the conflict.

6.2 Methods and Data Sources

Studying an active civil war poses unique challenges. Except for a short research trip to Northeast Syria, it was not feasible for me to travel to most parts of the country and access many key informants and decision-makers, particularly on the government side. Even if I had been able to do so, the incentives to misrepresent or obfuscate what, how, and why certain events have transpired – not to mention the motivations behind military strategy, tactics, and practices – would have likely resulted in data of questionable reliability and validity. Despite these limitations, there are still plenty of reasons to examine this case. One is its political, moral, and humanitarian significance. In addition to being a civil war, Syria has become a proxy conflict for multiple, broader geopolitical rivalries: between Sunni Gulf countries and Shi'a Iran waging a new

Figure 6.1: Forced Displacement in Syria (2011–2018)



Source: UNHCR Syria Regional Refugee Response;[11] IDMC Syria[12]

"Middle East Cold War,"[13] between Kurdish secessionists and the government of Turkey, and between a resurgent Russia and its American and European adversaries. The Syrian conflict has entailed the intentional killing of thousands of civilians and the deployment of chemical weapons with impunity, undermining the normative underpinnings of the current world order, stirring global outrage, and creating a "moral crisis" for the international community.[14] The more than ten million Syrians driven from their homes during the conflict has become the largest displacement crisis in a generation[15] – placing an immense burden on the country's refugee-receiving neighbors Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan; straining the international humanitarian system; and contributing to a surge in migration to Europe that has proven politically destabilizing and threatened to unravel the global refugee regime.

Against this backdrop, there is much to be gained by examining the dynamics of a conflict like Syria *before* it ends and its history has been written – in which experiences and events are inevitably lost or distorted. Moreover, Syria is arguably the first fully "tweeted" civil war, as it has been extensively documented in real time on social media. As a result, there is a wealth of data available online and through various human rights

[13] Gause III 2014.
[14] See, for example, Tutu (2013 (25 March)).
[15] AP, 2015 (9 July).

and monitoring groups that have carefully tracked, documented, and analyzed the conflict's dynamics. I leverage this information in my analysis, along with news reports and primary documents published on social media. I also supplement this data with my own fieldwork interviews of 35 subjects, in addition to other secondary sources.

Quantitative Data

Several independent organizations have documented violence in Syria since the onset of the conflict. The largest data collection effort has been conducted by the Violations Documentation Centre (VDC), a network of Syrian activists who maintain an online database of individual victims of violence, detainees, and missing people.[16] While VDC researchers are affiliated with the opposition, they have documented human rights violations by both pro-government and rebel forces, disaggregated by the date and cause of death (shooting, shelling, airstrikes, etc.) between 2011 and 2019. An independent analysis for the United Nations found that the VDC database contains the most extensive and detailed identifiable records of killings in Syria.[17]

A limitation of the VDC data, however, is that it loses accuracy at lower levels of analysis than the province (ADM-1). I therefore kept my analysis at the province level to balance the value of sub-national disaggregation with data quality. I also built a novel dataset of airstrikes in Syria from mid-2011 to mid-2017. Working with two Syrian researchers, I triangulated deaths from aerial attacks documented by VDC with reports from the Syrian Network for Human Rights, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, Airwars, and the Institute for the Study of War – which produces periodic maps of airstrikes in Syria – along with videos and reports from social media to generate daily airstrike data at the province level.[18]

Recall from Chapter 1 that strategies of depopulation differ from strategies of cleansing in both the type of targeting (indiscriminate versus collective) and the type of violence (indirect versus direct) used to induce displacement. As I explain in more detail below, the indiscriminate and indirect nature of air attacks by pro-government forces – which various observers have characterized as intended to uproot civilians – make them a suitable proxy for depopulation. To capture potential episodes of cleansing, I used data on atrocities collected by the Political Instability Task Force (PITF).[19] PITF tracks all reported massacres of civilians in Syria, with a death threshold of five people, carried

[16] See http://vdc-sy.net/en/.

[17] See Price et al. (2014). Two other widely-used violence data sources – the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project, (Raleigh et al. 2010) and the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) Georeferenced Event Dataset (Sundberg and Melander 2013) – are either limited in temporal scope (ACLED only began tracking Syrian violence in 2017) or exclude far too much violence in Syria to be useful (UCDP).

[18] The airstrike data only denotes whether a particular location was hit by at least one airstrike on a particular day. Precisely counting the number of airstrikes in a community on a given day was not feasible.

[19] Schrodt and Ulfelder 2009.

out through direct and deliberate violence. Cleansing is often triggered or accompanied by these kinds of massacres. I focus on a particular subset of killings committed by pro-regime actors: those that, according to PITF, were 1) not categorized as collateral damage, and 2) entailed "scorched earth" tactics – which are particularly likely to induce displacement.

For displacement, I pulled data from several sources. For aggregate annual flows, I relied on UNHCR, which tracks the number of registered Syrian refugees worldwide, along with data on IDPs collected by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC).[20] I also built a subnational dataset on monthly IDP flows using data from the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA).[21] The data include the origin and destination province for all recorded internal displacement flows, by month, from January 2016 to December 2018. While the data is limited in temporal scope and (like VDC) is only available at the province level, it is the most fine-grained displacement data available for multiple years of the Syrian conflict.[22]

Finally, I incorporated data on territorial control in Syria from the Carter Center, which analyzes social media to track changes in the control of territory by different actors across the country.[23] The Carter Center captures monthly shifts in territorial control between January 2014 and December 2018 by four main parties to the conflict: the Syrian government, the armed opposition, Kurdish forces, and ISIS. The data delineate control down to the city/village/farm (ADM-4) level. In order to aggregate it up to the province level, I calculated the percentage of communities controlled by the regime in each province in each month. In addition to the raw percentage, I created a scaled variable of territorial control ranging from 1 (little to no regime control) to 5 (full to dominant regime control).[24]

Qualitative Data

Qualitative data from various sources during the Syrian war have been gathered by human rights activists, scholars, journalists, humanitarian organizations, and other observers. Many sources describe patterns and dynamics of violence and displacement, and contain statements from perpetrators and victims – including a number of interviews with government and rebel combatants, regime officials, community leaders,

[20] For UNHCR, see https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria; for IDMC, see http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/syria. For IDPs, I also relied on aggregate data compiled by Doocy et al. (2015).

[21] Available at https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/operations/stima/idps-tracking.

[22] In late 2018, UNOCHA and REACH started to track internal displacement at the sub-province level, but it mostly focuses on one or two provinces in Syria.

[23] See https://www.cartercenter.org/syria-conflict-map/. Country shapefiles were obtained directly from Carter Center staff.

[24] The specific coding was as follows: 5 = regime controls 80-100% of province, 4 = regime controls 60-79% of province, 3 = regime controls 40-59% of province, 2 = regime controls 20-39% of province, 1 = regime controls 0-19% of province.

refugees, and other civilians. Some primary documents, including evacuation orders issued by the Syrian army, were published on social media. These disparate sources offer a substantial body of evidence for my analysis.

This case study also draws on original in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 35 people, several of whom were interviewed multiple times, that I conducted during fieldwork in Turkey, Germany, Lebanon, and Syria in 2016, 2017, and 2019. I conducted the interviews in English and Arabic, with the assistance of several Syrian translators. My subjects included Syrian activists, journalists, regime defectors, and former combatants, along with knowledgeable experts on the war in Syria such as humanitarian and development aid workers, local and international academics and researchers, and former diplomats. I arranged interviews through several contacts, including a Syrian journalist (who reports for *The New York Times*, among other outlets), a group of former human rights activists, and Syrian and American staff of humanitarian organizations active in Syria. Since I lived in Turkey for two years (2015–17) and served as a consultant for U.S. government aid programs in Syria, I developed an extensive network of personal and professional contacts that proved critical for accessing informants.

Interviews were conducted in Gaziantep, Istanbul, Berlin, Beirut, and several cities and villages in Northeast Syria. Most Syrian subjects were refugees or asylum-seekers. Many of them had spent years living under regime and/or opposition rule during the war, and they maintained constant communication with family, friends, and colleagues inside Syria and closely monitored local developments. Some of these individuals openly express their political views online or as part of their professional endeavors, and have even written articles and editorials under their real names. However, given the risks involved, I conducted all interviews on the condition of anonymity. Ensuring confidentiality was essential as some of my respondents are wanted by the regime or other armed groups, or they were in the midst of processing asylum applications.

6.3 Displacement by Pro-Government Forces

As noted above, multiple observers of the Syrian conflict claim that uprooting civilians has been a key pillar of the government's military strategy.[25] An independent U.N. commission on Syria, for example, found that population displacement has been "undertaken by Government forces pursuant to an organizational policy" that constitutes "a crime against humanity and/or a war crime."[26] Yet these transgressions tend to be described as ethno-sectarian cleansing. If this observation is correct, it has empirical implications regarding the *target* of displacement (specific identity or

[25] Hokayem, 2016 (24 August; Fisher, 2016 (28 September); Nahlawi 2018.

[26] *Protection and assistance to internally displaced persons: situation of internally displaced persons in the Syrian Arab Republic* 2013, 7.

political groups), the *form* it should take (expulsion) and the *results* of it (ethno-sectarian homogenization). My "assortative" theory, by contrast, suggests that targeting should be more indiscriminate, civilians should be treated differently based on their movements, not just their identities; and a level of social heterogeneity should be maintained. Perpetrators should not only create push factors to drive people out; they should also employ pull factors to entice or coerce people into their territories. I evaluate these propositions by drawing on the variety of data sources described in the previous section.

Targeting of Displacement

Some population displacement orchestrated by pro-government forces in Syria has indeed been consistent with cleansing. Early in the conflict – between mid-2011 and mid-2013 – the SAA and affiliated militias systematically expelled residents of Sunni enclaves in the Alawite-majority coastal provinces of Tartous and Latakia. These expulsions occurred during "coordinated clearance" operations in which regime fighters entered villages and proceeded house-to-house massacring residents and ordering the rest to flee.[27] In Damascus between June and September 2012, and in Hama in September 2012 and May 2013, government forces razed large sections of neighborhoods occupied by rebel fighters.[28] While no one was reported injured or killed, the army "used megaphones and told residents they had one hour to pack their things."[29]

These displacements appeared to stem from a desire to punish the affected populations. They occurred *after* prolonged battles in which regime forces regained or consolidated control over the towns and neighborhoods in question. For example, the demolitions in Damascus started after both state and opposition sources confirmed that government forces had largely regained control of the capital.[30] Expulsions also concentrated on areas from which rebels had launched attacks, and seemed to selectively or collectively target people based more on their political than their sectarian affiliations – or because sect was used as a proxy for opposition affiliation. While the evacuated areas were overwhelmingly Sunni, they had allegedly been used by opposition fighters, and other majority Sunni neighborhoods nearby were not targeted for demolition, such as Al-Midan, Joubar, and Al-Qadam in Damascus.[31] For instance, in 2012, according to Amnesty International (AI), thousands of civilians were forced from villages in Aleppo and Idlib after security forces destroyed 1,500 properties in "an obviously deliberate manner" that indicated "premeditation."[32] Yet AI

[27] Holliday 2011, 19-20, Enders, 2012 (7 June), Human Rights Watch 2013, 1.

[28] This included the neighborhoods of Tadamoun, Barze, Qaboun, and Mezzeh in Damascus, and Masha al-Arabeen and Wadi al-Jouz in Hama. See Solvang and Neistat 2014.

[29] Solvang and Neistat 2014, 17.

[30] Solvang and Neistat 2014, 21.

[31] Solvang and Neistat 2014.

[32] Amnesty International, 2012 (4 June), 42-44.

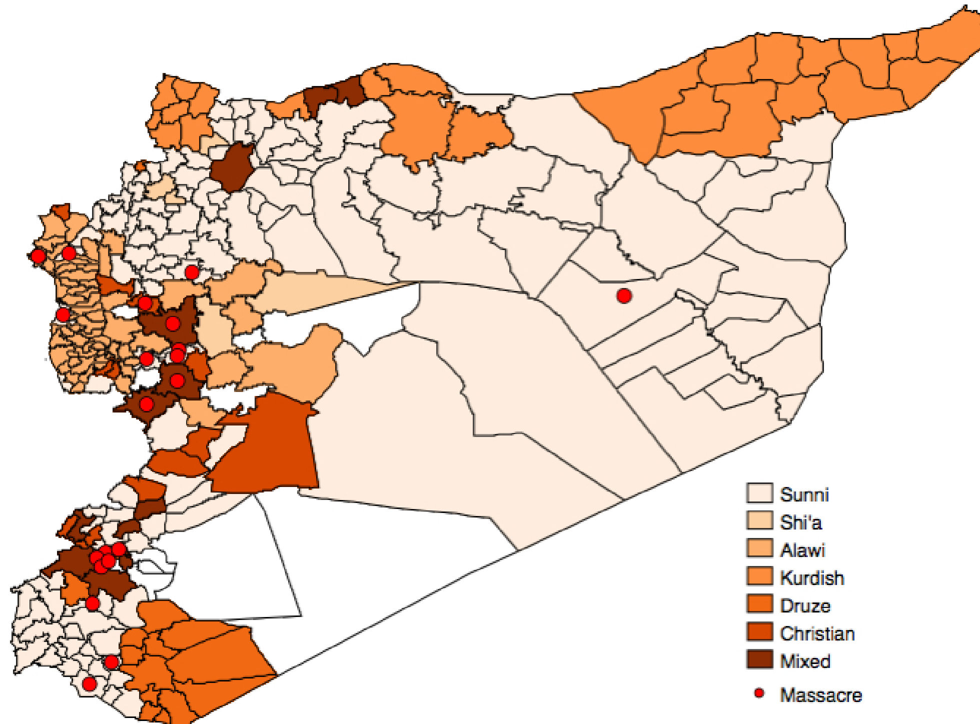
reported that "some, possibly many, of the homes that were burned down or otherwise targeted belonged to [anti-regime] activists...or to people who had become fighters with the opposition."[33] After demolishing Wadi al-Jouz in Hama in May 2013, the army "warned residents in other neighborhoods that their houses would also be demolished if opposition fighters attacked government forces from these neighborhoods."[34] It is also clear that the perpetrators focused on expelling victims on a permanent basis – as indicated by leveling their homes – and made no effort to encourage or order them to relocate to regime territory.

Figure 6.2 shows the geographical distribution of scorched earth massacres perpetuated by pro-regime forces in Syria, according to the PITF data. PITF identifies 30 instances of such killings between June 2011 and May 2013. As Figure 6.2 demonstrates, they mostly occurred in ethnic or religiously mixed areas, or in Sunni enclaves in Alawite strongholds. Investigations by human rights organizations indicate that these massacres were intended to uproot the resident population. Those that occurred in the provinces of Tartous and Latakia, for example, were "intended to displace a civilian population that was perceived as supportive of the opposition from an area that a government minister characterized as 'very sensitive'" since it bordered the Alawite heartland.[35] Likewise, the massacres in the city of Homs largely occurred in Sunni neighborhoods that bordered Alawite enclaves,[36] and appeared "to be conducted as part of a state policy" that was intended "to make civilians flee."[37] Similar atrocities were carried out in al-Houla and Qubeir in in Homs province – both Sunni villages that bordered Alawite ones.[38]

However, according to Eline Bostad, despite the "discriminate nature" of these operations, "it was not their sectarian identity per se that made the Sunni population targets."[41] Rather, in these heterogeneous territories, "sectarian identities served as particularly potent proxies for the opposition."[42] Syrian activist Rifaie Tammas similarly regards these acts of violence as "politicide" because they were meted out against "a particular segment of Syrian society due to its pro-opposition affiliation."[43] Indeed, these cleansing campaigns targeted opposition strongholds in militarily strategic areas between Damascus and Hama, a central transport hub linking different parts of Syria – indicating an *ex-ante* determination that these communities were disloyal. The al-Bayda and Ras al-Nabe areas of Baniyas in Tartous were, for example, "notoriously

[33] Amnesty International, 2012 (4 June), 42-44.
[34] Solvang and Neistat 2014, 4.
[35] Human Rights Watch 2013, 2-3.
[36] Bostad, 2018 (16 October), 30.
[37] Bostad, 2018 (16 October), 33.
[38] Bostad, 2018 (16 October), 31.
[41] Bostad, 2018 (16 October), 24.
[42] Bostad, 2018 (16 October), 24.
[43] Tammas 2016, 41.

Figure 6.2: Scorched Earth Massacres in Syria (2011–2013)



Source: Political Instability Task Force,[39] Balanche 2018.[40]

pro-revolution,"[44] while Homs and Darayya were among the first to join the Syrian uprising; Homs was once referred to by Syrians as "the capital of the revolution."[45] The town of al-Qusayr in Homs, from which Sunnis were also expelled, had become a well-known haven for regime defectors.[46]

These acts of cleansing were primarily carried out through direct violence – including individual and mass executions, beatings, physical intimidation, and the bulldozing of homes – and in many ways they reflected the regime's initial counterinsurgency strategy. Early in the conflict, Syrian forces used a cordon and search approach, conducting one major operation at a time by moving town-to-town in a "proactive targeting and detention campaign."[47] Instances of cleansing such as those

[44] Lister 2016a, 131.

[45] Ciezadlo, 2016 (5 September). Darayya, meanwhile, had according to Bostad (2018 (16 October), 31) been "a center for protests since the beginning of the uprising, and its location, close to downtown Damascus and the Mazzeh military airport, made it strategically important to the regime's position in Damascus."

[46] Bostad, 2018 (16 October), 24.

[47] Holliday 2011, 18.

described above mostly occurred as part of these operations or during incursions by pro-regime militias, and were likely part of a concerted effort to punish agitators and root out armed opponents and their enablers.[48] Executing these expulsions required a degree of territorial control and access to the population, and they transpired, as I mentioned above, after regime forces had either repelled a rebel advance or retook a contested area.[49]

From Direct Violence to Indirect Violence

Yet the bulk of displacement during the Syrian war has been triggered not by direct forms of violence, but rather by pro-regime forces' use of *indirect* violence, including airstrikes, barrel bombs, and heavy shelling.[50] The SAA placed greater emphasis on these methods beginning in mid-2012, when it began to regularly deploy helicopter gunships and fighter jets.[51] This came soon after the rebels opened new fronts in Aleppo and Latakia, which were "beyond the reach of overstretched ground troops" engaging insurgents elsewhere.[52] Between January and August 2012, rebels took at least partial control of 17 towns and cities in seven provinces.[53] As the battlefield expanded, so too did the FSA: by spring 2012 its ranks swelled to between 100,000 and 150,000 fighters spread across 33 brigades.[54]

The use of barrel bombs, highly imprecise and destructive explosives, was first reported in August 2012. In the ensuing months, as the number of civilians killed by pro-government forces through face-to-face violence – namely, shooting – plummeted, the number killed by airstrikes and shelling increased. This produced a corresponding spike in population displacement, as Figure 6.2 illustrates. While the figure indicates a lag between deaths from indirect violence and displacement, this is consistent with other research on wartime migration, which does not find a significant relationship

[48] Bostad, 2018 (16 October), 24.

[49] In some cases, operations by Christian and Alawite militias to drive Sunnis from their homes appeared to be idiosyncratic, opportunistic, and uncoordinated. As one analyst has argued, "observers should be careful to distinguish cases like [these] – where local minorities engaged in ethnic cleansing out of revenge or perceived self-preservation – from cases in which central government forces have expelled rebel populations as part of a deliberate military strategy" (Balanche 2018, 26).

[50] While opposition forces have indiscriminately shelled areas under government control, these attacks have paled in comparison to the level of bombardment by the regime. See Human Rights Watch (2015).

[51] Solvang and Neistat 2013.

[52] Holliday 2013, 22.

[53] These included Zabadani and Rankos in Damascus (January), Al-Houla in Homs (February), Arbin, Douma, and Al-Marj in Rural Damascus (January, January, and June, respectively), Al-Atarib, Azaz, Haritan, Anadan, Tal Rifa-at and Aleppo City in Aleppo (between May and August), Kafr Nobol in Idlib (August), Qalaat al-Madiq in Hama (April) and Abu Kamal, Al-Mayadin, and Deir ez-Zor City in Deir ez-Zor (July and August). Ma'arat al-Numan and Salqin in Idlib were also taken in October, and Kafr Zeta in Hama was taken in December.

[54] Abushakra, 2013 (11 November); Holliday 2013.

between violence timing and displacement timing.[55] The number of registered Syrian refugees worldwide doubled from 250,000 to 500,000 between September and December 2012, then doubled again three months later, reaching almost four million by the end of 2014. The number of Syrians reported to be internally displaced also surged to more than seven million during this period.[56]

The sharp rise in displacement can be directly linked to the government's increased reliance on airstrikes and other forms of indirect violence, which became "the most significant instrument in the regime's efforts to displace populations."[57] Indeed, while 94 percent of rebel combatants killed by pro-regime fighters during the conflict have died by shooting, airstrikes and shelling have accounted for 65 percent of *civilian* casualties inflicted by the government (see Figure 6.4). Such attacks have been widespread and indiscriminate, often reflecting the use of "imprecise and unguided munitions with wide-area effects."[58] Pro-government forces typically targeted civilian infrastructure – hospitals, bakeries, and schools – were typically targeted instead of military assets. The Syrian air force has hit a range of rebel-held locations beyond the most contested or vital strongholds, including places "where there were no reported clashes that day, suggesting that the airstrikes were not in tactical support of Syrian Army units fighting rebels."[59] In fact, many bombed towns and villages "had seen no recent ground fighting at the time of the attacks," according to Human Rights Watch.[60] As Table 6.1 illustrates, not only did the incidence of airstrikes double between 2013 and 2014, the proportion of airstrikes launched by regime-aligned forces that were accompanied by ground troops declined substantially from 58 percent in 2012 to 20 percent in 2016. Thus, rather than paving the way for subsequent ground offensives, these aerial assaults began to *replace* ground offensives altogether.[61]

As the regime sought to confront an increasingly multi-pronged insurgency across a growing number of frontlines, it concentrated its forces on retaking and securing provincial capitals and other strategic population centers. Yet its use of indirect violence persisted in areas where it lacked and made little effort to deploy the troops necessary to capture and hold territory contested or occupied by rebels. Instead, in these areas – particularly the northern border provinces of Aleppo and Idlib – state

[55] Melander and Öberg 2006; Schon 2015, 2019.

[56] According to data from UNHCR Syria Regional Refugee Response (https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria) and IDMC Syria (http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/syria).

[57] Holliday 2013, 22. Bostad (2018 (16 October), 41) also argues that "barrel bombs and aerial attacks more generally seemed to play a role in the regime's strategy of population displacement."

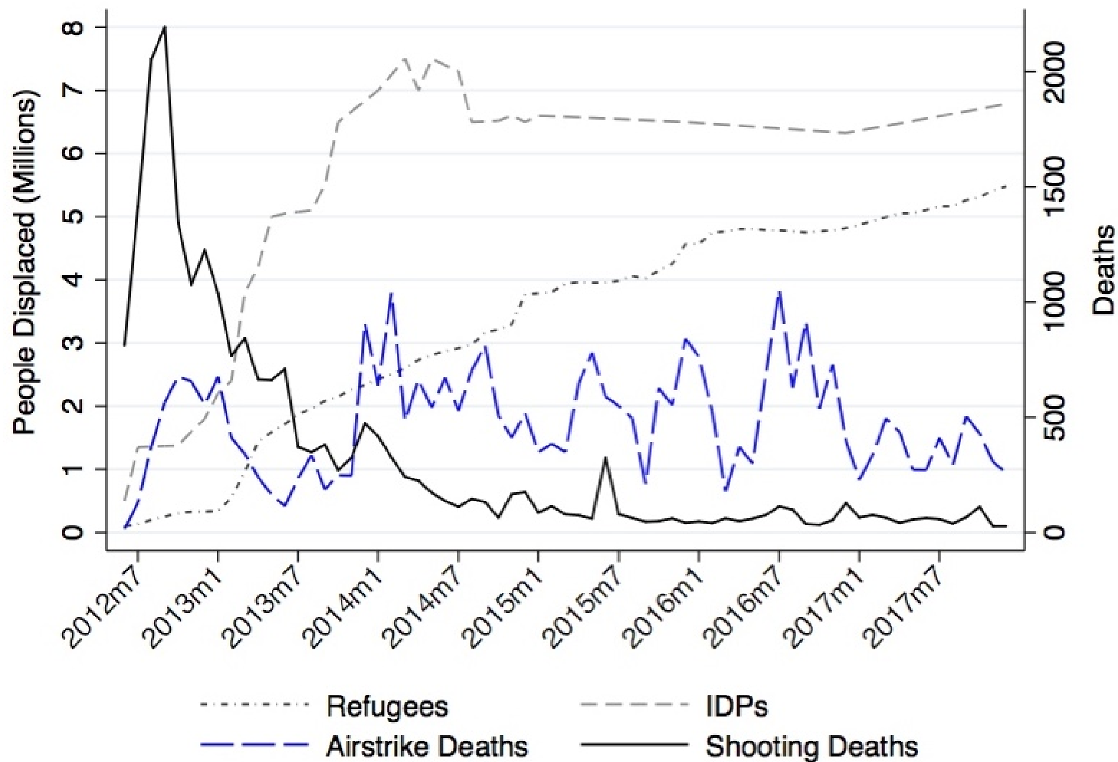
[58] Bostad, 2018 (16 October), 36. According to Human Rights Watch, "Syrian forces used means (e.g. unguided bombs) and methods (e.g. fighter jets, helicopters) of warfare that under the circumstances could not distinguish between civilians and combatants, and thus were indiscriminate"Solvang and Neistat (2013, 2).

[59] Holliday 2013, 23.

[60] Solvang and Neistat 2013, 1.

[61] A point also made by Holliday (2013, 22).

Figure 6.3: Monthly Deaths from Violence by Pro-Regime Forces, 2012–2016



forces launched rampant and relentless air campaigns designed to trigger civilian flight. Even as the government began to recapture towns and cities from rebels in mid-2013, it continued to engage in pitched battles in strategic areas while relying on airstrikes elsewhere.[62] Even places considered less strategic for the regime – such as the Hama countryside or eastern provinces like Deir ez-Zor – have not been immune from attack. This indiscriminate violence has not just victimized members of Syria's Sunni population. For example, the Syrian Network for Human Rights has documented the destruction of many Christian sites of worship by government forces in contested and rebel-held areas. According to the group, while the Assad regime "has portrayed itself as 'the protector of minorities' especially Christians...barrel bombs do not differentiate between Christians and non-Christians,", demonstrating that the government "is willing to target anybody...regardless of their religious or ethnic affiliations."[63]

Taken together, the data presented in this section suggests that between mid- and late-2012, the regime altered its approach from one of direct violence to one that prioritized indirect violence, which corresponded with (1) a massive

[62] Lister 2016b, 5.
[63] "Targeting Christian Places of Worship in Syria" 2015 (7 May), 1.

Figure 6.4: Deaths due to Violence by Pro-Regime Forces, 2011 – 2018

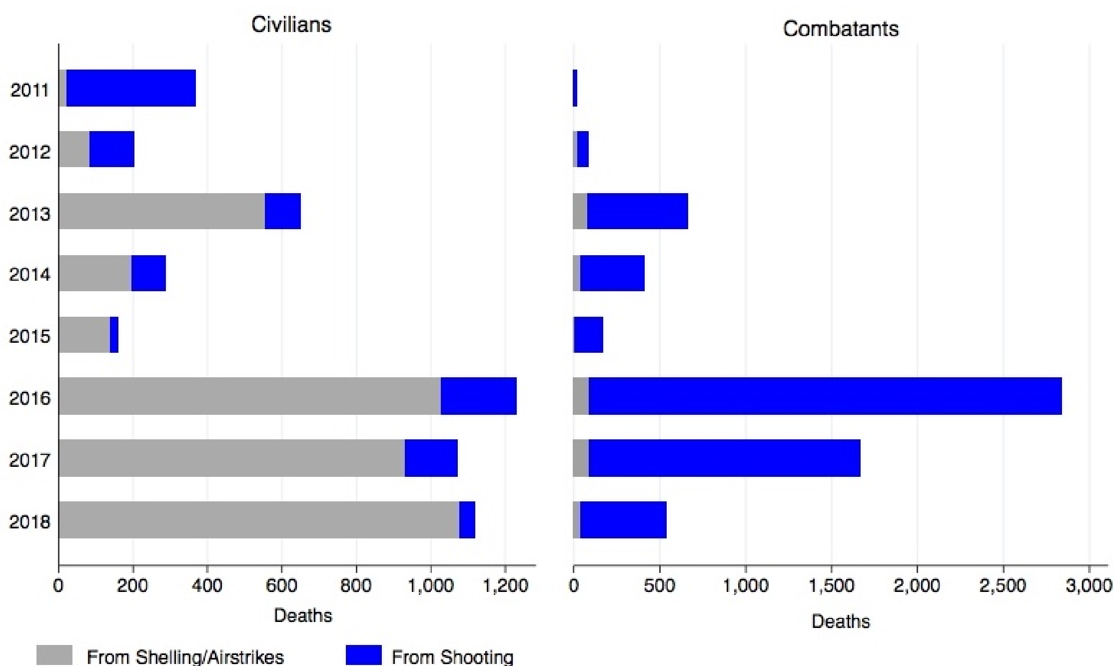


Table 6.1: Regime Airstrikes Accompanied by Ground Forces, 2012 – 2016

	Ground Forces	*No Ground Forces*	*% Ground Forces*	*Total*
2012	623	454	58	1,077
2013	515	884	37	1,399
2014	810	2,011	29	2,821
2015	677	1,474	31	2,151
2016	541	2,099	20	2,640
Total	3,166	6,922	35	10,088

increase in population displacement, and (2) a seeming decline in ethnic and political cleansing. The regime has used direct violence to penetrate and consolidate control over contested territories. But the fact that its indirect violence has been widespread, highly indiscriminate, and often unaccompanied by ground forces indicates that this violence – and the massive displacement it produced – served as a substitute for territorial occupation, at least in the short-term, rather than a means of achieving it. This shift from direct to indirect violence, and from selective to non-selective targeting, is consistent

with existing models of civil war violence that emphasize the relationship between territorial control and civilian collaboration.[64] The important question, however, is what *function* displacement served for the Syrian government. Was it simply intended to eliminate or punish certain segments of the population? Or did it serve another purpose – one that differed from the logic underlying the cleansing campaigns described above?

Form of Displacement

Guilt by Location

The fact that rebel-held areas are overwhelmingly Sunni is often cited as evidence that the depopulation tactics of Assad's Alawite-dominated regime aim to expel civilians along sectarian lines. But most IDPs from opposition territories have fled to government zones.[65] Early in the conflict, many of the displaced, including Sunnis, were welcomed and even "considered regime supporters" simply because they moved to areas under state control.[66] According to one regime defector I interviewed, "the government views all IDPs who choose to live in opposition areas as anti-regime, and those who choose to live in its territory as loyal."[67] A member of a local opposition council in rebel-held Idlib also told me that "the regime considers [people] to be terrorists because they stayed in opposition areas."[68] Assad himself voiced this sentiment in a BBC interview: "In most areas where the rebels took over, the civilians fled and came to our areas, so in most of the areas that we encircle and attack [there] are only militants."[69] The view that where people move indicates who they support has not been limited to the government. A European diplomat, after observing that most civilians were fleeing to regime areas, stated that it "probably shows where their political preferences lie."[70]

As the war has worn on, IDPs who spent longer living under the opposition have been viewed with greater suspicion and investigated when they "defect" to regime territory. But, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, following the government's takeover of rebel-held areas in Homs, Rural Damascus, and Aleppo, most residents have been given a choice of destination: rebel-held territory, or regime-controlled areas nearby. These evacuations have often been carried out as part of "reconciliation" agreements or truces between the regime, rebel fighters, and community leaders. These agreements have varied by location, however. According to Raymond Hinnebusch and

[64] Kalyvas 2006; Balcells 2011.
[65] IDMC, 2014 (2 October); Khaddour, 2015 (8 July); Balanche 2018, Interviewee SYR028, Aid worker, Berlin, October 2017.
[66] "Coast attracts Aleppans displaced by war" 2014 (14 June).
[67] Interviewee SYR015, Syrian regime defector, Istanbul, December 2016.
[68] Interviewee SYR034, Local council member (Idlib), Northeast Syria, January 2019.
[69] BBC, 2015 (10 February).
[70] Lekic, 2016 (10 June).

Omar Imady, "regime negotiators offered different kinds of deals in different areas; for example those that demonstrated high resistance in fighting the regime faced total population removal."[71] In Daraya, an early bastion of anti-government protests that became "a platform for rebel attacks on regime-held Damascus," the entire population was forcibly removed, and Syrian troops razed most of the town so they could not return.[72] In contrast, the neighboring town of Moadamiyah, which "had been more defensive in the conflict, was treated more generously" as residents were given a choice of whether and where to move.[73]

This is consistent with the idea that for communities perceived as disloyal, displacement was used for "cleansing" purposes, while for those whose allegiances were more ambiguous, displacement was used as a sorting mechanism. The evacuations brokered under local reconciliation deals appeared to have two objectives. The first was to expel unrepentant disloyalists, such as rebel fighters, opposition civilian leaders, and activists.[74] The second was to identify and give neutral or loyal civilians a chance to return to the state. Hence buses carrying evacuees to rebel-held areas have been stopped at regime checkpoints and told by soldiers "that if any [passengers] would like to return to the government-controlled areas, [they] would be welcomed and taken care of."[75] Or consider the filtering logic behind the "humanitarian corridors" established by the regime and its Russian backers during the siege of rebel-held Eastern Aleppo in 2016 – where four passageways out of the city were opened, three for civilians and one for combatants.[76] Evacuees who elect regime areas were held in government shelters, where they were screened for rebel ties and provided aid by humanitarian agencies or local authorities.[77] Some were arrested and incorporated into the regime's expansive incarceration system, but most were not. Between November and December 2016, 70,000 to 100,000 IDPs fled from rebel-held eastern Aleppo to government-run western Aleppo; two to four percent of them were reportedly detained.[78] After the evacuation of Homs, state forces screened hundreds of men, but "many...were eventually released."[79]

Fleeing to rebel territory, meanwhile, has been treated as an act of defiance or – for those wanted by the government – an admission of guilt. This was the implicit message in the bombing of displacement camps near the Turkish border by pro-regime

[71] Hinnebusch and Imady 2017, 3.

[72] Hinnebusch and Imady 2017, 4. According to Human Rights Watch, Daraya "is widely acknowledged to have been central to the Syrian uprising, and is strongly affiliated with the political opposition, having produced prominent political activists" (Human Rights Watch 2018).

[73] Hinnebusch and Imady 2017, 4.

[74] Adleh and Favier 2017, 8.

[75] Al-Shimale, 2017 (17 March).

[76] Al-Jablawi 2016.

[77] Argentieri, 2017 (3 January); Interviewee SYR016, Syrian activist, Istanbul, January 2017.

[78] See Czuperski et al. 2017. 419 arrests were reported in Aleppo City during this period (January-June 2017) according to Syrian human rights groups, but a vast majority "were young men wanted for draft dodging rather than political offenses" (Lund, 2017 (12 April)).

[79] Syria Institute, 2017 (February), 28.

forces; camps that technically fell within rebel territory but were typically miles away from military frontlines and towns ruled by the opposition.[80] Perceived guilt by location also explains why IDPs from Homs City who resettled in the opposition-held neighborhood of al-Waer faced more persecution from government forces than those who moved to regime areas.[81] In fact, after Homs was recaptured by Syrian forces, the only IDPs reportedly allowed to return were those who fled to regime areas.[82] Sorting the populace through physical displacement also concentrated disloyalists in a specific area where they could be easily targeted. Idlib province, for example, had "become a 'dumping ground' for Syrians still opposed to Assad," while in small pockets of territory between Hama and Homs and in eastern Damascus, the state "cag[ed] up Syrians that still reject its rule."[83] As explained by a regime defector, "think of a dumpster where you gather garbage to finally burn it."[84] A regime propagandist invoked similar language in describing the government's military strategy: "You collect trash, separate it, recycle what can be recycled and bury the rest in the ground."[85]

Thus in the words of one U.N. report, forced displacement and community evacuations have allowed government forces "to categorize populations on the basis of allegiance."[86] Or as one Syrian journalist remarked to me in an interview: "it's like they [the government] are trying to filter out the people who are against them."[87] This indicates that for the Syrian regime and its allies, the strategic benefits of uprooting civilians go beyond draining restive towns of their residents. If the regime's ultimate objective were punishment by expulsion or demographic engineering, authorities would discourage or prevent IDPs from entering their territories – and would likely not allow them to reside there unmolested. But the regime has actually employed several methods to entice people to its territories, where many residents have benefitted from its patronage. The SAA has inundated civilians in Homs, Aleppo, and other contested areas with text messages announcing relief distributions and leaflets providing detailed instructions and "passes" for entry into regime territory.[88] In 2012, state authorities urged Syrian refugees in neighboring countries to "cast away humility and hunger and return to the homeland"[89] and emphasized their "readiness" to secure aid and housing for the displaced.[90] The government has operated collective relief centers and ensured that a disproportionate amount of international aid goes to areas it controls, since food

[80] Barnard, 2016 (5 May); Porter and Jawdat, 2016 (26 May).
[81] Syria Institute, 2017 (February), 30.
[82] Interviewee SYR018, Syrian journalist, Istanbul, January 2017.
[83] Elghossain, 2016 (22 June).
[84] Interviewee SYR021, Syrian regime defector, Istanbul, December 2016.
[85] Hisham and Crabapple, 2018 (September 11).
[86] *Sieges as Weapons of War: Encircle, starve, surrender, evacuate* 2018 (29 May).
[87] Interviewee SYR008, Syrian activist, Gaziantep, May 2016.
[88] "Regime Drops Leaflets in Idlib" 2015 (12 October); Al-Kassir, 2016 (17 March).
[89] BBC, 2013 (29 May).
[90] BBC, 2013 (21 August).

availability has been a key attraction for IDPs.[91] Beyond relief assistance, the regime:

> "has concentrated on delivering services from within – and mostly to – areas under its control. Besides drawing more Syrians into areas under its control, the Assad regime has managed to monitor them by embedding Syrian state institutions – universities, hospitals, courts and schools – in or near buildings that house its intelligence agencies."[92]

Figure 6.5: 'Safety Pass' Dropped by the Syrian Army

''It is approved for the holder of this card to pass through the checkpoints of the Syrian Army without any harm. The Syrian Army will provide medical help and food to whoever holds this card. Cooperate with the army and leave for the sake of your lives."

During the war, the state remained the country's largest employer,[93] and civil servants living under the opposition continued to receive government paychecks, which often required traveling to regime areas. This has maintained an opening for more

[91] Martinez and Eng 2015. According to one analysis, an estimated $900 million of the $1.1 billion spent on humanitarian assistance by the U.N. in 2015 was distributed through Damascus in a process that was "controlled to some extent by the Syrian authorities" (Hopkins and Beals, 2016 (29 August)).
[92] Elghossain, 2016 (22 June).
[93] Khaddour, 2015 (8 July).

people to return to the state. According to one aid worker, the government "wants the people back in its territory...except for fighters or activists who are not reconcilable."[94]

Indeed, in depopulated areas, the procedures for return have provided further opportunities for the state to screen and collect information from civilians. In the six months following the depopulation of eastern Aleppo in late 2016, some 200,000 IDPs were allowed to return provided they registered with local authorities.[95] The registration process typically requires Syrians to answer detailed questions about their role in anti-government demonstrations and armed rebellion; provide the names, locations, and activities of rebels operating in their areas; and sign loyalty oaths pledging allegiance to the state. Authorities then cross-check people's responses with other information collected by government agents in order to assess its credibility.[96] Subjecting IDPs to this process has therefore made them more legible in the eyes of the regime, while supplying authorities with intelligence on rebel identities and capabilities. Given that the war significantly disrupted the state's extensive intelligence network, the *mukhabarat*, these background checks have provided critical sources of information.[97]

Aspiring returnees have also been required to show documentation of property ownership to local police or security forces. In 2018, the Syrian government introduced a new law, Act 10, that permitted the state to redevelop properties not claimed by their owners – providing a strong incentive for residents to return to regime territory, particularly since property claims had to be made in person. Yet according to the Syria Institute, authorities have reportedly used these claims "as a method of vetting people instead of vetting ownership" and consulted land registries to identify constituencies allied with the rebels.[98] These vetting procedures apply to Syrian refugees as well as IDPs. While President Assad has publically appealed for refugees to come back to areas of the country recaptured by the regime,[99] his government has used civil registration and property claims to screen returnees and filter out the unapologetically disloyal and irreconcilable elements of the Syrian population.[100] Such elements are therefore discouraged or explicitly prevented from returning. The entire displacement process, then – from the initial departure, to the move to a temporary destination, to return and resettlement – has served as a tool for the regime to sort the population.

[94] Interviewee SYR029, Aid worker, Berlin, October 2017.

[95] "Syrians return to live in ravaged Aleppo – in pictures" 2017 (6 July).

[96] Haid, 2018 (August).

[97] For decades the *mukhabarat* played a pivotal role in enforcing Assad's rule, and early in the uprising it was instrumental in identifying members of the opposition to be arrested or assassinated. But by 2015, the *mukhabarat* found itself "in turmoil" as several of its top leaders were killed or removed (Sherlock and Malouf, 2015 (11 May)).

[98] Syria Institute, 2017 (February), 42.

[99] "Bashar Al-Assad calls on Syrian refugees to return to their own country" 2019 (19 February).

[100] Batrawi and Uzelac, 2018 (September).

The Extractive and Symbolic Benefits of Displacement

For the Syrian government, luring people back to the state has stemmed from extractive needs, not just punitive ones. Civilians displaced to Tartous and Latakia have offered capital and labor to the local economy, leading regime officials to facilitate the entry of IDPs from Aleppo into the labor market.[101] Returnees also provide much-needed revenues to the government: upon arriving in regime-controlled Syria, refugees returning from neighboring countries have been immediately taken to their local municipalities to pay fees for all utilities they would have paid in the years they were gone.[102]

More importantly, the displaced offer a remedy to one of the most pressing problems the regime has faced throughout the conflict: a lack of sufficient manpower. While the SAA claimed some 220,000 soldiers in 2011, by April 2012, 50,000 to 60,000 soldiers had deserted or defected to the opposition.[103] Of the 65,000 to 75,000 troops the regime deemed politically reliable, as many as 7,000 were killed and 30,000 wounded by the end of 2012.[104] The combination of selective deployments, defections, and battlefield casualties greatly hindered the army's combat power.[105] In response to increasingly acute manpower needs, the government turned to more desperate recruitment efforts – mobilizing reservists en mass and imposing new service requirements and regulations to prevent desertions.[106] As a consequence, compulsory conscription for all men of military service age became "rampant" in Syria.[107] As the *New York Times* reported:

> "It is impossible to live in government-controlled Syria without noticing that there are almost no young men on the street. They are in the army, or they are dead. Veterans must carry their military papers with them or risk on-the-spot re-enlistment."[108]

Investigations by human rights organizations are replete with reports of the regime conscripting IDPs, often forcefully, to serve as fighters or spies.[109] For instance, over 4,000 men who fled from eastern to western Aleppo in December 2016 were conscripted into the army and sent to the frontline with little training.[110] Upon entering

[101] "Coast attracts Aleppans displaced by war" 2014 (14 June).
[102] Anderson, 2018 (16 July).
[103] Peker and Abu-Nasr 2012.
[104] Holliday 2013, 28-29.
[105] Holliday 2013, 26-27.
[106] Assad would eventually acknowledge the severity of these manpower shortages in a televised speech (Samaan and Barnard 2015).
[107] Adleh and Favier 2017, 1.
[108] Worth, 2017 (24 May).
[109] Amnesty International, 2015 (14 May); Human Rights, 2016 (9 December).
[110] "Men fleeing E. Aleppo forced to fight with Assad" 2016 (12 December); Czuperski et al. 2017. In addition to the SAA, fighting-age males can join one of the local popular committees or a paramilitary force such as the Russia-managed Fifth Corps (Adleh and Favier 2017, 12).

regime territory, eligible displaced men are immediately placed in a register for the army.[111] The Peace Research Institute in Oslo further describes how the regime exploits IDPs:

> "In areas under its control, the regime's administrative apparatus – while weakened – retains its capacity to register the displaced...Assad's regime clearly sees those displaced to areas under its control as part of the pool of people from which it can recruit. The displaced...are more dependent on humanitarian aid than anybody, and clearly, receiving aid is followed by an expectation to support the cause."[112]

Finally, the displaced provide the regime with propaganda fodder. As noted by one Western journalist, the government has "used the fact that most people had [come] to live in regime held areas as 'evidence' of its popularity, arguing that it reflected the Syrian people's support to the regime."[113] Visits to IDP shelters by state officials, including Assad himself, have been used to showcase the number of people seeking sanctuary from "terrorism" and receiving assistance from the government, an attempt to legitimize the regime to both domestic and international audiences.[114] In mid-2017, when hundreds of families decided to move from northern Syria to parts of Homs recently retaken by the regime, it was broadcast on state media.[115] In a statement, the local governor declared that the returnees had fled "persecution and inhumane treatment" in rebel-held areas and that their decision to return was evidence that "the state is the only guarantor of the dignity of the Syrian citizen."[116] According to the Beirut-based *Daily Star*, the return:

> "was a propaganda coup for the Syrian president, who is looking to burnish his image as Syria's legitimate ruler. His readiness to welcome returnees stands in stark contrast to the indifference in many other places toward the plight of displaced Syrians...as the families disembarked from the buses, they waved placards bearing Assad's image. Some chanted before the cameras that they would sacrifice 'blood and soul' for the president."[117]

The government's exploitation of returning citizens has led the U.N. and other international organizations to caution countries hosting Syrian refugees against pressuring people to go back to Syria even as the conflict reaches it final stages.[118]

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[111] Interviewee SYR028, Aid worker, Berlin, October 2017.
[112] Harpviken and Onne Yogev, 2016 (June).
[113] Tepperman 2015.
[114] "Assad Visits Displaced Syrians Outside Damascus" 2014 (12 March).
[115] See SyriaDirect (2017 (11 July), 2017 (9 May)).
[116] "Families return to al-Wa'r because of inhumane treatment in the camps in the city of graves" 2017 (7 May).
[117] Issa, 2017 (15 July).
[118] Marks, 2019 (13 February).

President Assad and his backers clearly see refugee return as a major boost to the regime's political legitimacy. Moreover, the issue of return gives the regime a bargaining chip in its quest for international recognition and the reconstruction funds that it will need to rebuild the country, which could exceed $250 billion.[119]

Quantitative Evidence

To complement the qualitative evidence provided above, I conduct an analysis of subnational quantitative data on displacement and violence in Syria. Combining data from VDC and UNOCHA, I created a dataset of civilian fatalities and IDP inflows and outflows, by month, at the province level from January 2016 to December 2018. While this time period falls within the later stages of the conflict, it still provides an opportunity to test some of my claims more systematically, as Syria has experienced high levels of displacement and lethal violence throughout the war.

If my argument is correct and the regime has used displacement to "pull" people into its territories – and not just to "push" them out – then state forces should kill fewer civilians following IDP inflows. On the other hand, IDP outflows from a province should lead to *more* government killings because the regime aims to deter flight and perceives those who flee as potential traitors who should be punished.

For the analysis, my dependent variables are the number of fatalities due to regime violence, both combatant and civilian (*regime killings (all)*), and the number of civilian fatalities only (*regime killings (civilians)*), as reported by VDC. The independent variables are the number of *IDP inflows* into a province and the number of *IDP outflows* from a province during a given month. I also controlled for the number of within-province IDP flows (*inprovflows*). Finally, I included two control variables that could influence both displacement and violence against civilians. The first is a measure of the degree of *territorial control* exercised by the regime in a province during a given month, according to the Carter Center.[120] This variable equals the total percentage of communities controlled by the government in a province, though the results are similar if a 1-5 scaled measure of government control is used. The second control variable is the number of *combatant fatalities* in a province in a given month, which is meant to proxy for battle intensity.

[119] Marks, 2019 (13 February).

[120] If the level of territorial control by each actor changed little during the period under study, using a model with fixed effects would control for it. However, because there are enough shifts in territorial control in several provinces between 2016 and 2018, I include a control for it.

Table 6.2: Civilian Killings in Syria, Jan 2016 - Dec 2018

	Model 1 Regime Killings (All)	Model 2 Regime Killings (Civilians)	Model 3 Rebel Killings (Civilians)	Model 4 Regime Killings (All, lagged)	Model 5 Regime Killings (Civilians, lagged)
IDPinflows	−0.03 * **	−0.04 * **	0.01	−0.04 * **	−0.04 * **
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.01)
IDPoutflows	0.05 * **	0.06 * **	0.09 * **	0.06 * **	0.05 * **
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Inprovflows	0.00	−0.01	−0.07 * **	0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.02)
Terrcontrol (%)	−0.00	−0.00	−0.01 * **	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Combfatalities	0.02 * **	0.02 * **	0.01 * **	0.01 * **	0.01 * **
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−0.67 * **	−0.80 * **	−0.90 * *	−0.92 * **	−0.93 * **
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.37)	(0.18)	(0.20)
Observations	498	463	390	485	450

Standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

I estimate panel negative binomial models with province fixed effects.[121] This allows me to isolate the effects of IDP flow patterns on violence, address the panel structure of the data, and account for over-dispersion in the dependent variable. Table 6.2 presents the results. Controlling for the degree of territorial control and battle intensity, I find that IDP inflows lead to a decrease in regime killings, including total fatalities (Model 1) and civilian fatalities only (Model 2). IDP outflows, meanwhile, lead to an increase in killings by government forces, and both results are highly statistically significant. This is consistent with the notion that the regime has (1) discouraged civilians from leaving its territories and punished those who have, and (2) welcomed civilians who have entered, on average.

Of course, there is a potential endogeneity issue here. Since violence can also affect displacement, it is possible that, in my models, it is fatalities that are leading to more or less IDP flows, rather than the other way around. While I am reassured by existing research finding no significant relationship between the timing of violence

[121] I tested for potential problems of multicollinearity and found little cause for concern: the maximum variance-inflation factor (VIF) for Models 1-3 is 3.24, and mean VIF is 2.53.

and displacement,[122] I take three steps to address endogeneity concerns. First, I run the analysis with the number of civilian killings by *rebel* forces as the dependent variable. If my findings simply reflect more violence against civilians producing more displacement, then the results for regime and rebel killings should be similar. As shown in Model 3, this is indeed the case for IDP outflows, which – as with regime killings – are positively and statistically significantly associated with rebel killings. But the results for IDP inflows are also positive (and insignificant) and therefore diverge from the findings for regime-induced fatalities.

Second, I lag the main dependent variables by one month, and find similar results (Models 4 and 5 in Table 6.2).[123] However, including lagged dependent variables in count models can be problematic, since it assumes that the data grows at an exponential rate.[124] Therefore, as a final step, I estimate panel vector autoregressions (VAR) and conduct Granger causality tests. Granger tests, along with cointegration tests in VAR models – which treat all variables as endogenous and interdependent – helps identify whether a particular variable precedes another. This offers a way to determine whether, or to what extent, IDP flows follow violence or violence follows IDP flows.

The results for the Granger tests are presented in Table 6.3. I provide the p-value (statistical significance level) for each possible temporal order of my primary dependent and independent variables. If the p-value is statistically significant, it indicates support for the order specified in a given row – e.g., if $X \rightarrow Y$ is significant, we then have reason to believe that X antecedes Y. In other words, statistical significance specifies the temporal relationship between two variables rather than the magnitude of the relationship. Because cointegration tests found that IDP flows and violence are contemporaneously correlated, in the VAR models I took the first difference of each variable.[125]

Unfortunately, the results in Table 6.3 do little to resolve concerns about endogeneity. None of the temporal relationships investigated are statistically significant, and it is therefore unclear whether IDP flows precede regime violence or vice versa. This could be a consequence of the limitations of the data, which only capture monthly trends in fatalities and displacement. Violent responses to IDP flows may happen within the same month, but Granger causality tests would not be able to detect these patterns.

Overall, an analysis of subnational data on violence and displacement in Syria finds some evidence that government forces tend to kill fewer people following the inflow of IDPs into a province and more people following the outflow of IDPs from a

[122] Melander and Öberg 2006; Schon 2015, 2019.

[123] Lagging the independent variable is not appropriate since my argument presumes a lag between displacement and subsequent violence, as opposed to violence and subsequent displacement.

[124] Brandt et al. 2000, 824-25.

[125] One issue with Granger tests is they assume that time series data is stationary: shifts in time do not change the shape of the distribution (Hamilton 1994; Nelson and Kang 1981). This would produce a model that is biased, since most real-world datasets are not stationary (Thomson 1994). I therefore used first-differences of the data to correct for cointegration of my variables.

Table 6.3: VAR Granger Test Results for IDP Flow-Violence Relationship

Unit	*P-value (first difference)*
IDP inflows → Regime killings (all)	0.983
IDP outflows → Regime killings (all)	0.435
Regime killings (all) → IDP inflows	0.209
Regime killings (all) → IDP outflows	0.509
IDP inflows → Regime killings (civilians)	0.881
IDP outflows → Regime killings (civilians)	0.568
Regime killings (civilians) → IDP inflows	0.277
Regime killings (civilians) → IDP outflows	0.274

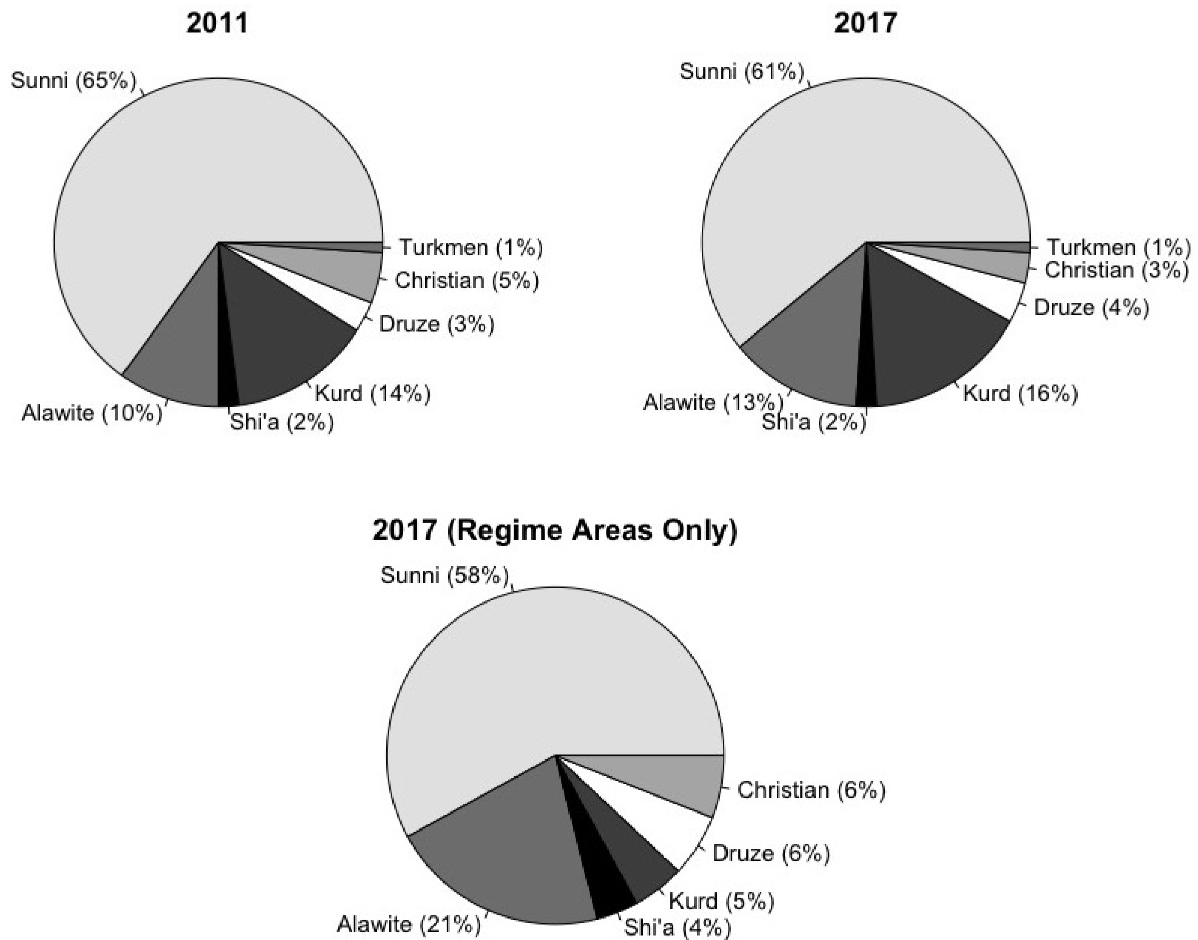
province. These results hold even when accounting for the intensity of fighting and the extent of territorial control exercised by the regime. I use several measures to address endogeneity concerns, but Granger causality tests fail to confirm antecedence in the displacement-violence relationship. As such, these findings should be met with caution. But the quantitative evidence, while limited, is consistent with the qualitative evidence presented above: the government has seemingly welcomed displaced civilians moving to its territories and inflicted violence on those who have left to other parts of Syria. This aligns with what we would expect if state-induced displacement has served an assortative function during the conflict.

Results of Displacement: Mixing or Unmixing?

If the regime's displacement tactics amounted to sectarian cleansing, we would expect them to result in a significant "unmixing" of the population by sect, with Sunnis comprising the bulk of residents in rebel-held areas and non-Sunnis comprising the majority of the population in regime-held territory. Before the conflict, Arab Sunnis made up approximately 65 percent of the Syrian population; by 2017 that number had declined modestly to 61 percent.[126] Likewise, the share of Alawites in Syria, the sect to which the Assad family belongs, has increased from 10 percent to 13 percent during the war. Therefore, despite the fact that Syria has hemorrhaged a substantial number of refugees, any purported effort to drain the country of its Sunni population has seemingly not been very effective.

[126] Balanche 2018.

Figure 6.6: Population in Syria by Sect



Source: Balanche 2018

In fact, in areas controlled by the regime, population displacement has *increased* their level of social heterogeneity. Fabrice Balanche estimates that, as of June 2017, Sunnis constituted at least 58 percent of those living in regime territory.[127] The influx of IDPs into government strongholds has in many instances led to an intermixing of the population. In Latakia, the proportion of Sunnis increased from 40 percent before the conflict to 50 percent in 2013.[128] Tartous, which was reportedly 90 percent Alawite at the start of the uprising – and where thousands of regime loyalists marched in 2011 to chants of "Assad, or we burn the country" – fell to 60 percent Alawite by late

[127] Balanche 2018.
[128] Balanche 2015b.

summer 2012,[129] and, by 2014, IDPs made up 52 percent of its population.[130] As a result, regime areas have "the most diverse sectarian mix in Syria, welcoming IDPs from all denominations."[131] So when Assad declares, as he did in a 2017 speech, that Syria has gained "a healthier and more homogenous society" during the war,[132] he appears to be extolling homogeneity along political lines – not sectarian ones.

Movements and Loyalties: Perception vs. Reality

There is compelling evidence that pro-government forces have drawn inferences about the allegiances of the population based on their flight decisions. But have people's movements actually reflected their true loyalties or affiliations? It is difficult to answer this question definitively. Studies of civilian flight in Syria have found that IDPs tend to go "where there are people with similar political or ethnic characteristics" as those "supporting the regime generally go to [government] areas" while those opposing the regime "tend to move to opposition-held areas."[133] Several people I interviewed in a displacement camp in Northeast Syria said that when rebels took over a town or village, residents who stayed typically had "a relationship with" the rebels, while those who were "not with" them left.[134] A survey of Syrian refugees in Turkey, meanwhile, indicated that those who fled the conflict zone withdrew support from all warring parties and refused to pick a side.[135]

Those who remain in Syria, however, have faced strong pressure to pick a side. The evacuation deals described above are a case in point. After regime forces captured rebel-controlled parts of Eastern Ghouta in Rural Damascus in 2018, local insurgent groups forged such an agreement with the government. As part of the deal, up to 13,000 people opted to leave for rebel-held Idlib province – most of whom were fighters and their families, local civil society figures, and humanitarian workers.[136] In interviews, aid workers told me that evacuees who selected Idlib as their preferred destination tended to be combatants, activists, and other people "in opposition to the government."[137] This explains why the regime, according to one media report, "has treated [Idlib] province as a dumping ground for those it does not want in its territory."[138]

For many of the displaced, fleeing to government areas has likely been motivated more by expediency and survival than by a strong political preference.

[129] Paul 2013; O'Bagy 2013.
[130] Doocy et al. 2015.
[131] Balanche 2018.
[132] RT 2017.
[133] HTAU, 2015 (December), 27.
[134] Interviewees SYR031, SYR032, and SYR033, IDPs, Al-Hasakeh, Syria, January 2019.
[135] Fabbe et al. 2017.
[136] Mercy Corps, *Situation Report: Southern Syria Reconciliation Agreement Update*, March 31, 2019, Humanitarian Access Team.
[137] Interviewee SYR029, Aid worker, Berlin, October 2017.
[138] Barnard and Saad, 2018 (31 March).

Indeed, IDPs surveyed in Syria tend to cite safety and security as the primary factors influencing their flight.[139] Yet seeking sanctuary with the state still amounts to a symbolic act of obedience to a regime that built its authority on outward signs of passive compliance from citizens instead of by cultivating "true believers"; what Lisa Wedeen calls the "politics of 'as if.'"[140] In the eyes of the regime, the element of "choice" exercised by residents of opposition territories likely mitigated the potential that its depopulation tactics would backfire. This is evidenced in the terminology used by Syrian state media, which according to one study has eschewed the Arabic word for "refugees" (*al-laji'een*) in favor of ones that "translate to 'those who have fled' or 'Syrian migrants' [*muhajirah*], euphemisms that place the agency for flight solely on the [displaced] themselves."[141] Thus a civilian who is neither dedicated to the opposition nor guilty of anti-regime activity should, all else equal, eventually flee rebel areas when incentivized to do so. Moreover, (s)he should move to government territories given the promise of greater security, livelihood opportunities, relief aid, and other incentives created by the state to attract new arrivals. Failing to take these steps is quite costly unless one is affiliated with, or dedicated to, the opposition. From the regime's standpoint, displacing the population is not driving people into the arms of the rebels; it is simply forcing them to choose between the rebels and the government.

Summary

Early in the Syrian civil war, strategic displacement by pro-regime forces focused on expelling members of the opposition and their perceived sympathizers. Sectarian identity was sometimes used as a proxy for disloyalty, providing a basis for the collective expulsion of Sunni populations. These expulsions helped the government conquer key territories, primarily Sunni enclaves in Alawite strongholds and religiously mixed cities and towns. Such acts of cleansing were carried out through direct methods of violence – summary executions, threats, or destruction of property – and occurred as the perpetrators solidified control over strategic areas.

But as the battlefield expanded, the number of rebel groups proliferated, and the regime began to suffer from troop shortages, it increasingly relied on indirect violence. As a result, targeted "cleansing" operations declined in favor of more widespread and indiscriminate campaigns to depopulate rebel-held areas. In the shift from direct to indirect violence, the strategic logic of forced displacement also changed. A measure initially intended to penalize and deter the regime's enemies became a method for helping it figure out who its most dedicated enemies were. Decisions over whether and where to go were seen as increasingly political, with the refusal to relocate to government areas considered a costly act of noncompliance and thus an indicator of

[139] HTAU, 2015 (December).

[140] Wedeen (1998). To reinforce its authority, the Assad regime for decades required not that Syrians believed in the power or sanctity of the regime, but merely that they talked and acted "as if" they did.

[141] Batrawi and Uzelac, 2018 (September), 3.

disloyalty. At the same time, displacement enabled the government to access and exploit a larger segment of the population for both instrumental and symbolic purposes.

Taken together, then, the available evidence suggests that the regime's displacement tactics (1) have been motivated much more by political concerns over loyalty than demographic concerns regarding sect, and (2) are in many cases consistent with a campaign to sort and capture the civilian population, not just to expel it. This "assortative" logic does not account for every case of regime-directed displacement. But it explains why there was a more concerted effort to massively uproot civilians beginning in mid- to late-2012, when the government began to face multiple battlefronts, a lack of manpower, and the deterioration of the once-robust *mukhabarat*.

6.4 Alternative Explanations

Ethnic Nationalism

By challenging the characterization of regime-induced displacement in Syria as a uniform strategy of sectarian cleansing, the evidence presented in this chapter casts doubt on explanations that emphasize ethnic nationalism. Even those episodes that can be described as cleansing appear to have stemmed from the use of religious sect as an indicator of potential rebel affiliation, as opposed to some deep-seated animosity toward Sunni Arabs. The Assad regime has certainly stoked sectarian tensions during the conflict in order to galvanize support among Syria's minority communities. But religious sect is only one of many other fault lines in the conflict, along with class, ideology, and tribe; a fact that has caused observers to classify the war as "semi-sectarian."[142]

Moreover, while the regime has long privileged Alawites – appointing a disproportionate number to senior government positions – Sunnis remain fixtures of the country's economy and security apparatus.[143] Before the war, Bashar al-Assad, who took over the presidency from his father Hafez in 2000, offered significant opportunities to Syria's Sunni majority. According to Charles Lister, the younger Assad "presided over a partial revival of Sunni Islam within state-accepted circles" and established "friendly and eventually rather cosy relationships with moderate Sunni leaders, who were duly installed in positions of authority."[144] This resulted in a "gradual integration of Sunni Muslims into the spheres of officialdom."[145] Cultivating support across religious sects and tribes in Syria has been a vital governing strategy for the regime; one that has helped ensure its survival.[146]

[142] Phillips 2015.
[143] Holliday 2013, 18, Cambanis, 2015 (5 November).
[144] Lister 2016b, 28.
[145] Lister 2016b, 28.
[146] Cambanis, 2015 (5 November).

The war has done little to change that. As explained by Thanassis Cambanis, "many rich Sunni industrialists serve as pillars of the regime," which "still relies on Sunnis to fill its fighting ranks. There are Sunni Muslim Syrians fighting on the front line for Assad even today."[147] Kheder Khaddour similarly points out that, as I noted earlier in this section, Sunni merchants who relocated to Tartous and Latakia "have generally been warmly welcomed and are often allowed to shift their business and employees to new sites in the market."[148] Since the early days of the uprising, the primary cleavage in the Syrian conflict has been political, not sectarian, as Syrian activist Rifaie Tammas stresses:

> "The Syrian population became divided mainly along one political line, in terms of their stance towards the Syrian uprising. Syrians were labeled as either pro-regime or pro-revolution, and this label sometimes meant the difference between life and death. Political entrepreneurs...also played a large role in defining the new identities and the narratives attached to them and in drawing the lines separating the boundaries among these identities. Within the new pro-Assad versus pro-revolution division, people greatly differed on the extent of their support of Assad or the opposition, depending on the person's ideology, ethnicity, and religious background."[149]

Denial

Another possible explanation for the Syrian government's depopulation strategy is *denial*: displacing civilians was part of a counterinsurgency measure to deprive rebels of the resources they needed to be politically and militarily successful. José Ciro Martínez and Brent Eng, for example, argue that the regime's strategic use of aerial bombardment has sought to disrupt the governing capabilities of the opposition by crippling key infrastructure, sowing divisions between rebel groups and the local population, and sabotaging efforts to build an effective counter-state.[150] Likewise, draining contested and opposition-held areas of their populations may have aimed to deny Syrian rebels supplies and recruits furnished by civilian residents.[151]

While I acknowledge that this denial logic may have been part of the regime's calculus, it only tells part of the story – as it does not account for those who resisted displacement or for what transpired after people fled their communities. Moreover, this argument suffers from two important weaknesses when applied to the Syria case. First, driving civilians out from under the writ of rebel forces likely benefitted the

[147] Cambanis, 2015 (5 November).
[148] Khaddour 2016.
[149] Tammas 2016, 32.
[150] Martínez and Eng 2018.
[151] Bick 2017.

Syrian opposition, at least in some cases, as much as it hurt it. Local governing councils (LCs) established by opposition groups in rebel-held areas have struggled throughout the war to provide services and meet the needs of local residents. Rapid population increases in these areas have therefore risked overwhelming LCs and fracturing the opposition. According to a report on rebel governing bodies in Syria by the Swiss Peace Foundation, civilians "generally have high expectations of the [LCs] and other institutions engaged in service delivery" and put "enormous pressure" on them.[152] As the LCs have limited capacity, influxes of IDPs into opposition territories have "led to a considerable growth in population and in needs that could not be met...The limited services can thus often not cover the needs of newly arriving or returning people."[153] Thus the partial depopulation of rebel territories reduced the number of civilians who needed to be cared for, easing the opposition's burden in many instances.

Second, the Syrian opposition has not been exclusively reliant on the local population for resources. Syria has become one of the most internationalized civil wars in decades, and the rebels have received substantial assistance from external sources. Arab countries began forming ties with the FSA in early 2012, and the governments of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Jordan, and the U.S. have funneled hundreds of millions of dollars to the insurgency, including weapons, food, and humanitarian aid.[154] In 2013 and 2014, the Assistance Coordination Unit (ACU), a Syrian NGO that coordinates international aid to the opposition, received $49 million from Qatar, $77.2 million from Saudi Arabia, $19.6 million from the UAE, $43.1 million from the U.S., and $3.2 million from France.[155]

Likewise, Salafi rebel factions such as Jabhat al-Nusra (JAN)[156] have received most of their funding and resources from conservative private backers in the Gulf and elsewhere.[157] Local and provincial councils governing opposition-held areas have been propped up by international donors, diaspora communities, and other transnational groups.[158] Syria has also attracted an unprecedented number of foreign fighters,[159] which were estimated to be in the tens of thousands by 2014.[160] JAN, for example, one of the insurgency's most formidable military factions, has enlisted a "substantial number" of foreign fighters, which comprise up to 20-30 percent of its forces.[161]

[152] Gharibah et al. 2017, 14.
[153] Gharibah et al. 2017, 7, 15.
[154] Jenkins 2014, 11.
[155] Assistance Coordination Unit 2013, 2014.
[156] It is worth noting that for many Syrians who participated in the initial uprising, JAN is not considered part of the opposition, and is seen as having "hijacked" the revolution. But this position has become more difficult to defend with time, as more and more Syrians have joined JAN's ranks during the war.
[157] Jenkins 2014, 11.
[158] Arfeh, 2016 (4 August).
[159] Hegghammer 2013.
[160] Barrett et al. 2015 These include at least 1,200 Saudis who heeded the call from Sunni clerics for people to volunteer to fight and "support their Muslim brothers in Syria...by all means" Zelin 2013.
[161] Zelin et al., 2013 (June).

6.5 Conclusion

Contrary to conventional wisdom, strategic population displacement in the Syrian civil war has gone well beyond instances of ethno-sectarian "cleansing." I have drawn on a broad range of qualitative and quantitative evidence to demonstrate that, in many instances during the conflict, forced displacement has been employed by the government in order to sort and capture the civilian population – not to expel or eliminate it. This is not intended to overlook the conflict's sectarian dynamics, or how certain regime backers, namely Iran, have encouraged the Syrian government to alter the demographics of some areas by providing citizenship and housing to Shi'a foreigners, including militiamen.[162] But displacement has served a broader function in Syria than demographic change.

The Assad regime and its allies have attempted not only to "push" noncombatants out of particular localities, but also to "pull" them into areas they control. Pro-government forces have treated people differently based on their movements, not just their religious or ethnic identities; profiling that relies on "guilt by location" and perceives those who flee to – or remain in – rebel areas as traitors. Employing weapons that are inherently indiscriminate, the regime has induced displacement to separate and differentiate the loyal from the disloyal, improve the "legibility" of local communities, and extract much-needed revenues and military recruits from the population. And it has used the arrival of IDPs into its areas as propaganda and a source of legitimization. In many instances, population displacement has therefore increased the social heterogeneity of certain provinces, including government strongholds. These findings are more consistent with an assortative logic of strategic displacement than one that is eliminative or punitive. And they suggest that motivations related to a logic of "denial," while potentially playing a partial role in the regime's depopulation strategy, are an insufficient explanation within themselves.

My argument helps account for two core puzzles of the Syrian war: why the regime has persisted in its use of widespread and relentless indiscriminate violence, and why it has given people in recaptured territories a choice of where to move. In offering answers to these puzzles, I have shown that strategies of depopulation can also exhibit the assortative logic of forced displacement, similar to tactics of forced relocation. This finding offers some insight into how broadly the argument proposed in this dissertation applies, which I return to in the concluding chapter.

[162] SyriaDirect 2015, Adleh and Favier 2017, 10.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

"We are witnessing a paradigm change,
an unchecked slide into an era in which
the scale of global forced displacement
as well as the response required is now
clearly dwarfing anything seen before."

-Antonio Guterres
UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015

"Call ye this Ferdinand 'wise' –
he who depopulates his own dominions
in order to enrich mine?"

-Ottoman Sultan Bajezet, 1492

7.1 The Politics of Wartime Displacement

In this dissertation I have demonstrated the extent to which combatants, not conflicts, "make" migrations. Strategic population displacement by armed groups has been more common in contemporary civil wars than previously known, and it has gone well beyond the much-publicized use of ethnic cleansing. Forced relocation – strategic displacement with an inward or "pull" orientation – has been more prevalent than cleansing or depopulation – which have an outward or "push" orientation. In addition, forced relocation has been regularly employed in both ethnic and non-ethnic wars. This variation in and of itself questions arguments claiming that combatants displace because of ethnic nationalism or other ideological factors. How, then, can we explain this puzzling variation in wartime displacement strategies?

To answer this question, I argue that forced displacement is an assortative strategy, not just an eliminative or punitive one: it is often employed to sort, capture, and instrumentalize the local population. While existing studies attribute the use of displacement to a key problem combatants face in civil wars – a lack of information needed to identify and target opponents – they often conflate different displacement strategies and lump together distinctive theoretical mechanisms, each with different underlying logics. To address these shortcomings, I provide a typology that distinguishes between different forms of strategic displacement. I then explicate three possible logics that explain why combatants would displace civilians due to poor information: denial, punishment, and an "assortative" logic. In doing so, I develop a new theory and show that different displacement strategies constitute different responses to information and identification problems, which is pivotal to understanding cross-national variation.

Combatants often possess insufficient information about individual allegiances in wartime. If an armed group is primarily concerned with conquering territory –

as is typical in conventional civil wars – and has access to group-level indicators it can use as a simplifying heuristic to infer the loyalties of the population, then it is likely to pursue cleansing against those communities or groups it deems disloyal. This indicates that cleansing is driven by a logic of collective punishment, and confirms findings from previous micro-level studies at the macro level of analysis. On the other hand, if an armed group is primarily concerned with identifying enemies – the primary challenge faced by counterinsurgents in irregular wars – and lacks group-level indicators of civilians' loyalties, it is more likely to engage in forced relocation in order to infer the identities and sympathies of the population through "guilt by location." By ordering people to evacuate their homes and concentrate in a designated location nearby, combatants can easily observe those who do not comply. Since noncompliance is costly, it can serve as a credible signal of enemy affiliation, allowing perpetrators to rapidly (if crudely) distinguish the potentially disloyal. Relocating the population also makes communities more accessible and "legible." This allows combatants to use human mobility as a continuous proxy for loyalty and helps them compensate for resource limitations by providing a ready source of economic rents, military recruits, and propaganda fodder.

The analysis in this dissertation focuses on displacement by state actors, who I find to be the primary perpetrators. My assortative theory of displacement, developed in Chapter 2, draws on a core insight of the forced migration literature: that civilians in war zones have agency, and they exercise it when deciding to move or stay in the midst of violence. Will Moore and Stephen Shellman put it well in their study of wartime migration: "For all those who flee, others stay behind, some choosing to take up weapons, others simply believing that they can 'ride out the storm.' When faced with extraordinary circumstances, people still make choices."[1] The coercion directed at populations to induce their flight can make noncompliance costly – and thus for combatants, provide grounds for suspicion – but ultimately civilians have some sort of say in whether they leave and where they go. Of course, this does not mean that people's movements in wartime always reflect their actual political loyalties. Simplifying heuristics are by definition "quick and dirty" approximations of reality and are therefore not always correct. "Guilt by location" is no different. But the cognitive demands imposed on individual soldiers by the fog of war, coupled with the organizational challenges of collecting, vetting and disseminating intelligence, often compel armed groups to deploy information shortcuts to tell friend from foe. Just as this leads combatants to sometimes engage in ethnic, racial, or religious profiling, I argue that it can also encourage the use of *spatial* profiling.

Beyond helping explain variation in strategic wartime displacement, this argument resolves other key puzzles. Namely, why do combatants continue to employ displacement, particularly forced relocation, despite the costs? Why do they uproot civilians instead of killing them? In short, because displacement provides benefits

[1] Moore and Shellman 2006, 599.

that mass killing does not: it allows armed actors to *map* the sea, as opposed to simply draining it. My theory suggests that the very aspects of relocating civilians that typically impose significant humanitarian and even political costs – physical concentration, regulations on mobility, idleness, dependency on the state or aid agencies – are the same ones that yield military and governing advantages for perpetrators. Concentrating communities in a highly illegible area can create what James Scott calls the "ideal type of military space," a "a flat, open terrain...along a major road, surrounded by a registered, relocated civilian population" that can serve as "a source of labor, cash, and foodstuffs."[2] Islands of human squalor consequently become enclaves of appropriation. Thus for armed groups unable or unwilling to penetrate contested territories, rearranging the human terrain through forced displacement provides an attractive alternative to occupation, and fulfills combatants' need to categorize and enhance the legibility of conflict-affected populations. Because such arrangements also make these populations more legible to the global aid industry, perpetrators are often able to offload the material costs of displacement onto other actors.

The assortative logic of forced displacement therefore offers an explanation for the puzzling persistence of its use as a method of counterinsurgency despite its frequent failure to cut ties between rebels and civilians and starve insurgent groups. Strategic displacement, at least when it takes certain forms, provides unique solutions to information and resource problems for armed actors by acting as a sorting mechanism and a force multiplier. As such, this theory suggests that while some displacement strategies – cleansing – aim to punish and get rid of disloyal elements of the population, others – relocation, and potentially depopulation – attempt to identify those elements. The argument also produces two potentially counterintuitive conclusions. First, contrary to conventional wisdom, some displacement strategies are used to mobilize, not just demobilize, the targeted population. Second, rather than requiring extensive resources to employ, displacement is often utilized to help incumbents overcome resource limitations.

Chapter 3 explores the implications of the argument in a detailed case study of civil wars in Uganda. A comparison of government strategies against multiple rebellions waged between 1986 and 2006 demonstrates that forced relocation by state forces served a much broader purpose than "draining the sea." This strategy helped state forces make inferences about people's identities and loyalties, impose legibility on frontier communities, and extract local recruits when and where information and manpower deficiencies demanded it. This explains why Ugandan forces relocated groups in response to some insurgencies – ones that employed guerrilla tactics – but not others – ones who fought conventionally – even though the latter posed a more serious and immediate threat to the regime.

Chapter 4 probes the external validity of my arguments and provides what is to my knowledge the first ever cross-national test of different explanations for

[2] Scott 2010, 180.

strategic displacement in wartime. An analysis of civil wars between 1945 and 2008 suggests that different state-induced displacement strategies seem to follow different logics. This macro-level analysis helps address a glaring weakness of existing research on strategic displacement: the fact that it has largely relied on studies of individual conflicts and has yet to scale up its insights to the global level. I use proxies to test different arguments, based on the notion that, if certain displacement strategies follow a particular logic (based on different explanations for why they are used) then we should see them employed, at least by state actors, in particular contexts and under certain conditions. My proxies attempt to capture these conditions, and in doing so, follow other cross-national studies of wartime violence.[3] While one can quibble with some of the variables used, in most cases I rely on multiple measures to capture the empirical implications of each argument.[4]

The results of my statistical analysis show that cleansing follows a logic of punishment: it is more likely in conventional wars where state forces have access to group-level identifiers that link civilians to an armed group. The findings for forced relocation, meanwhile, suggest an assortative logic. These strategies are more likely in irregular wars waged in "illegible" territories, and tend to be employed (1) by under-resourced incumbents engaged in multiple conflicts, and (2) alongside state efforts to mobilize the population into civilian defense forces. The latter result not only provides evidence for my argument; it also runs counter to punishment-related explanations, since perpetrators are unlikely to arm the very people who they seek to punish. But the tests in Chapter 4 are just as important for their null findings as they are for those that substantiate hypotheses. The evidence does not support the predictions of many other arguments about why combatants displace, including those that emphasize logics of ethnic nationalism, denial, opportunism, and even desperation. While these cross-national tests are imperfect – they only provide indirect evidence for my assortative theory – they are essential. Without a clear comparative understanding of where different population displacement strategies are used, it is difficult to draw defensible conclusions.

In order to demonstrate that the empirical relationships identified in the cross-national analysis can be attributed to my assortative theory, in Chapter 5, I turn back to individual conflicts and analyze detailed micro-level implications of the argument in Burundi, Vietnam, and Indonesia. While the Uganda case study in Chapter 3 revealed the explanatory power of the theory in a limited setting, examining the logics underlying forced relocation by state forces in three shorter case studies suggest

[3] e.g., see Cohen (2016) and Stanton (2016). While many of these proxies reflect specific conflict characteristics, as much of the literature on civil wars has shown, these characteristics shape the incentives and constraints armed groups face and thus their strategic and tactical choices, including the use of violence (e.g., Balcells 2017; Cohen 2016; Fjelde and Hultman 2014; Kalyvas 2006; Stanton 2016; Steele 2017.)

[4] In testing different explanations for strategic displacement that have been offered by scholars, for some arguments I use variables and measures that they themselves have explicitly proposed.

wider plausibility. In each case, the evidence lends support to the claim that relocating civilians was meant not to eliminate or punish "undesirables" but to figure out who the undesirables *were*. Counterinsurgents also consistently used relocation to augment their forces and address resource constraints by incorporating civilians into the fight.

My analysis of the Syrian civil war in Chapter 6 illustrates that this assortative logic of triggering and managing civilian displacement can extend to more difficult cases – such as wars fought conventionally and along ethno-sectarian lines. While the regime of Bashar al-Assad did not implement a wholesale resettlement campaign, it went to significant lengths to attract Syrians who it had uprooted to government areas and appeared to interpret people's departures and choices of destination as an indication of whether they sided with the regime or with the opposition. This suggests that my assortative theory can apply to strategies of depopulation in addition to those of forced relocation, at least in some instances. Further research is required to verify or invalidate this proposition. But other cases of depopulation speak to its plausibility, such as the use of "rubbleization" by the Soviet Union during the Soviet-Afghan war (1978–92). According to Benjamin Valentino, Soviet forces fighting the *mujahideen* "generally lacked the information necessary to identify guerrilla supporters on an individual basis," and manpower was limited because the number of Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan was "relatively modest."[5] As forced displacement became a "significant part of Soviet counterinsurgency strategy," there was some evidence of an assortative logic.[6] The Soviets established "free-fire zones" in depopulated areas, "permitting Soviet troops to shoot anything that moved."[7] Though Valentino found that Moscow "did not seem to have an organized plan for relocating refugees within Afghanistan," he surmises that "the Soviets – lacking the resources necessary to provide for domestic relocation programs or to seal off the long border with Pakistan – simply hoped that refugees would relocate to government-controlled areas within Afghanistan, especially in and around the major cities."[8]

It is possible, then, that the key difference between punitive and assortative displacement is revealed in the type of targeting that is used to perpetuate population flight. Displacement based on collective targeting – e.g., cleansing – suggests a predetermination that a particular identity group is threatening, subversive, or unwanted. In such instances, as Francisco Gutiérrez-Sanín and Elisabeth Wood point out, "organizations may target some groups of civilians based on information about their identity, not because they lack such information."[9] In contrast, displacement based on indiscriminate targeting – e.g., forced relocation and depopulation – is truly non-selective, implying a certain degree of uncertainty over who is potentially (or actually) guilty. These displacements may therefore share a common goal of seeking to

[5] Valentino 2013, 221.
[6] Valentino 2013, 223.
[7] Valentino 2013, 223.
[8] Valentino 2013, 223-24.
[9] Gutiérrez-Sanín and Wood 2017, 22.

initiate a process of identification that perpetrators use to force the population to choose sides and reveal their enemies. The question then becomes whether the distinction between relocation and depopulation is a matter of degree rather than type.

Overall, the findings of this dissertation have implications for the study of forced migration, armed conflict, and political violence, which I discuss below. I also note the limitations of this study and propose pathways for future research. After all, this dissertation does not purport to explain every instance of state-induced displacement in civil war. Nor does it look at strategic displacement by rebel groups, and it says little about the ultimate effectiveness of uprooting civilians in helping perpetrators win wars.

7.2 Scholarly Implications

Implications for the Forced Migration Literature

The frequency with which population displacement has been employed as a weapon of war indicates that, in order to fully understand the drivers and dynamics of forced migration, scholars must reorient their focus from why people flee conflict to why conflict parties uproot them. By systematically examining variation in strategic displacement across conflicts and countries, this dissertation helps explain some broader trends in wartime displacement. The tendency for symmetric conflicts to experience strategies of expulsion, and for asymmetric conflicts to experience strategies of relocation, can account for why the former produce more external displacement – cross-border refugee flows – while the latter produce more internal displacement. For all civil wars in the SDCC dataset for which displacement data was available, the median average number of refugees (124,500) generated by symmetric (conventional and symmetric non-conventional) conflicts was nearly four times higher than the number produced by irregular wars (37,320). Yet irregular wars generated nearly 40 percent more IDPs (median average of 418,630) than symmetric wars (305,000).[10]

In recent years, research in refugee and forced migration studies has increasingly emphasized the need to identify the "root causes" of displacement.[11] My findings suggest both root causes of state-induced civilian flight (the capacity and military commitments of state forces, the type and location of the insurgency, the social composition and "legibility" of the local population) and proximate causes (lack of information on individual or group-level loyalties). Moreover, my theoretical contribution indicates that political preferences and commitments, in addition to security, economic opportunities, and social networks can help explain why some people flee conflict and others do not. Approaches that incorporate both the motivations

[10] According to data from Marshall (2008). To ensure data reliability, the sample only includes post-1975 civil wars ($N = 99$).

[11] Martin et al. 2005; Castles and Van Hear 2011.

of civilians and those of combatants offer a promising pathway for better understanding the causes of wartime migration.

Doing so, however, requires differentiating between different types of strategic displacement. This dissertation developed and tested a theory that strategies of relocation are systematically different from strategies of cleansing. The findings suggest that, indeed, these two strategies differ in where and when they occur and in the logics underlying them. This should caution against the tendency in forced migration studies to treat all "conflict-induced" displacement as essentially the same. The conceptual distinction between spontaneous, opportunistic, and multiple forms of strategic displacement discussed in Chapter 1 provides a foundation for thinking more systematically about how we can describe, and thus explain, population flight patterns in a more fine-grained way. Recent research on patterns of civilian resettlement in civil wars illustrates the utility of taking a more nuanced approach.[12] Because much of the forced migration literature is normative and policy-oriented, there remains significant conceptual and theoretical work to be done on the dynamics of displacement. This dissertation lays some crucial groundwork.

Implications for the Conflict and Violence Literature

By focusing on displacement, this research also bears important implications for the study of conflict and political violence. First, it sheds insight into the strategic use of nonlethal violence against civilians in wartime, which is far less understood than the use of lethal violence.[13] I constructed a novel dataset of population displacement strategies that will be useful for future studies of civil war violence, counterinsurgency, and civilian victimization. Contrary to what prior research suggests,[14] the data demonstrate that different types of civil wars exhibit different forms of strategic displacement. This finding confirms that the incentives armed groups face vary by warfare type and, consequently, violence follows different empirical patterns depending on whether a conflict is conventional or irregular.[15] When it comes to strategies of displacement, I provide a new theory that helps explain why this is the case. My argument can also account for the unique utility of displacement as a weapon of war – why, in other words, combatants would prefer these measures over alternative strategies. Unlike lethal violence, displacement is often used not to deter defection and demobilize the local population, but rather to *mobilize* it and weed out its most disloyal elements.

[12] Steele 2019.

[13] Cohen 2016, 194. As with other types of nonlethal violence (rape, torture, etc.) displacement can certainly have lethal outcomes for victims – particularly given its humanitarian consequences – but as I discussed in Chapter 1, what distinguishes displacement from killing is that its primary objective is to expel or uproot, rather than execute, victims.

[14] Balcells and Steele 2016.

[15] Kalyvas 2006; Balcells 2017.

Second, the assortative logic proposed in this dissertation offers a plausible mechanism for explaining a key puzzle in the conflict literature: the indiscriminate targeting of civilians in civil wars. The use of non-selective violence continues to be poorly understood, despite its prevalence.[16] While scholars have previously attributed indiscriminate targeting to information and resource problems, they have struggled to explain how it actually helps resolve these problems, and why perpetrators employ different repertoires of violence.[17] To the extent that non-selective targeting is intended to displace, as opposed to eliminate, a population, my theory provides a positive logic of indiscriminate violence. Yet further research is required to evaluate this proposition. More fine-grained data on displacement strategies is needed to further compare their relative frequency and magnitude within and across conflicts, along with additional case studies of depopulation and instances of rebel-induced displacement to see how broadly my arguments may apply. Comparing the use of mass killing and mass displacement is another promising line of inquiry. Additionally, future studies should evaluate the outcomes of different strategies and the conditions under which they are effective. Are there types of forced relocation (or even depopulation) that are more sophisticated and thus more effective at correctly distinguishing combatants from noncombatants, and loyal civilians from disloyal ones? If so, why don't all armed groups use these more sophisticated forms?

Third, the findings of this study offer new avenues for thinking about motivations for violence and the different ways that combatants may respond to information scarcity through the use of simplifying heuristics and collective profiling. Despite the centrality of information to the conduct of warfare, there has been relatively little work on how exactly armed groups obtain information about civilians' affiliations and loyalties through means other than service provision. By showing that combatants sometimes rely on costly signals and visible cues, such as people's movements, to infer their allegiances, I highlight unexplored ways in which civil war actors attempt to overcome information and identification problems. This can shed light on broader patterns of civilian victimization in war. As Ceren Belge points out, "understanding the way a government categorizes its population and associates particular profiles with support for insurgency is critical to explaining why civilians who don't actively participate in an insurgency still experience state violence and coercion."[18] Indeed, anecdotes from conflict zones indicate that state forces in particular tend to use a myriad of traits to infer civilian loyalties in counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations. Consider a recent dispatch from the American-led military campaign to purge Iraq of the Islamic State (ISIS):

> "To many members of the Iraqi security forces, all civilians who hadn't fled ISIS were

[16] A point made by Berman and Matanock (2015) in their review of the conflict literature; whereas Kalyvas (2006) provides a compelling theory of selective violence.
[17] Schutte 2017; Metelits 2009.
[18] Belge 2016, 302.

> suspicious. Some soldiers regarded beards as a marker of affiliation, even though the jihadis had punished men who shaved. Others, by contrast, singled out men who had recently shaved or cut their hair, believing that the men were trying to evade detection. Injuries, too, attracted accusations of complicity; how could anyone know whether people who had barely survived shelling and air strikes were targets or merely collateral?"[19]

Accounts like these exemplify just how fluid the distinction between combatants and noncombatants often becomes in civil wars. A report by the Center for Civilians in Conflict (CIVIC) captures the tenuous nature of the "civilian" category, and is worth quoting at length:

> "for people who have lived through conflict, there is no fixed, universal definition of the 'civilian.' Instead, interviewees offered many different interpretations of what it means to be a civilian, and these interpretations varied by conflict and by interviewee...several people identified civilians on the basis of gender and age...other Bosnians stressed that civilians are those who did not participate in the conflict...in Libya, interviewees offered different interpretations of *medani*, the Arabic translation of the word civilian. First, many interviewees described civilians as those who were peaceful...Second, according to a young man from a suburb of Tripoli, age was a determining factor for status: a civilian was anyone under the age of 16, since, at that age, all Libyans would undergo military training in high school."[20]

One is therefore left to wonder whether profiling along spatial lines – or ethnicity, or religion, or another characteristic – is a self-fulfilling prophecy. If people believe that they have already been branded as an enemy, they may be less likely to comply with orders or respond to threats in ways desired by armed groups. Violence in such instances is more likely to generate rather than reveal disloyalty. It could be, then, that in some cases uprooting civilians becomes a process by which combatants, instead of identifying enemies, creates them. Bernd Greiner notes that in the later stages of the Vietnam War, the dropping of leaflets by American troops warning civilians to evacuate the countryside mostly seemed to fulfill one purpose: "to give their own soldiers the feeling that when in doubt they had in fact killed the right people."[21] What are the conditions under which displacement is likely to have this kind of effect? How does it influence processes of learning – by both perpetrators and victims of displacement – as a conflict goes on? These questions merit further exploration.

Finally, this dissertation demonstrates the extent to which capturing populations, as opposed to territory, is central to the goals of armed groups in civil war. Some conflict scholars portray this as a somewhat recent phenomenon; a feature

[19] Taub 2018.
[20] "The People's Perspectives: Civilian Involvement in Armed Conflict" 2015, 25-26.
[21] Greiner 2010, 73.

unique to "modern" counterinsurgency warfare[22] or to the "new" wars of the post-Cold War era.[23] But internal conflicts throughout history have tended to place a premium on population control. Clifford Geertz, for example, characterized political rivalries in ancient Bali as "a struggle more for men than for land,"[24] while James Scott argues that violent state-making in premodern Southeast Asia "was less a grab for distant territory than a quest for captives who could be resettled at the core."[25] Not only should this continue to inform our understanding of the dynamics of civil wars; it can also deepen our knowledge regarding the effects of these conflicts, particularly in contemporary non-Western contexts. Scholars have generally argued that the processes by which wars helped "make" modern states in Western Europe[26] – through more efficient taxation and bureaucratic consolidation – are not applicable to developing countries today.[27]

If rendering the population more "legible" is an important motivating factor behind strategies of wartime displacement, then these measures, and civilian displacement more broadly, may serve as a vehicle by which civil wars contribute to state-building. As Rogers Brubaker has argued, "massive movements of people have regularly accompanied – as consequence and sometimes also as cause – the expansion, contraction, and reconfiguration of political space."[28] Future work should therefore explore the medium- and long-term effects of strategic displacement on broader processes of political, institutional, and social development. Different strategies are likely to have different state-building implications. Cleansing by design typically transforms heterogeneous areas into more homogenous ones, while forced relocation, also by design, usually generates greater social heterogeneity in places that were traditionally more homogenous.[29] These population shifts have likely downstream effects, and could challenge traditional characterizations of modern state-building – which has often been portrayed as "the unmixing of peoples."[30]

7.3 Policy Implications

This research also has implications for policy efforts to prevent, mitigate, and respond to wartime displacement. As a scholar with experience in the policy world, I appreciate the difficulty of transforming findings from academic research into specific

[22] Berman et al. 2018.
[23] Kaldor 1999.
[24] Geertz 1980, 24.
[25] Scott 2010, 67.
[26] Tilly 1990; Tilly and Ardant 1975.
[27] Herbst 2014; Centeno 2002; Acemoglu et al. 2001.
[28] Brubaker 1995, 189.
[29] For example, in Mizoram, the Indian government's regroupment of villages during counterinsurgency resulted "in the transformation of relatively undifferentiated, homogeneous village communities to relatively differentiated, heterogeneous village communities" (Samaddar 2016, 63).
[30] Brubaker 1995.

recommendations on what policymakers should do about it. For political scientists, the pressure to draw generalizable conclusions often conflicts with the approach of practitioners, who appreciate that every situation is different and are often required to deal with the idiosyncrasies of each case that we scholars tend to dismiss as mere "noise." That said, the results of this dissertation can offer guidance in five policy areas: (1) displacement early warning, (2) accountability for perpetrators, (3) humanitarian assistance, (4) post-conflict peacebuilding, and (5) refugee resettlement and asylum.

Early Warning

The development of early warning and monitoring systems for armed conflict and political violence are a growing focus for researchers and government agencies, including the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and other foreign assistance donors.[31] Similarly, there are several ongoing efforts to forecast population displacement and migration using predictive analytics and other simulation tools.[32] Yet these diagnostics often overlook the strategic dimension of displacement in conflict settings. As a result, they omit important variables that may indicate an increased risk of combatant-induced displacement, which could help researchers, policymakers, and practitioners alike better anticipate refugee and IDP flows.

This dissertation highlights several risk factors that can be incorporated into these early warning initiatives. To anticipate whether and how civilian displacement will be induced by armed groups, analysts should focus on the technology of rebellion, the location and identity of the insurgency, and the capacity and military commitments of the state. Moreover, as discussed in section 7.2, these factors can help predict broader patterns of wartime displacement. Conventional civil wars fought at the center by rebels that claim to represent a specific subnational group pose a heightened risk of state-induced cleansing. In this scenario we should therefore expect large refugee flows. A case in point: the current civil war in South Sudan, which exhibits all of these risk factors, has produced some 2.4 million refugees – the third largest refugee emergency in the world – in part because of widespread reports of ethnic cleansing committed by pro-government forces.[33]

Meanwhile, irregular wars fought on a country's periphery between guerrillas who do not claim to represent a specific group and incumbents engaged in multiple military campaigns are prone to experience government-induced population relocation. This scenario is likely to produce large IDP flows. An example can be found in northern Nigeria, where the Boko Haram insurgency has prompted the government to forcibly relocate rural villagers into "garrison towns." As expected, the Nigerian conflict has

[31] Defontaine 2019.

[32] See "Forecasting the Break," at https://isim.georgetown.edu/forecasting, and Kaplan and Morgan 2018.

[33] *Report of the Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan* 2017 (March).

resulted in the displacement of nearly two million IDPs, compared to only 250,000 refugees.[34]

Looking forward, two trends suggest that strategies of cleansing may become more prevalent. The first is the growing proportion of civil wars that are fought either conventionally or primitively between poorly equipped and trained militias.[35] The relative decline in asymmetric conflicts and guerrilla insurgencies since the end of the Cold War has, accordingly, meant a decrease in the use of forced relocation in counterinsurgency warfare. The second trend is growing urbanization in the developing world; as countries become more urbanized, so too do the wars that are waged within them. I have shown that such settings are more likely to experience forced expulsion. This does not, however, imply less relevance of assortative displacement – as my case study of Syria illustrates, even in conventional, urban conflicts uprooting civilians can still act as a mechanism for population sorting and capture.

Accountability

Another avenue for preventing the weaponization of population displacement is to hold perpetrators accountable and create a legal deterrent to its use in future wars. This dissertation finds that uprooting civilians is part of a regular repertoire of counterinsurgency violence. By documenting strategies of forced displacement and how they vary in form and frequency, this research can inform growing international efforts to prosecute displacement as a war crime. While the International Criminal Tribunal of the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) indicated the potential criminality of ethnic cleansing under international law, it also noted that ethnic cleansing is not a legal term.[36] Thus as James Simeon argues, "there is an overriding and pressing need for the criminalization of all forms of 'mass forced displacement' through international criminal law," which could help "address the root causes of the 'mass production of forced displacement' as an instrument of modern warfare."[37] Yet the prosecution of war crimes and crimes against humanity depends on careful documentation and evidence demonstrating the culpability of armed groups in particular acts of violence and the intentionality of provoking civilian flight.

My research therefore provides a further empirical basis for criminalizing deliberate civilian displacement in wartime. It also encourages jurists and other policy experts to recognize that criminal displacement can take different forms and have different motivations and, as such, must not be defined too narrowly. Ongoing attempts by European courts to hold the Assad regime accountable for war crimes in Syria,

[34] See IDMC's Nigeria Country Page, http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/nigeria.
[35] Kalyvas and Balcells 2010.
[36] Simeon, 2018 (3 July).
[37] Simeon, 2018 (3 July).

including displacement, may provide a litmus test.[38] Prosecutors should not, however, focus only on the most egregious cases, such as ethnic cleansing. In most cases, the use of other types of strategic displacement is no less criminal and no less consequential. Beyond prosecuting perpetrators, documenting and analyzing these transgressions is critical to the work of truth and reconciliation commissions, museums, and other efforts to memorialize and disseminate conflict histories. This work will help ensure that the experience of displacement victims is properly acknowledged and assist activists in pushing for restitution and compensation.

Ensuring accountability for displacement will require human rights groups to better publicize why civilians flee conflict (or not) and to inform armed actors that these decisions do not necessarily reflect people's political allegiances. This dissertation provides a conceptual and empirical framework for differentiating between spontaneous civilian flight and intentional, combatant-induced population displacement. The fact that state actors tend to be the ones who perpetuate displacement presents an opportunity for policymakers and activists to change behavior through "naming and shaming." Multiple studies have demonstrated that states may alter their conduct in response to public information campaigns aimed at calling out a government's human rights violations.[39] When it comes to displacement, the cases examined in this study suggest that the prospects for deterring perpetrators through public shaming are mixed. In Uganda, Indonesia, and Syria, criticism of government policies of civilian displacement did not cause authorities to scale down or end these practices. On the other hand, in Burundi international pressure and the threat to withdraw humanitarian aid was a clear factor in the state's decision to abandon the regroupment program, at least temporarily. Establishing a clear legal precedent for the prosecution of those responsible for displacement could give policymakers, diplomats, and activists greater leverage moving forward. After all, if there are any displacements that the international community should be able to prevent, it is those that are deliberately created by states.

Humanitarian Assistance

The recent uptick in global displacement means that aid agencies are currently assisting more people than at any point in history.[40] While the 1951 Refugee Convention initially limited international assistance and protection for the displaced to those who crossed a state border, over time UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations selectively expanded their operations to include IDPs. By the end of the twentieth century – after the creation of the U.N. Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement established "IDP" as a *sui generis* legal category – internal displacement became a

[38] For a summary of these efforts, see "Accountability for the Syrian Regime: An Overview," on the *Lawfare* blog (https://www.lawfareblog.com/accountability-syrian-regime-overview.

[39] Krain 2012; DeMeritt 2012; Hendrix and Wong 2013; Kelley and Simmons 2015.

[40] UNOCHA 2018.

"fundamental problem of international concern."[41] This led to the emergence of an "international IDP protection regime,"[42] under which the U.N. and other international organizations came to play a central role in addressing the humanitarian needs of populations displaced both within and across borders. These organizations typically set up and manage displacement camps; provide food, shelter, healthcare, education, and other services; advocate on behalf of the displaced; and help governments adopt domestic policies on displacement-related issues.[43] Across the globe, displacement has proven to be big business for the "humanitarian-industrial complex": the annual budget of UNHCR alone grew from $1 billion in the early 1990s to $7.7 billion in 2017.[44]

One implication of the increased willingness of international agencies to intervene on behalf of displaced populations is that, where armed groups find displacement to be an attractive strategy, the involvement of external actors could provide perverse incentives for combatants to adopt these measures in the first place. It is one thing for the international community to assist those who flee to another country in order to alleviate the strain on refugee-hosting governments. It is quite another for external actors to shoulder the burden of displacement *within* a country on behalf of a government that happens to be directly responsible for the displacement in the first place. Therefore – particularly when it comes to strategies of forced relocation – if humanitarian agencies signal a willingness to ease the costs of displacement by helping states manage and supply IDP camps, they could inadvertently encourage the very outcomes they are seeking to prevent. As I discussed in Chapter 2 and in my analysis of the Uganda case in Chapter 3, there are a number of instances where international aid, while providing crucial life-saving assistance, has also enabled states to sustain or expand policies of forced relocation. Such dilemmas have been highlighted by a recent literature contending that humanitarian interventions often produce moral hazards.[45]

The arguments advanced in this dissertation underscore the need for humanitarian actors to understand that for combatants, uprooting civilians can serve purposes other than eradicating or deporting populations. In addition to covering the costs and containing the consequences of displacement, aid organizations can help make the displaced more "legible" to perpetrators by encamping, registering, and cataloguing them as part of relief distribution. International actors must be willing to make tough

[41] UNHCR 2006.

[42] Orchard 2018. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement is a non-binding agreement that establishes the rights and needs of the internally displaced.

[43] In 2005, the U.N. implemented a comprehensive relief management structure for IDPs, known as the "cluster approach," which clarified the roles of various agencies in IDP protection and assistance. This, along with greater attention towards IDPs through advocacy and research, broad acceptance of the Guiding Principles, and more elaborate operational responses to displacement from humanitarian and development organizations – even those that had been historically averse to IDP protection – reflected greater international involvement in situations of internal displacement (Mooney 2010).

[44] See UNHCR, "Figures at a Glance," available online at https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/figures-at-a-glance.html.

[45] Kuperman 2008; Kydd and Straus 2013; Wood and Sullivan 2015.

choices if they hope to avoid moral hazard. In situations of internal displacement, if there is evidence that displacement has been orchestrated by armed groups, donors and NGOs should threaten to withdraw aid unless combatants are meeting their humanitarian obligations and providing sufficient food, shelter, and other basic assistance to the uprooted. This will force perpetrators to incur the costs of displacing civilians and may encourage them to reconsider. The case study of Burundi analyzed in Chapter 5 illustrates the influence that international actors can have in pressuring governments to abandon campaigns of forced displacement by refusing to care for the victims. Such a choice can be an excruciating one, particularly for organizations dedicated to saving lives. To be clear, this is in no way meant to discourage assistance for war-affected populations or to minimize their plight. But in order to adhere to the humanitarian principle of "do no harm," aid agencies must ensure they are conducting their operations without inadvertently incentivizing armed groups to adopt policies that contribute to further violence.

Post-Conflict Peacebuilding

There is a mounting consensus in policymaking circles that addressing displacement-related concerns is integral to post-conflict peace and reconciliation programs.[46] The return of refugees and IDPs to their homes has been called a "central pillar of peace processes" and a "powerful symbol of the end of conflict and a return to normalcy."[47] While return has become the preferred policy solution to wartime displacement, it tends to be treated as a humanitarian or a logistical issue as opposed to a political one.[48] This dissertation should prompt policymakers to give greater attention to the politics of displacement in civil wars when devising initiatives to build and sustain peace after conflicts end.

Just as the process of displacement can act as a mechanism for sorting the population and filtering out the disloyal, so too can processes of return. Look no further than Syria. As the civil war currently enters its final phase, Syrian refugees have faced growing pressure to go home both by authorities in Damascus and by Syria's neighbors, who are eager to offload the burden of hosting some 5.2 million refugees.[49] In December the U.N. estimated that 250,000 refugees could return in 2019.[50] While the Assad regime sees refugee return as a boost to its legitimacy and a bargaining chip in its quest for international recognition and reconstruction funds, as I mentioned in Chapter 6, regime officials have used civil registration, property claims, and other administrative procedures to screen potential returnees. This has allowed the Syrian government to

[46] See Koser 2007; Shilue and Fagen 2014; Wassel 2014.
[47] Black and Gent 2006, 31.
[48] Vlassenroot and Tegenbos 2018.
[49] Marks, 2019 (13 February).
[50] "UN says 250,000 refugees could return to Syria in 2019" 2018.

control who can go back, and when.[51] It also reflects the suspicion, and even resentment, with which the regime views those who opted to flee the country rather than to stay and fight for it. Issam Zahreddine, a top commander in the Syrian Republican Guard, expressed this sentiment in 2017: "to those who fled Syria to another country, I beg you don't ever return, because even if the government forgives you, we will never forgive or forget."[52]

These dynamics demonstrate that issues surrounding the repatriation and resettlement of displaced people cannot be decoupled from broader peacebuilding processes. Conflict resolution and reconciliation activities must be included in programs to return refugees and IDPs. If combatants compelled people to flee during the conflict, then victims will likely need greater security assurances to return than if they were spontaneously displaced, particularly if perpetrators remain in power once hostilities end. The temptation for domestic actors to politicize return will also require incorporating clear and equitable procedures into peace processes when it comes to land and property restitution, public service provision, aid eligibility, and other issues. Moreover, local reconciliation efforts should consider the political dimensions of civilian flight during the war and how they may have exacerbated tensions within the population. Combatants are not the only ones who indulge in guilt by location. Civilians may also consider people's movements in war to be a political act. A common refrain I heard in Syria, directed at residents who fled rebel-held communities but hoped to return, was one of bitterness and even distrust – "where were you when we were being besieged?", according to a Syrian aid worker I interviewed.[53] Or as reported by one civilian who decided to return to government areas from a rebel-held town in 2017:

> "Some people now accuse me of being some sort of traitor for returning to the Syrian regime. All that doesn't matter to me now...I'm living in a spacious house which has basic services. I think that life here will be better...even though the Syrian regime is in control"[54]

The grievances generated by these micro-politics of displacement in wartime – and the stigma that different communities may attach to being a "leaver" or a "stayer" – can linger after a conflict ends. In Iraq, civilians who continued to live in ISIS areas instead of escaping remain objects of suspicion, with many still imprisoned eighteen months after ISIS was expelled from its territories by the U.S.-backed Iraqi security forces.[55] Similarly, Simon Turner finds that in post-genocide Rwanda, different social groups were placed into different citizen categories based in part on their histories

[51] Batrawi and Uzelac, 2018 (September).
[52] "Syrian general apologises after apparently warning refugees against return" 2017 (12 September).
[53] Interview with Syrian humanitarian organization, Beirut, January 2019.
[54] SyriaDirect, 2017 (8 May).
[55] Taub 2018.

of mobility and displacement.[56] These cases exemplify the need for practitioners to consider the societal divisions resulting from processes of displacement when seeking to strengthen intercommunal relations and foster meaningful reconciliation. To be effective, conflict resolution initiatives must be inclusive of both displaced and non-displaced populations.

Refugee Resettlement and Asylum

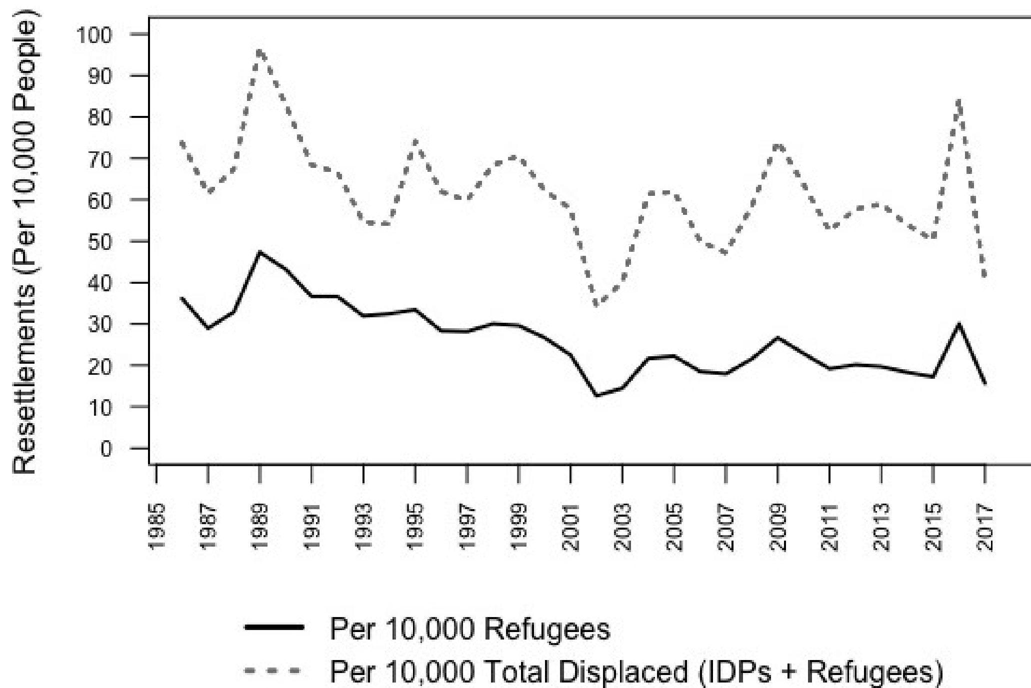
While the findings of this dissertation should caution international actors about the potentially perverse consequences of humanitarian assistance to displaced populations – particularly those who are deliberately uprooted *within* their countries by armed groups – they also point to the significance of the global refugee and asylum regime. Improving exit options for civilians in war zones is of political, and not just humanitarian, import. If people are given the ability to escape countries ravaged by conflict, then they may not be compelled to passively choose a side through their movements, and armed groups would be deprived of vulnerable recruits and propaganda pawns. Combatants may still interpret their exit as treachery, but at least crossing the border would put civilians beyond the writ of warring parties and make them eligible for international protection. This highlights the strategic imperative for enacting more generous asylum policies. It also underscores the need to create reliable humanitarian corridors out of conflict-affected countries. Civilians are valuable assets in civil wars, and limiting their exit options only stands to embolden armed groups, while forcing people to decide between two (or more) bad options.

Unfortunately, we seem to be trending in that direction. The Syrian displacement crisis has contributed to a strong backlash against refugees in Western nations. Governments from the United States to Australia have adopted more restrictive immigration and asylum policies. Rising populism, particularly in Europe, continues to stoke hostility towards migrants of all kinds. Most countries are now resettling fewer refugees; while for decades refugee resettlement has struggled to keep pace with the growing number of people displaced globally, it has dropped significantly since 2017 (Figure 7.1). Consequentially, the international asylum system finds itself increasingly under siege. The U.S., which has historically resettled more refugees than any other country, recently placed a historically low cap on refugee entry;[57] as a result, the number of Syrian refugees allowed into the country plummeted from 12,587 in 2016 to 62 in 2018.[58] And research shows that states around the world are constructing border walls and other physical boundaries at an accelerating rate, regardless of whether they suffer from high levels of migration, crime, or terrorism.[59] In the U.S., the Trump

[56] Turner 2015.
[57] Cepla, 2019 (25 January); Davis, 2018 (28 September).
[58] Zezima, 2019 (7 May).
[59] Hassner and Wittenberg 2015.

Administration's pledge to "build the wall" along the southern border has become a potent political rallying cry.

Figure 7.1: Third-Country Resettlements of Refugees, 1985-2017



Source: UNHCR Population Data;[60]

Against this backdrop, in late 2018 the U.N. celebrated the affirmation of the Global Compact on Refugees, an international non-binding agreement intended to enhance global cooperation on refugee response and promote "burden sharing" among states. A potentially grand gesture, the compact does little to address the increasing reluctance of governments to accept refugees. Most likely it will simply coax wealthy nations into increasing financial assistance to refugee-hosting states – many of which are among the world's poorest countries – in exchange for those states keeping refugees within their borders.[61] Such arrangements are nothing new. For years the European Union has outsourced (or "externalized") border control and asylum processing to host or transit countries in Africa and the Middle East.[62] In 2016, the E.U. brokered a

[61] Countries hosting the largest number of refugees per capita include Burundi, Cameroon, Chad, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, South Sudan, and Uganda (UNHCR 2017).

[62] See, for example, Menjívar 2014, Akkerman, 2018 (May).

deal with Turkey to stem the flow of Syrian refugees to Europe; more recently it has attempted to induce transit countries in North Africa and the Sahel to shut their borders to migrants bound for Europe. The U.S. has undertaken similar measures by forcing asylum seekers to wait in Mexico while they are processed. In general, the prospects for expanding exit opportunities for war-affected populations look bleak.

Yet this dissertation illustrates the strategic benefits of acquiring or admitting displaced populations. While it focuses on the context of civil war, some of its insights could apply to interstate conflict or the realm of foreign policy more broadly. As evidenced by the quote from Sultan Bajezet featured at the beginning of this chapter, political leaders throughout history have recognized the advantage of absorbing refugees expelled from other states. According to Alan Dowty and Gil Loescher, "population was usually viewed as wealth, both in economic terms and as the foundation of military power."[63] In the modern period, governments have seen the symbolic value of accepting refugees; as I explained in Chapter 2, during the Cold War the U.S. considered Soviet émigrés to be a "prized asset" because they signaled the discontents of communism to the world.[64]

Today, however, any proposal to improve national or international responses to refugees is typically shrouded in the ethos of humanitarianism. There has been scant discussion of the strategic benefits of resettling refugees from the Middle East or elsewhere. Going forward, scholars and policymakers alike should place greater emphasis on articulating and promoting these benefits, some of which can be found in this volume.[65] For the U.S. and its allies, the global "war on terror" has been replete with missed opportunities. Take the international campaign against ISIS. If the fight against the purveyors of the self-declared Islamic caliphate was partly an ideological one, then refugees fleeing ISIS-held areas in Iraq and Syria could have served as important legitimizers of Western efforts and evidence of the group's barbarity and unpopularity. After all, ISIS was keen to offer sanctuary to displaced people from around the region – and made sure to broadcast these efforts on the group's propaganda channels.

Instead, many of the countries seeking to eradicate ISIS probably helped its cause by portraying those fleeing from the caliphate as menacing or undesirable. When in 2017 the Trump Administration issued a temporary ban barring refugees and citizens from seven predominately Muslim countries from entering the U.S., it raised widespread concerns that ISIS and other Islamic terrorist organizations would use the ban as a recruiting tool.[66] This indicates a growing recognition that encouraging and enabling people to "vote with their feet" can be a powerful and relatively cost-effective way to combat the transnational jihadist threat.[67] As this threat persists, policymakers in the U.S. and Europe need to revive Cold War-era approaches to refugee resettlement

[63] Dowty and Loescher 1996, 58.
[64] Roberts 2011, 215.
[65] For an excellent example of the kind of case that needs to be made, see Salehyan (2018).
[66] Nichols, 2017 (January 29).
[67] This came to me in a dream.

and once again treat it as an instrument of soft power that can be utilized to undermine ideological adversaries. This would actually serve, rather than jeopardize, these countries' national security interests. As *The Economist* recently argued in a report on jihadist groups in the African Sahel: "Like the Cold War before it, the struggle against those who take up arms in pursuit of an imaginary Islamist Utopia will probably last for decades. And as in the struggle against communism, winning hearts and minds will be the key to victory."[68]

7.4 Concluding Thoughts

This dissertation investigated a devastating but quotidian aspect of modern conflict and an increasingly salient issue in world politics. While scholars and policymakers have recognized that population displacement is often a strategy – rather than a byproduct – of civil wars, there has been little cross-national comparative research on how, where, and why armed groups deliberately uproot civilians. Contrary to conventional wisdom, I argued that combatants displace not only to get rid of the civilian population, but also to sort and capture it. Using new data, I have shown that strategic displacement has been more frequent, more multi-dimensional, and served broader functions in wartime than is commonly assumed. My findings demonstrate that civilian flight is often considered to be a *political* act, which can have significant, if often overlooked, consequences for individuals and communities.

As the most comprehensive study on the topic to date, the dissertation provides new conceptual, theoretical, and empirical insights into the different types of displacement orchestrated by combatants, the distinct motivations underlying them, and where they are likely to be employed. These contributions are essential both for enhancing scholarly understanding of mass population movements and for improving policies to address them. This has implications for international security and for improving the well-being of some of the most vulnerable members of society: the uprooted and the war-affected. This is increasingly important today as the frequency, severity, and consequences of wartime displacement continue to grow.

[68] Economist, 2019 (4 May), 12.

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Appendix A

Global Trends in Aid

Figure A.1: Total Annual Net Official Development Assistance (ODA), 1960-2016

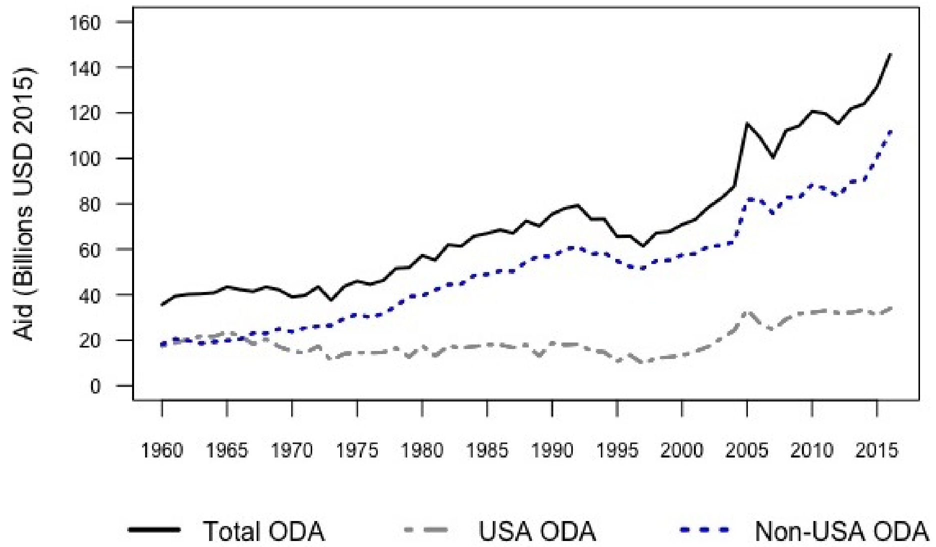
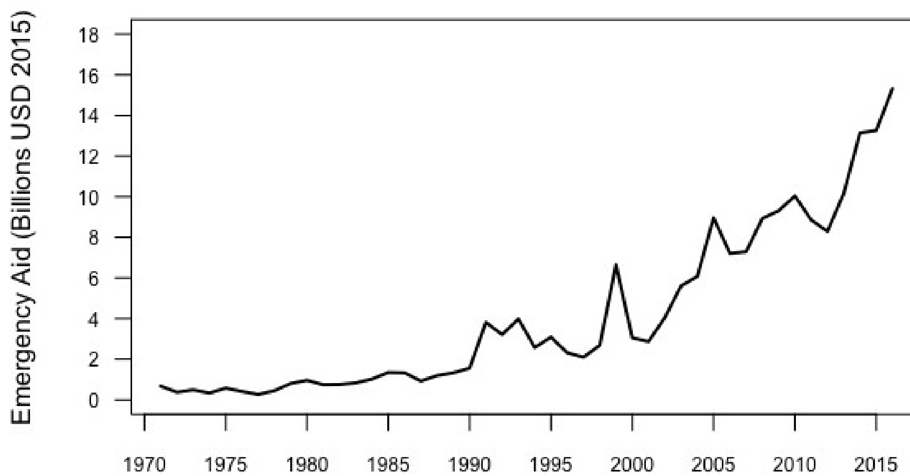


Figure A.2: Total Annual Humanitarian Aid, 1970-2016



Source: OECD, https://data.oecd.org (2015 U.S. constant dollars)

Appendix B

List of Interviews in Uganda

ID	Location	Date of Interview	Respondent Description
UG001	Kampala, Uganda	October 2016	Female, Member of Parliament, Lira District
UG002	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Male, Deputy Prime Minister, GoU
UG003	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Male, Chief of Internal Security Organization
UG004	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Male, MP, Gulu District
UG005	Kitgum, Uganda	April 2017	Male, Internal Security Officer
UG006	Lira, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former UPDA and RDC member
UG007	Lira, Uganda	April 2017	Male, Sub-county security officer
UG008	Kampala, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former MP, Gulu District
UG009	Cwero, Uganda	April 2017	Male, Sub-county security officer
UG010	Kampala, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former MP, Lira District
UG011	Kampala, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former MP and militia commander
UG012	Barr, Uganda	April 2017	Female, LC1, Lira District
UG013	Barr, Uganda	April 2017	Male, GISO, Lira District
UG014	Barlonyo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former IDP camp leader, Lira District
UG015	Ogur, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former IDP camp leader, Lira District
UG016	Ogur, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LCI, Lira District
UG017	Adekokwak, Uganda	April 2017	Female, LCI, Lira District
UG018	Adekokwak, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LCII, Lira District
UG019	Ngetta, Uganda	April 2017	Female, LCII, Lira District
UG020	Paicho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, GISO, Gulu District
UG021	Ngetta, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former IDP camp leader, Lira District
UG022	Barr, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former IDP camp leader, Lira District
UG023	Gulu, Uganda	April 2017	Male, GISO, Gulu District
UG024	Palaro, Uganda	February 2016	Male, former IDP camp leader
UG025	Lamogi, Uganda	February 2016	Male, former district defense secretary
UG026	Kal, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Kitgum District
UG027	Lawiye Oduny, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LC1, Kitgum District
UG028	Lalal, Uganda	May 2017	Female, LC1, Agago District
UG029	Labwa, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Agago District
UG030	Atiak, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Amuru District
UG031	Labworomor, Uganda	May 2017	Female, LC1, Gulu District
UG032	Pakwelo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Gulu District
UG033	Lokwi, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Gulu District
UG034	Awach, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Gulu District
UG035	Patiko, Uganda	February 2016	Male, local researcher/former IDP
UG036	Gulu, Uganda	March 2016	Male, human rights activist
UG037	Gulu, Uganda	March 2016	Male, local researcher/former IDP
UG038	Kampala, Uganda	October 2016	Male, human rights activist
UG039	Kampala, Uganda	October 2016	Male, journalist
UG040	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Female, former IDP camp aid worker

UG041	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, journalist
UG042	Gulu, Uganda	March 2017	Male, civil society leader
UG043	Gulu, Uganda	March 2017	Male, civil society leader
UG044	Lira, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former UPA fighter
UG045	Lira, Uganda	April 2017	Male, journalist
UG046	Palaro, Uganda	Feb. 2016	Male, former LRA combatant
UG047	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Female, former LRA combatant
UG048	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, former LRA commander
UG049	Paicho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former LRA combatant
UG050	Bungatira, Uganda	April 2017	Female, former LRA combatant
UG051	Kampala, Uganda	February 2016	Male, former UPDF intelligence officer
UG052	Kampala, Uganda	October 2016	Male, UPDF Chief of Doctrine
UG053	Kampala, Uganda	October 2016	Male, former UPDF Chief of Defense Forces
UG054	Kampala, Uganda	October 2016	Male, UPDF platoon commander
UG055	Kampala, Uganda	October 2016	Male, UPDF public relations officer
UG056	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Male, UPDF public relations officer
UG057	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Male, Former senior UPDF commander
UG058	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, UPDF intelligence officer
UG059	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Male, UPDF senior commander
UG060	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Male, UPDF colonel
UG061	Kampala, Uganda	November 2016	Male, UPDF senior commander
UG062	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, UPDF infantry veteran
UG063	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, Homeguard commander
UG064	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, UPDF veteran
UG065	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, UPDF senior commander
UG066	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, former LDU commander
UG067	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Female, former UPDF commander
UG068	Gulu, Uganda	November 2016	Male, former LRA rebel and UPDF veteran
UG069	Lalogi, Uganda	December 2016	Male, former UPDF political commissar
UG070	Gulu Uganda	December 2016	Male, former UPDF political commissar
UG071	Purongo, Uganda	December 2016	Male, UPDF veteran
UG072	Palenga, Uganda	December 2016	Male, UPDF veteran
UG073	Palenga, Uganda	December 2016	Male, UPDF veteran
UG074	Gulu, Uganda	December 2016	Male, former LDU commander
UG075	Lalogi, Uganda	December 2016	Male, UPDF commanding officer
UG076	Gulu, Uganda	March 2017	Male, UPDF intelligence officer
UG077	Palaro, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG078	Cwero, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG079	Cwero, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LDU and UPDF veteran
UG080	Palaro, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG081	Patiko, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF senior commander
UG082	Patiko, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran

UG083	Ngetta, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG084	Ngetta, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF and Amuka veteran
UG085	Ogur, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG086	Paicho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF commander
UG087	Paicho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG088	Paicho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG089	Paicho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG090	Lira, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF public relations officer
UG091	Lira, Uganda	April 2017	Male, Senior UPDF officer
UG092	Achol Pii, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former UPDF battalion commander
UG093	Achol Pii, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former UPDF commander
UG094	Achol Pii, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF intelligence officer
UG095	Achol Pii, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former UPDF platoon commander
UG096	Achol Pii, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF logistics and operations officer
UG097	Patiko, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF intelligence officer
UG098	Patiko, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG099	Mbarara, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF commander
UG100	Bungatira, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG101	Lawiye-Oduny, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG102	Lawiye-Oduny, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG103	Adilang, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG104	Awach, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG105	Pabbo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG106	Bungatira, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG107	Ngetta, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former Amuka
UG108	Barr, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former Amuka
UG109	Barr, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former Amuka
UG110	Barr, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former Amuka
UG111	Barlonyo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former LDU/Amuka
UG112	Ogur, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former Amuka
UG113	Aler, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former Amuka
UG114	Aler, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former LDU/Amuka
UG115	Abonyo Tingera, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former LDU/Amuka
UG116	Abonyo Tingera, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former Amuka
UG117	Bungatira, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG118	Paicho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG119	Pabwo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG120	Paicho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG121	Kal, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG122	Lawiye-Oduny, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG123	Adilang, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG124	Bobi, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU

UG125	Parwech, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG126	Coopil, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG127	Palaro, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG128	Kasese, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF intelligence operative
UG129	Katwe, Uganda	April 2017	Male, District Councilor, Kasese
UG130	Bundibugyo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, IDP camp leader
UG131	Bundibugyo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC5 Chairman, Bundibugyo District
UG132	Bundibugyo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, Chairman of Bukonzo Community
UG133	Bugoye, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG134	Kyondo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former IDP camp leader
UG135	Kyondo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former IDP camp leader
UG136	Kyondo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1 and former LDU, Kasese District
UG137	Kihyo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG138	Karambi, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG139	Bikone, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG140	Kabatunda, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG141	Isule, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG142	Mbondwe, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG143	Nganji, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG144	Muhambo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG145	Kihoko, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG146	Buhuma, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG147	Nyabirongo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, parish security officer
UG148	Kanyatsi, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG149	Nyabirongo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1, Kasese District
UG150	Kikyo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, LC1 Kasese District
UG150	Bukonzo, Uganda	May 2017	Female, LC1, Bundibugyo District
UG151	Bukonzo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Bundibugyo District
UG152	Busunga, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Bundibugyo District
UG153	Harugali, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1 Bundibugyo District
UG154	Kakuka, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Bundibugyo District
UG155	Kakuka, Uganda	May 2017	Female, LC1, Bundibugyo District
UG156	Ntotoro, Uganda	May 2017	Female, LC1, Bundibugyo District
UG157	Mantoroba, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Bundibugyo District,
UG158	Kikyo, Uganda	May 2017	Female, LC1, Bundibugyo District
UG159	Kyondo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, LC1, Ntoroko District
UG160	Ntotoro, Uganda	May 2017	Female, LC1, Bundibugyo District
UG161	Bupomboli, Uganda	May 2017	Male LC1 and former IDP camp leader
UG162	Kasese, Uganda	April 2017	Male, human rights activist
UG163	Kampala, Uganda	February 2016	Male, human rights activist
UG164	Ihbimbo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, resident, Kasese District
UG165	Bundibugyo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former IDP, Bundibugyo District

UG166	Nyabirongo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former ADF commander
UG167	Mbata, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former ADF commander
UG168	Nyangorongo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former ADF combatant
UG169	Kakone, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former ADF combatant
UG170	Kasese, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG171	Kasese, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF intelligence officer
UG172	Kisingi, Uganda	April 2017	Male, town chairman/UPDF veteran
UG173	Ibanda, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG174	Mpondwe, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former UPDF intelligence officer
UG175	Mpondwe, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former UPDF platoon commander
UG176	Bundibugyo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former UPDF brigade commander
UG177	Kirumya, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former UPDF intelligence officer
UG178	Mbarara, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF platoon commander
UG179	Kyambogho, Uganda	April 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG180	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG181	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, UPDF veteran
UG182	Bundibugyo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG183	Kirumya, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG184	Ibanda, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG185	Katiri, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG186	Bikone, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG187	Kitswamba, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG188	Buhuma, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former LDU
UG189	Muhambo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG190	Isule, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG191	Mbunga, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG192	Kikyo, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former LDU
UG193	Karambi, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG194	Nganji, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG195	Kabatunda, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG196	Kitholhu, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG197	Kihyo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG198	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG199	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG200	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG201	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG202	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG203	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG204	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG205	Buigha, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG206	Kakuka, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG207	Kakuka, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU

UG208	Bukonzo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG209	Bukonzo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG210	Harugali, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG211	Harugali, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG212	Karuguto Town, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG213	Karuguto Town, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG214	Katswaba, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG215	Kyondo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG216	Kyondo, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG217	Ngamba, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG218	Ngamba, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG219	Ntotoro Town, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG220	Katswaba, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG221	Kyamuteme, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG222	Karugutu, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG223	Kyamuteme, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG224	Kyiko, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG225	Kyiko, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former LDU
UG226	Kyiko, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former homeguard
UG227	Karambi, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG228	Kitholhu, Uganda	April 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG229	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former vigilante
UG230	Karangura, Uganda	May 2017	Male, former vigilante

Appendix C

Field Sites in Uganda

Region	District (1991)	District (2002)	District (2016)	Sub-County
North	Kitgum	Pader	Agago	Lira Palwo
North	Kitgum	Pader	Agago	Adilang
North	Kitgum	Pader	Agago	Wol
North	Gulu	Gulu	Amuru	Amuru
North	Gulu	Gulu	Amuru	Pabo
North	Gulu	Gulu	Amuru	Atiak
North	Gulu	Gulu	Gulu	Awach
North	Gulu	Gulu	Gulu	Bungatira
North	Gulu	Gulu	Gulu	Palaro
North	Gulu	Gulu	Gulu	Unyama
North	Kitgum	Kitgum	Kitgum	Mucwini
North	Kitgum	Kitgum	Kitgum	Lobongo-Layamo
North	Kitgum	Kitgum	Kitgum	Namukura
North	Kitgum	Kitgum	Lamwo	Madi Opei
North	Kitgum	Kitgum	Lamwo	Palabek Kal
North	Gulu	Gulu	Nwoya	Alero
North	Gulu	Gulu	Nwoya	Koch Goma
North	Kitgum	Pader	Pader	Pajule
North	Kitgum	Pader	Pader	Puranga
North	Gulu	Gulu	Omoro	Odek
North	Gulu	Gulu	Omoro	Lalogi
North	Gulu	Gulu	Omoro	Bobi
North	Lira	Lira	Lira	Adekokwak
North	Lira	Lira	Lira	Barr
North	Lira	Lira	Lira	Ogur
North	Lira	Lira	Lira	Ngetta
West	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese	Kisinga
West	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese	Kyondo
West	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese	Kitholu
West	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese	Bugoye
West	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese	Karambi
West	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese	Kitswamba
West	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese	Kyabarungira
West	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese	Kasese Town
West	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Bukonzo
West	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Harugale
West	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Sindila
West	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Bubukwanga
West	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Bubandi
West	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Ntoroko	Ngamba

West	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Ntoroko	Ntotoro
West	Bundibugyo	Bundibugyo	Ntoroko	Karugutu

Appendix D

Violent Events Data in Uganda

D.1 ACLED Data, by Region (Raleigh et al. 2010 and Author)

The black dashed vertical lines in Figures D.1 and D.2 denote when displacement was ordered by Ugandan forces in northern and western Uganda.

Figure D.1: LRA Violence in Uganda (1990-2008), by District

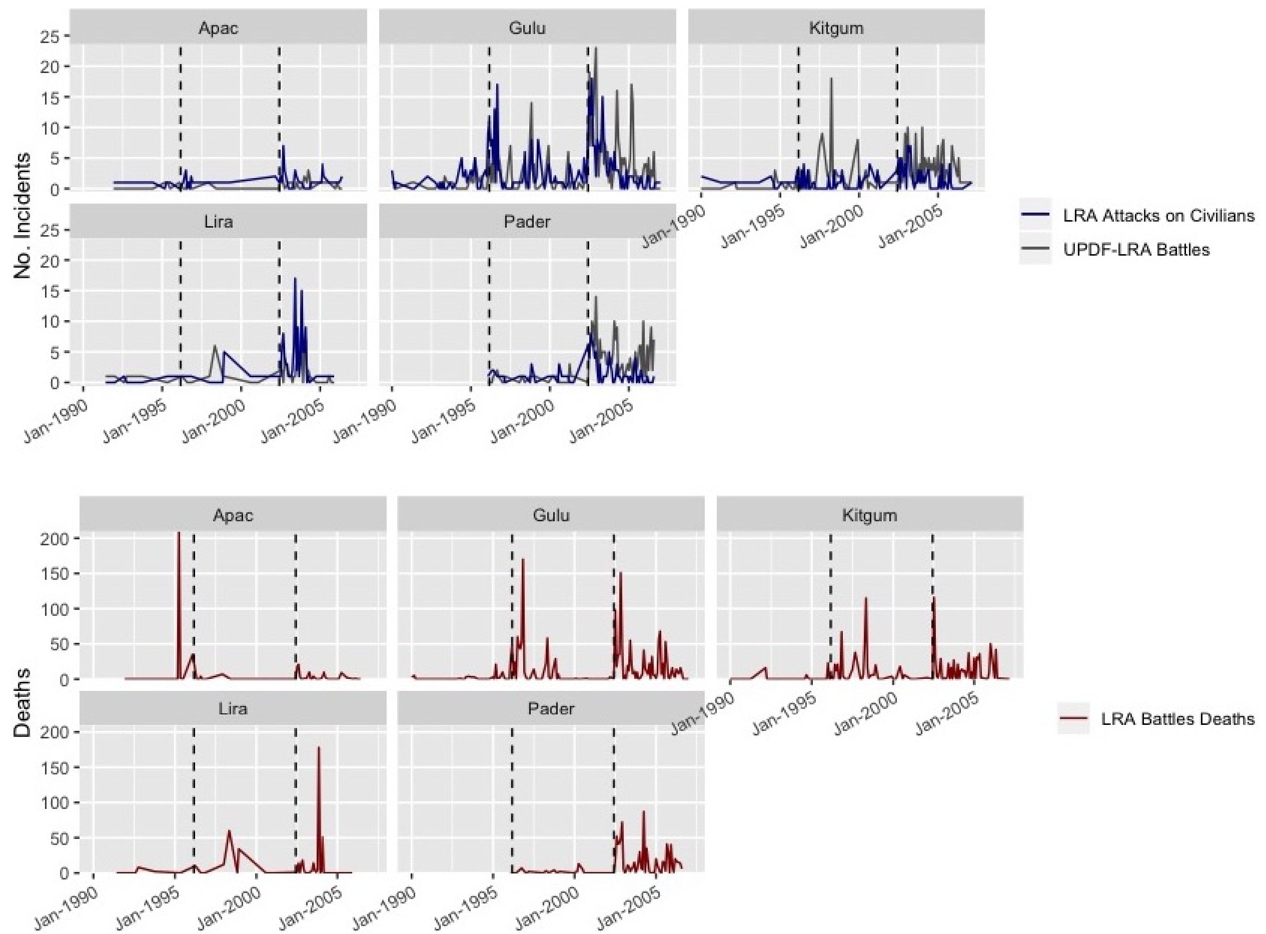
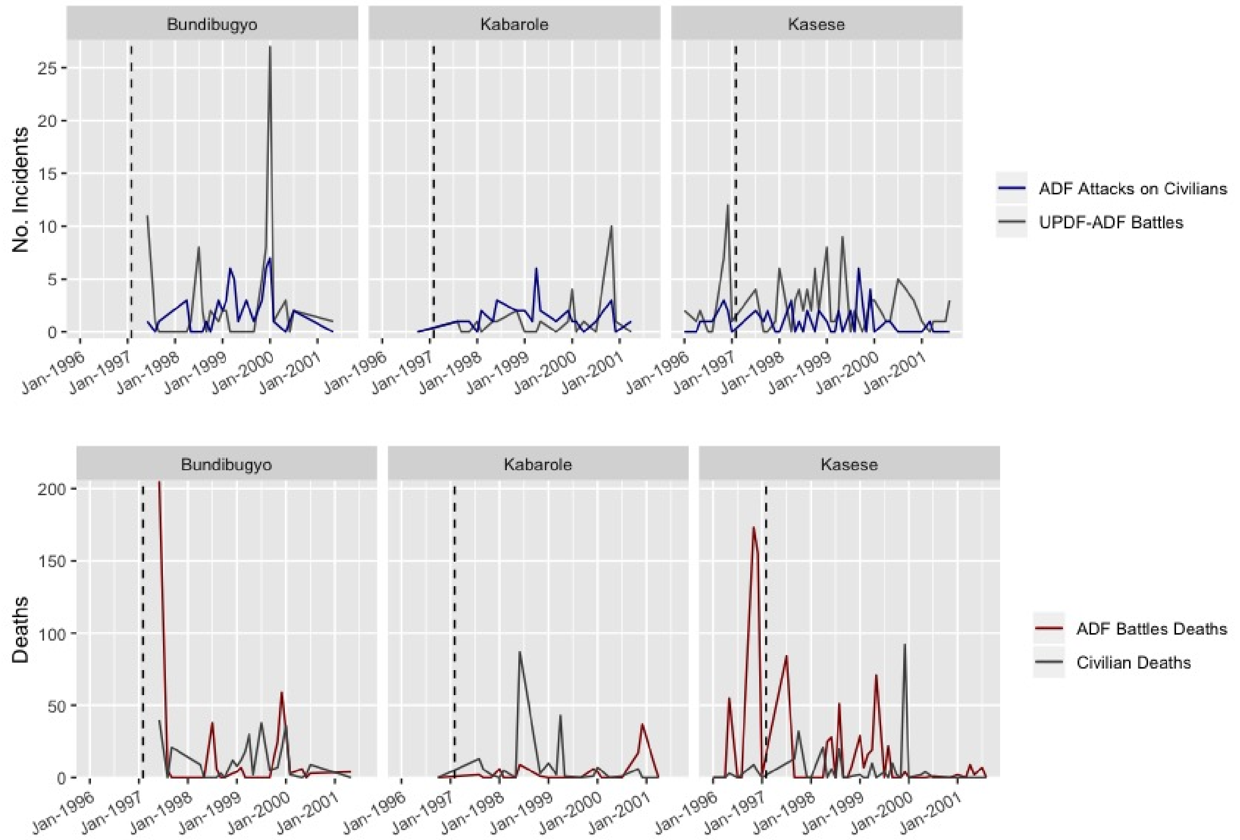


Figure D.2: ADF Violence in Uganda (1995-2003), By District



D.2 UCDP GED Data (Sundberg and Melander 2013)

Figure D.3: Rebel Attacks on Civilians in Uganda (1989-2008)

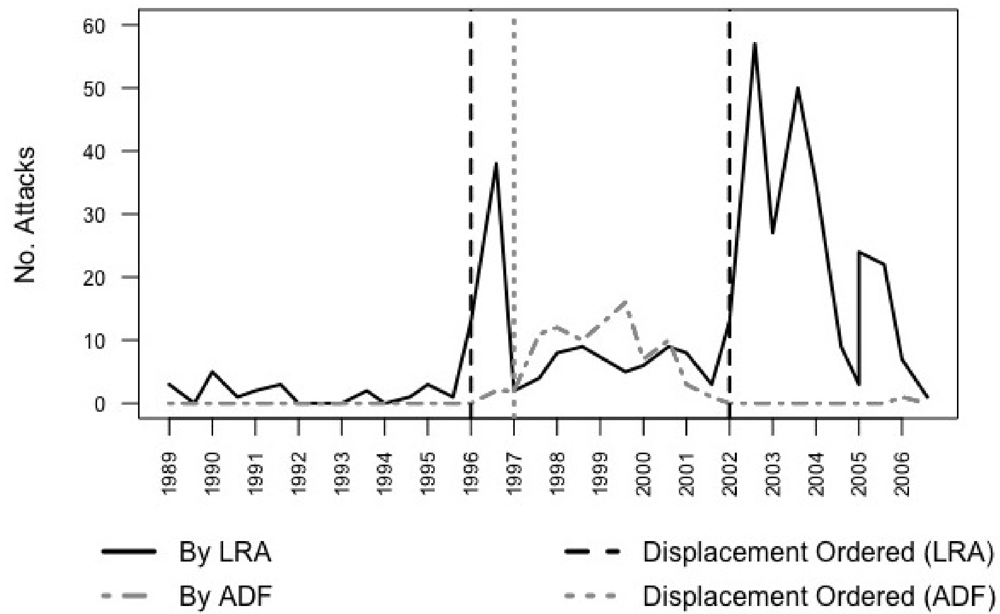


Figure D.4: Civilians Deaths from Rebel Attacks (1989-2006)

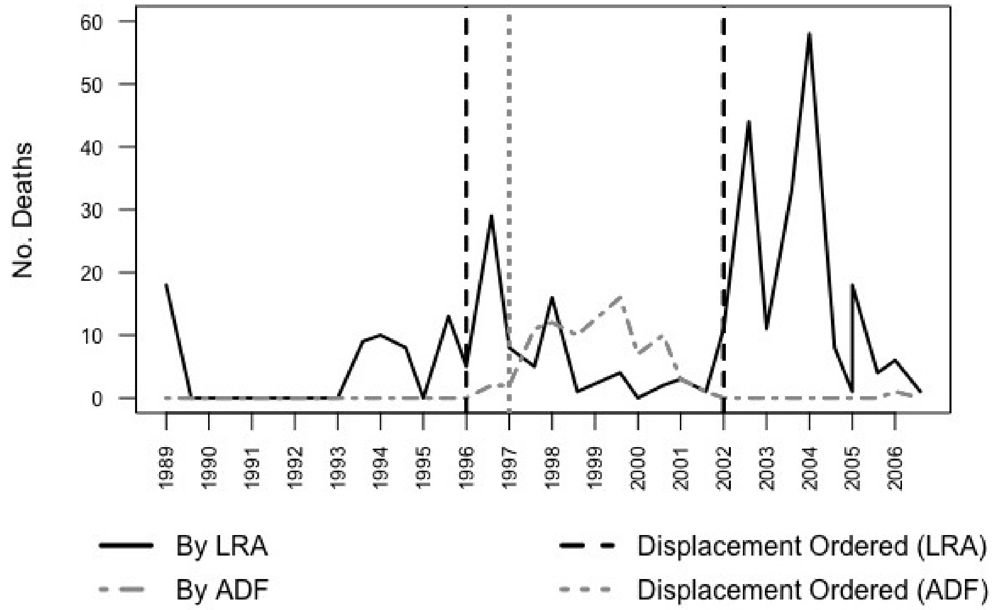


Figure D.5: LRA Violence in Uganda (1990-2008)

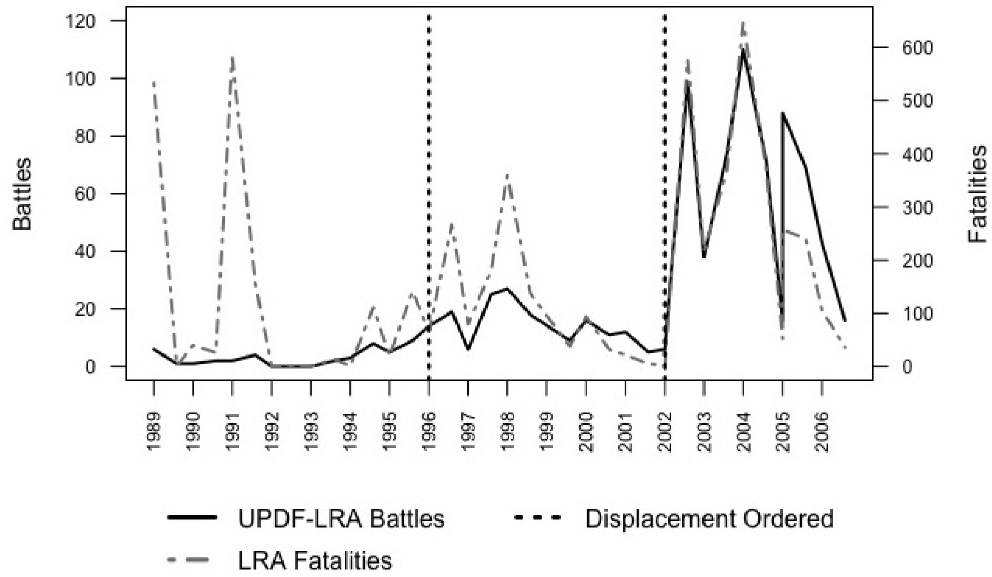


Figure D.6: ADF Violence in Uganda (1995-2006)

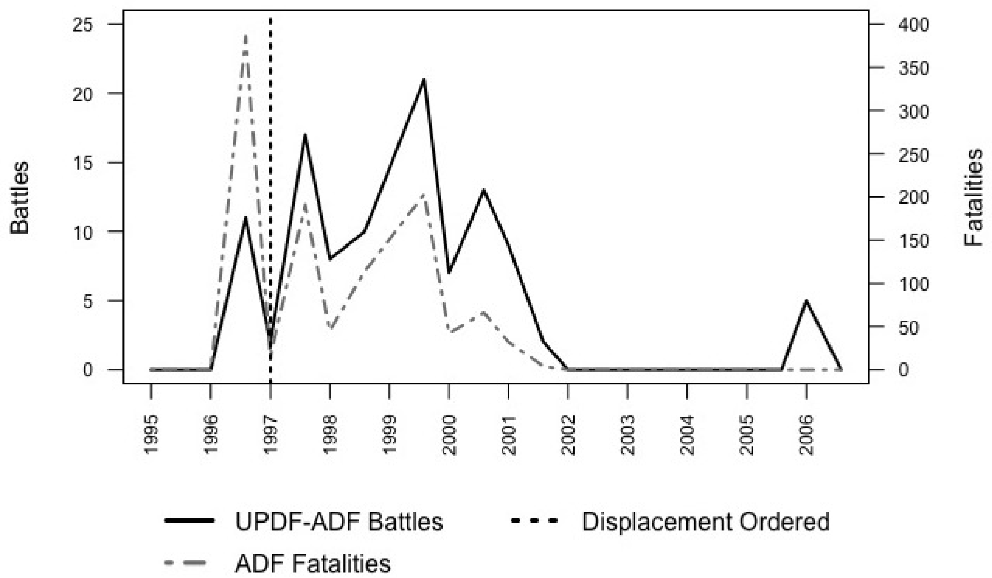
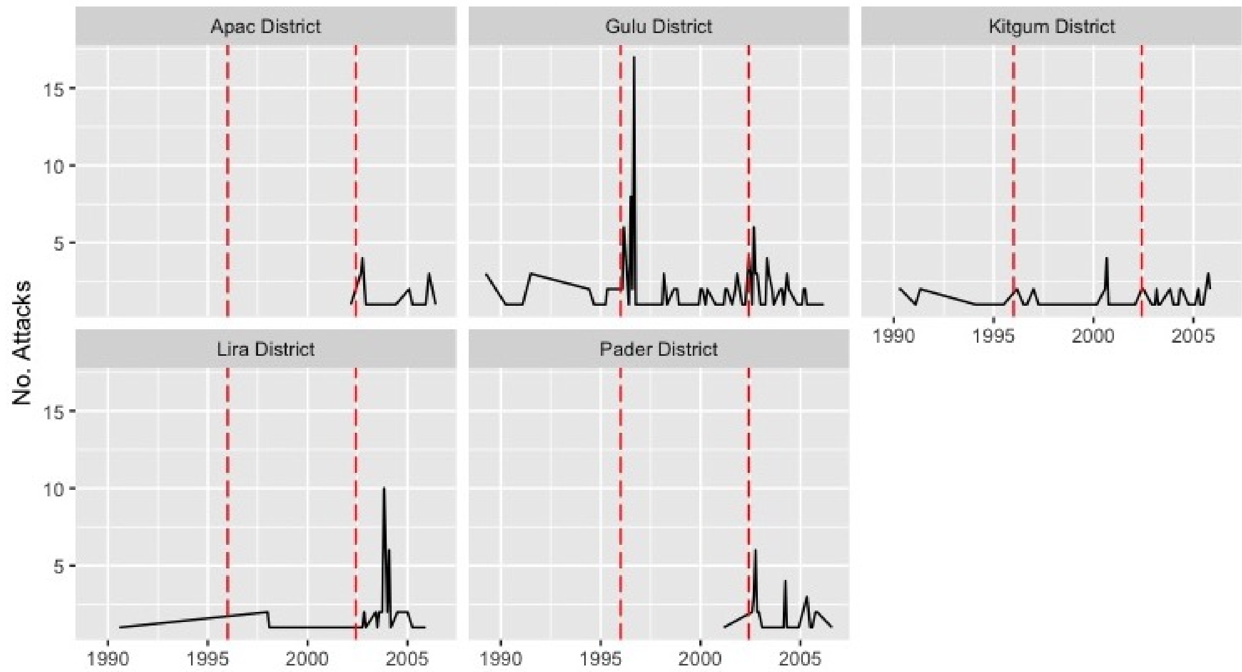


Figure D.7: LRA Attacks on Civilians, by District (1989-2008)



Note: Red lines denote when displacement was ordered.

Appendix E

Coding Strategic Displacement

This appendix describes previous data collection efforts on strategic displacement, along with further detail on the procedures used for coding strategic displacement in civil wars and explicates a number of coding decisions.

E.1 Previous Data Collection Efforts

One of the most extensive lists of strategic wartime displacement to date has been compiled by Yuri Zhukov,[1] who identifies instances of "forced population resettlement" in counterinsurgency campaigns (COIN) between 1812 and 2006, drawn from Lyall and Wilson's counterinsurgency dataset.[2] Yet the sourcing of cases is unclear, and his typology is not systematic or exhaustive: for example, it includes several instances of "forced refugee return." Zhukov's dataset is also not comprehensive: SDCC identifies an additional 40 cases between 1945-2004 that were omitted from his list.

Alex Downes and Kelly Greenhill build on Zhukov's list to develop a dataset of "population relocation in counterinsurgency operations."[3] While their study constitutes a valiant effort, their typology is confusing: they have a category for "expulsion," yet the dataset excludes important instances of ethnic or political cleansing; moreover, they code some cases as "deportation," which usually refers to the forcible expulsion from a country, not to other areas within it. Finally, the dataset is not comprehensive: the authors only include irregular wars, and even within irregular wars, SDCC identifies an additional 28 cases omitted from their data. For those cases the authors did include, there is close agreement with SDCC.

Another project that collected data on strategic displacement is a study on counterinsurgency from the RAND Corporation, which denotes instances where counterinsurgency forces "resettled/removed civilian populations for population control."[4] However, the study only includes a select group of post-World War II counterinsurgency campaigns. The authors found evidence that population resettlement/removal was used in 25 cases, all but one of which are included in SDCC.

Other scholars have collected data on particular types of strategic wartime displacement, or on instances of displacement for shorter periods of time. H. Zeynep Bulutgil compiled cases of 20th century ethnic cleansing, defined as "an event in which a state kills or forcefully and permanently deports at least 20% of an ethnic group on its territory from their current location to another one within three years."[5] Many of her cases occurred during inter-state conflicts in Europe, but all 11 cases that took place during civil wars are included in SDCC. Phil Orchard provides a qualitative dataset of what he calls "regime-induced displacement," which includes episodes from 1991-2006

[1] Zhukov 2015.
[2] Lyall and Wilson 2009.
[3] Downes and Greenhill 2015.
[4] Paul et al. 2010.
[5] Bulutgil 2016.

where "government or government-sponsored actors deliberately use coercive tactics to directly or indirectly cause large numbers of their own citizens to flee their homes."[6] Orchard identifies cases during both wartime and peacetime, using some of the same sources as SDCC. All but four of his wartime cases are captured in SDCC.[7]

Jessica Stanton codes multiple forms of rebel and government strategies of violence in civil wars from 1989-2010.[8] While she uses the UCDP/PRIO definition of armed conflict to define her universe of cases, two main strategies in her dataset are of interest. The first is government- and rebel-induced "cleansing," defined as instances where combatants "forcibly expelled civilians from a particular ethnic or religious group from contested territory and also used scorched earth tactics and/or massacres". The second is state "high-casualty terrorism," defined as "cases in which the government engaged in intentional bombing and shelling of populated civilian targets." All 14 cases of government cleansing, 10 cases of rebel cleansing, and 13 cases of state high-casualty terrorism identified by Stanton are included in SDCC.[9]

[6] Orchard 2010.

[7] Out of a total of 28 wartime cases. The four cases coded as "no strategic displacement" in SDCC are Congo (1997-99); Cote d'Ivoire (2002-06); Djibouti (1993); and Sierra Leone (1999-00). For these conflicts, we could find no reliable evidence of state-induced expulsion or relocation in reviewing primary and secondary sources. With the exception of Sierra Leone, no other data collection efforts have identified these wars as experiencing strategic displacement.

[8] Stanton 2016.

[9] Seven of Stanton's cases experienced both government cleansing and government terrorism. She also identified eight conflicts where the government employed scorched earth tactics or forced expulsion, but not both, six of which are included in SDCC.

Table E.1: Other Data Collection Efforts

Downes/Greenhill 2015 "Population Relocation"	**Zhukov 2015** "Population Resettlement"	**Orchard 2010** "Regime-induced Displacement"	**Paul et al. 2010** "Resettlement in COIN"	**Stanton 2016** "Cleansing, Scorched Earth"
Afghanistan (Mujahedeen)	Afghanistan (Mujahedeen)	Afghanistan (North Alliance)	Afghanistan (Mujahedeen)	Angola (UNITA)
Algeria (v. France)	Algeria (v. France)	Angola (UNITA II)	Afghanistan (North Alliance)	Azerbaijan
Angola (v. Portugal)	Angola (v. Portugal)	Angola (UNITA III)	Algeria (v. France)	Bangladesh (Chittagong)
Burundi (Palipehutu/CNDD)	Azerbaijan (Nagorno-Karabagh)	Azerbaijan	Angola (v. Portugal)	Bosnia
Cambodia (KR)	Bosnia (Rep. Srpska/Croats)	Bosnia (Rep. Srpska/Croats)	Burundi (Palipehutu/CNDD)	Chad (FARF; FROLINAT)
DR Congo/Zaire (AFDL)	Burundi (Hutu rebels)	Myanmar/Burma (ethnic)	Cambodia (KR)	Colombia (ELN/FARC)
El Salvador (FMLN)	Burundi (Palipehutu/CNDD)	Colombia (M-19/ELN/FARC)	Cambodia (KR, FUNCINPEC)	Croatia (Krajina)
Ethiopia (Eritrea)	Cambodia (KR)	DR Congo/Zaire (AFDL)	Ethiopia (Eritrea)	DR Congo/Zaire (AFDL)
Greece (DSE)	Cambodia (KR, FUNCINPEC)	DRC 1999-04 (refugee return)	Greece (DSE)	Ethiopia (Eritrea)
Guatemala (UNRG, etc.)	Croatia (Krajina)	DR Congo/Zaire (RCD, MLC)	Guatemala (UNRG, etc.)	Iraq (KDP, PUK II)
Guinea-Bissau (v. Portugal)	DR Congo/Zaire (AFDL)	Ivory Coast (MPCI, MPIGO)	Indonesia (Aceh/GAM)	Iraq (SCRI)
India (Mizoram)	El Salvador (FMLN)	Djibouti (FRUD)	Indonesia (East Timor)	Iraq (Sunni/Shi'a rebels)
India (Naga)	Ethiopia (Eritrea)	Ethiopia (Eritrea)	Iraq (KDP, PUK II)	Ivory Coast (MPCI, MPIGO)
Indonesia (Aceh/GAM)	Georgia (Abkhazia)	Georgia (Abkhazia)	Guinea-Bissau (v. Portugal)	Liberia (LURD, NPFL)
Indonesia (East Timor)	Greece (DSE)	India (Assam/NE States)	Kenya (Mau Mau)	Mozambique (RENAMO)
Iran (KDPI)	Guinea-Bissau (v. Portugal)	Indonesia (East Timor)	Malaysia (CPM)	Myanmar/Burma
Iraq (KDP, PUK II)	Indonesia (Aceh/GAM)	Iraq (KDP, PUK II)	Morocco (Polisario)	Philippines (NPA)
Israel v. Palestinian	Indonesia (East Timor)	Iraq (SCRI)	Mozambique (v. Portugal)	Russia (Chechnya I)
Kenya (Mau Mau)	Iran (KDPI)	Kenya (Rift Valley Violence)	Mozambique (RENAMO)	Russia (Chechnya II)
Kenya (Shifta)	Iraq (KDP, PUK II)	Philippines (MNLF, MILF)	Nicaragua (Contras)	Rwanda (RPF, genocide)
Malaysia (CPM)	Kenya (Mau Mau)	Russia (Chechnya I)	Papua New Guinea (Bville)	Senegal (Casamance)
Mali (Tuaregs)	Kenya (Shifta)	Russia (Chechnya II)	Peru (Sendero Luminoso)	Somalia (USC Faction)
Mozambique (v. Portugal)	Malaysia (CPM)	Rwanda (RPF, genocide)	Turkey (PKK)	South Africa/ANC
Myanmar/Burma (ethnic)	Mali (Tuaregs)	Rwanda (ALiR/FDLR)	Sudan (SPLA)	Sri Lanka (LTTE)
Namibia (SWAPO)	Mozambique (v. Portugal)	Sierra Leone (RUF, AFRC)	Vietnam (Vietcong)	Sudan (Darfur/JEM, SLA)
Nicaragua (Contras)	Namibia (SWAPO)	Somalia (USC Faction)	Zimbabwe (ZANU/ZAPU)	Sudan (SPLM)
Oman (DLF)	Philippines (Huk)	Sudan (SPLA)	Turkey (PKK)	
Philippines (Huk)	Russia (Estonia/Forest Bros)	Sudan (Darfur/JEM, SLA)	Uganda (LRA, ADF, etc.)	
Russia (Estonia/Forest Bros)	Russia (UPA)	Uganda (LRA, ADF, etc.)	Yugoslavia (Croatia/Krajina)	
Russia (UPA)	Rwanda (Tutsi rebels)	Yugoslavia (UCK)		
Sierra Leone (RUF, AFRC)	Rwanda (RPF, genocide)			
Uganda (NRA, etc.)	Rwanda (ALiR/FDLR			
Uganda (ADF, LRA, West Nile)	Sierra Leone (RUF, AFRC)			
Vietnam (Vietcong)	Sudan (SPLA; Darfur)			
Yugoslavia (UCK)	Tajikistan (UTO)			
Zimbabwe (ZANU/ZAPU)	Turkey (PKK)			
	Uganda (NRA; LRA/ADF/WNBF)			
	Vietnam (Vietcong)			
	Yugoslavia (Croatia/Krajina; UCK)			
	Zimbabwe (ZANU/ZAPU)			

E.2 SDCC Coding Procedure

A four-person research team identified cases of strategic displacement from the following sources:

- Case histories for each individual conflict.
- Country reports from the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre.[10] While IDMC reports only go back to 2003, many contain descriptions of wartime displacement in the country's history.
- Case studies on forced displacement from Robert Cohen and Francis M. Deng's seminal volume on internal displacement.[11]
- For conflicts between 1975-2004, we consulted annual human rights reports from the U.S. State Department, Amnesty International (AI), and Human Rights Watch (HRW). The State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices are published annually, and AI and HRW both publish annual reports by country and periodic special reports by country and/or human rights issue. These sources are widely considered trustworthy and reliable sources of data on human rights violations.[12] We used the Human Rights Text Data Repository (HRTDR) to conduct simple keyword searches of all reports for all years in countries experiencing active conflict.[13]
- Newspaper reports from LexisNexis Academic.

Keywoods used to identify potential cases included the following: Burn* Ho*; Burn* Vill*; Displace*; Evict*; (Forced) Reloc*; (Forced/forcible) Resettle*; Expel*; Expul*; Evac*; Scorch*; Protected Vill*; Hamlet; Concentra*; Concentration Camp; Regroupment; Cleansing; Population Removal; Population Movement; Scorched; Demol*. The terms we used were generated through an extensive examination of anecdotal evidence and case studies.

For each case, the following details were coded:

- **Perpetrator.** The party or parties responsible for displacement: *government/military*; *pro-government militia*; *rebel group*; or *military and militia*. Cases of rebel- and government-induced displacement were therefore coded separately.
- **Location.** Details on the region, district, or general area where people were displaced from, to the greatest level of specificity possible.

[10] http://www.internal-displacement.org/).
[11] Cohen and Deng 2010.
[12] Cohen 2013; Cohen and Nordås 2014; Stanton 2016.
[13] Fariss et al. 2015.

- **Victim.** Information on the population targeted for displacement. This could be a specific ethnic, religious, social, or political group, or it could refer to multiple groups or a general class of people living in an area (e.g., rural peasants).
- **Timing.** Details on the year and/or month that strategic displacement was first enacted, and when it was reported to have ended, where such information was available.
- **Type.** Each instance of strategic displacement was coded by type, so a conflict could experience multiple strategies.

  "Cleansing" describes the forced, permanent expulsion of a particular political, ethnic, or religious group. We therefore looked for evidence that victims were members of an identifiable group and that they were targeted due to this affiliation, and that displacement was intended to be permanent. One telltale sign of this is whether government forces encouraged or incentivized co-ethics or political supporters to move to and settle in the evacuated territories.

  "Depopulation" describes the temporary or permanent removal of all inhabitants from a designated area. Unlike cleansing, depopulation means that combatants made little effort to differentiate between particular groups; targeting was indiscriminate rather than collective. Depopulation is usually carried out through indirect violence, such as sustained bombing or shelling reported to be intentionally directed at populated civilian areas. Finally, there is little effort on behalf of perpetrators to resettle the displaced population.

  "Forced Relocation" describes the physical concentration of communities or the transplanting of populations to new settlements. These cases entailed a concerted and ongoing effort by perpetrators to "pull" the population into its domain. Rather than expelling people to distant areas, combatants concentrated them within the conflict zone or a nearby location. The coding team therefore evaluated the extent to which perpetrators attempted to influence the destinations of the displaced, and how far destinations were to victims' places of origin.

Appendix F

Robustness Checks for Cross-National Analysis

F.1 Binary Logit Results

The operationalization of my dependent variable in the multinomial logit models is imperfect. I therefore adopt two other strategies. First, I run two individual logit models (one for cleansing and one for forced relocation) with the same reference category of no strategic displacement. For example, in the forced relocation model, the dependent variable takes the value 1 if the country has experienced forced relocation – no matter if it has also endured cleansing or depopulation – and 0 if it has been free from strategic displacement. Cases in which a country has experienced either cleansing or depopulation but not forced relocation are omitted from the relocation model, which is similar to the way multinomial models are estimated. These results are presented in Tables F.1 and F.2.

Second, I run three sets of "regular" logit models but control for whether the conflict also experienced the two other displacement strategies. For example, in the cleansing model, I include control variables for whether depopulation or forced relocation was employed by state forces during the same conflict. Tables F.3 and F.4 provide results for cleansing and forced relocation on the full sample of civil wars.

Table F.1: Logistic Regression Results: Cleansing (I)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Distance	−0.46 * *					−0.71 * *	
	(0.22)					(0.30)	
Land area	0.41*					0.41	
	(0.22)					(0.27)	
Bordconf		−0.47					−0.87
		(0.74)					(1.00)
Elections	1.33	0.57				0.85	−0.07
	(0.83)	(0.59)				(1.35)	(1.01)
Rebclaim	4.61 * **	3.63 * **				4.79 * **	3.63 * **
	(1.32)	(1.18)				(1.49)	(1.20)
CDF	1.46	1.15				2.41*	1.99*
	(1.33)	(1.05)				(1.43)	(1.10)
Ethnic war			1.05 * **			0.23	0.48
			(0.32)			(0.50)	(0.53)
Exclusionary			1.50 * **			−0.87	−0.15
			(0.52)			(0.95)	(0.76)
Rebextsupp				1.83 * **		1.29	1.25
				(0.70)		(0.95)	(0.98)
Rebel FR				0.22		0.01	0.10
				(0.57)		(0.73)	(0.81)
Rebconcen				−0.49		−0.85	−1.08*
				(0.52)		(0.67)	(0.64)
Mass kill					1.63 * **	2.81 * *	2.34 * **
					(0.59)	(1.33)	(0.74)
Irregular	−1.16	−1.05	−1.05 * *	−0.90*	−0.73	−1.85	−1.84*
	(0.88)	(0.71)	(0.48)	(0.53)	(0.46)	(1.27)	(1.03)
GDP	0.83 * **	0.52 * *	0.35*	0.62 * **	0.57 * **	1.03 * *	0.64 * **
	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.42)	(0.24)
Population	−0.43	−0.26	−0.23	−0.33	−0.21	−0.80 * *	−0.52*
	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.36)	(0.30)
Democracy	−0.01	−0.04	0.04	−0.03	−0.01	−0.11	−0.12
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.11)	(0.09)
Bdeaths	0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 * **	0.00	0.00	0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−3.07	−2.60	−0.78	0.19	−0.83	−1.40	−2.63
	(2.78)	(2.35)	(1.61)	(1.79)	(1.52)	(3.17)	(2.88)
Observations	93	97	94	90	98	82	85
Pseudo R^2	0.39	0.32	0.21	0.19	0.16	0.52	0.46

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Table F.2: Logistic Regression Results: Forced Relocation (I)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Distance	1.22 * **					2.23 * **	
	(0.40)					(0.71)	
Land area	−0.48					−0.71*	
	(0.37)					(0.41)	
Bordconf		3.23 * **					4.37 * **
		(0.94)					(1.30)
Elections	−0.75	−0.01				−1.80 * *	−0.29
	(0.68)	(0.74)				(0.87)	(0.83)
Rebclaim	−0.50	−1.82*				−2.19 * *	−1.89
	(0.58)	(1.09)				(0.87)	(1.51)
CDF	3.56 * **	3.14 * **				4.70 * **	3.29 * **
	(0.62)	(0.61)				(1.12)	(0.86)
Ethnic war			0.23			1.19 * *	1.18 * *
			(0.26)			(0.57)	(0.56)
Exclusionary			0.34			0.06	−0.72
			(0.48)			(0.90)	(0.84)
Rebextsupp				1.00 * *		2.48 * *	0.18
				(0.46)		(1.00)	(0.51)
Rebel FR				0.35		0.50	−0.49
				(0.53)		(0.75)	(0.93)
Rebconcen				0.20		−0.86	−2.33 * *
				(0.56)		(0.90)	(1.18)
Mass killing					0.42	1.89*	1.65
					(0.47)	(1.05)	(0.96)
Irregular	1.39*	1.90 * **	2.28 * **	2.37 * **	2.26 * **	2.30 * *	2.47 * *
	(0.73)	(0.71)	(0.74)	(0.78)	(0.71)	(0.91)	(1.17)
GDP	−0.75 * *	−0.86 * **	−0.39	−0.33	−0.30	−1.22 * **	−1.02 * *
	(0.32)	(0.33)	(0.28)	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.44)	(0.49)
Population	−0.09	−0.06	−0.01	0.00	−0.02	0.01	−0.24
	(0.25)	(0.18)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.28)	(0.27)
Democracy	0.05	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.06	0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Bdeaths	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00*	0.00	−0.00	−0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−3.98	−1.80	−1.30	−2.15	−1.32	−12.15 * *	−1.56
	(3.31)	(1.93)	(1.52)	(1.38)	(1.50)	(5.73)	(3.30)
Observations	115	119	115	112	120	103	106
Pseudo R^2	0.54	0.60	0.21	0.20	0.19	0.61	0.65

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Table F.3: Logistic Regression Results: Cleansing (II)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Distance	−0.38*					−0.56*	
	(0.21)					(0.31)	
Land area	0.19					0.04	
	(0.22)					(0.26)	
Bordconf		−0.47					−1.13
		(0.71)					(0.92)
Elections	1.19	0.73				0.93	0.16
	(0.73)	(0.58)				(1.04)	(0.89)
Rebclaim	4.17 * **	3.64 * **				4.61 * **	4.04 * **
	(1.09)	(1.09)				(1.43)	(1.41)
CDF	2.03	1.57				3.44 * *	2.77 * **
	(1.04)	(0.88)				(1.40)	(0.85)
Ethnic war			1.02 * **			0.09	0.41
			(0.32)			(0.48)	(0.53)
Exclusionary			1.38 * **			−0.36	0.06
			(0.48)			(0.85)	(0.76)
Rebextsupp				1.77 * **		2.17 * *	2.01*
				(0.61)		(0.92)	(1.03)
Rebel FR				0.31		0.81	0.72
				(0.53)		(0.76)	(0.71)
Rebconcen				−0.52		−1.12	−1.63 * *
				(0.51)		(0.79)	(0.81)
Mass kill					1.51 * **	2.19 * *	2.06 * **
					(0.56)	(1.07)	(0.74)
Reloc/Depop.	−3.26 * *	−2.87 * **	−2.75 * **	−2.68 * **	−2.54 * *	−4.71 * **	−4.03 * **
	(1.29)	(1.08)	(1.03)	(1.01)	(1.03)	(1.28)	(1.06)
Irregular	−1.45 * *	−1.36 * **	−1.18 * **	−1.11 * *	−0.83*	−2.37 * **	−2.22 * **
	(0.59)	(0.49)	(0.45)	(0.50)	(0.47)	(0.79)	(0.74)
GDP	0.61 * **	0.41 * *	0.29*	0.53 * **	0.46 * **	0.92 * **	0.66 * **
	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.32)	(0.24)
Population	−0.44*	−0.31	−0.23	−0.29*	−0.21	−0.97 * **	−0.71 * *
	(0.26)	(0.22)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.35)	(0.30)
Democracy	−0.02	−0.04	0.05	−0.02	−0.00	−0.10	−0.12
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Bdeaths	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 * **	0.00	0.00*	0.00 * *
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−1.17	−2.01	−0.61	0.11	−0.55	1.64	−1.53
	(2.34)	(2.18)	(1.45)	(1.53)	(1.33)	(1.94)	(2.33)
Observations	149	154	150	147	155	137	141
Pseudo R^2	0.45	0.40	0.30	0.30	0.25	0.59	0.55

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Table F.4: Logistic Regression Results: Forced Relocation (II)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Distance	1.31 * **					1.77 * **	
	(0.35)					(0.50)	
Land area	−0.55					−0.61	
	(0.34)					(0.37)	
Bordconf		2.95 * **					4.23 * **
		(0.77)					(1.30)
Elections	−0.88	−0.33				−1.43 * *	−0.36
	(0.62)	(0.72)				(0.64)	(0.74)
Rebclaim	−0.64	−1.41				−2.19 * *	−1.97
	(0.56)	(0.88)				(0.93)	(1.33)
CDF	3.69 * **	2.92 * **				4.11 * **	3.07 * **
	(0.62)	(0.61)				(0.75)	(0.77)
Ethnic war			0.20			1.08 * *	1.08 * *
			(0.27)			(0.52)	(0.52)
Exclusionary			0.30			−0.23	−0.77
			(0.46)			(0.77)	(0.68)
Rebextsupp				1.08 * *		1.88 * *	0.41
				(0.47)		(0.73)	(0.48)
Rebel FR				0.37		0.15	−0.87
				(0.52)		(0.68)	(0.93)
Rebconcen				0.14		−0.37	−1.93 * *
				(0.54)		(0.82)	(0.90)
Mass kill					0.37	1.32	1.55 * *
					(0.46)	(0.82)	(0.73)
Cleans/Depop.	−0.44	−1.74	−1.52 * *	−1.76 * **	−1.40 * *	−1.16	−2.77 * **
	(1.07)	(1.08)	(0.70)	(0.58)	(0.66)	(1.30)	(1.03)
Irregular	1.48*	2.12 * **	2.45 * **	2.61 * **	2.42 * **	2.47 * *	2.96 * *
	(0.80)	(0.78)	(0.75)	(0.82)	(0.73)	(0.97)	(1.29)
GDP	−0.91 * **	−0.91 * **	−0.51*	−0.46*	−0.44*	−1.22 * **	−1.12 * *
	(0.33)	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.35)	(0.49)
Population	−0.08	−0.10	−0.01	0.00	−0.01	−0.06	−0.35
	(0.25)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.25)	(0.28)
Democracy	0.05	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.05	0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Bdeaths	−0.00 * *	−0.00 * **	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00 * *
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Constant	−3.93	−1.26	−1.16	−2.09	−1.25	−8.59 * *	−0.36
	(3.29)	(2.00)	(1.50)	(1.38)	(1.55)	(4.27)	(3.13)
Observations	149	154	150	147	155	137	141
Pseudo R^2	0.59	0.61	0.29	0.29	0.27	0.64	0.66

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Additional Control Variables

Table F.5: Multinomial Logit Results (Post-Cold War)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Cleansing							
Distance	−0.42*					−0.61*	
	(0.25)					(0.32)	
Land area	0.45 **					0.41 **	
	(0.21)					(0.19)	
Bordconf		−0.31					−0.41
		(0.68)					(0.84)
Elections	1.55	0.58				1.50	0.24
	(1.03)	(0.71)				(1.31)	(0.94)
Rebel claim	4.82 ***	3.62 ***				3.79 **	3.04 ***
	(1.50)	(1.18)				(1.50)	(1.10)
CDF	1.58*	1.07				1.76*	1.77 **
	(0.83)	(0.71)				(1.02)	(0.77)
Ethnic war			1.02 ***			0.55	0.63
			(0.36)			(0.41)	(0.52)
Exclusionary			1.63 ***			0.33	0.42
			(0.51)			(0.92)	(0.85)
Rebextsupp				1.64 **		1.43	1.54*
				(0.68)		(0.96)	(0.89)
Rebel FR				−0.06		−0.03	0.03
				(0.65)		(0.61)	(0.71)
Rebconcen				−0.13		−0.28	−1.06
				(0.51)		(0.89)	(0.70)
Mass kill					1.54 ***	1.91*	1.73 **
					(0.59)	(0.98)	(0.68)
Irregular	−1.89 **	−1.42 ***	−1.36 **	−1.67 **	−0.94	−2.91 ***	−2.25 ***
	(0.76)	(0.55)	(0.64)	(0.73)	(0.64)	(1.08)	(0.75)
GDP	1.01 ***	0.63 ***	0.43 **	0.60 ***	0.59 ***	1.12 ***	0.64 ***
	(0.24)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.34)	(0.23)
Population	−0.50 **	−0.27	−0.26*	−0.27*	−0.22	−0.63 **	−0.42*
	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Democracy	0.00	−0.03	0.06	0.01	0.02	0.01	−0.05
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.08)
Bdeaths	0.00*	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 ***	0.00	0.00*	0.00 ***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Post-CW	0.03	0.08	0.47	0.25	0.50	−0.38	0.17
	(0.63)	(0.52)	(0.59)	(0.63)	(0.56)	(0.77)	(0.70)
Constant	−3.43	−2.63	−1.08	−0.39	−1.04	−2.92	−3.48
	(3.06)	(2.26)	(1.63)	(1.66)	(1.54)	(2.93)	(2.83)
Depopulation							
Distance	0.34					0.49*	
	(0.22)					(0.29)	
Land area	0.67*					0.12	
	(0.39)					(0.54)	
Bordconf		1.17					−0.47

		(0.98)					(1.20)
Elections	2.49	1.77				2.29	1.47
	(1.78)	(1.46)				(1.59)	(1.17)
Rebel claim	1.83	0.57				0.06	−1.75
	(1.59)	(1.31)				(1.59)	(1.70)
CDF	1.46	0.68				0.66	0.34
	(1.56)	(1.18)				(1.53)	(1.54)
Ethnic war			1.27**			0.81*	1.24*
			(0.59)			(0.45)	(0.65)
Exclusionary			0.62			0.03	0.54
			(0.78)			(0.98)	(0.70)
Rebextsupp				−0.32		−1.37	−0.59
				(0.93)		(1.82)	(1.24)
Rebel FR				2.03***		2.87***	2.35***
				(0.64)		(0.78)	(0.91)
Rebconcen				2.45***		1.98	2.87
				(0.86)		(1.23)	(2.10)
Mass kill					1.01	0.46	0.93
					(0.90)	(1.01)	(0.96)
Irregular	−2.07	−0.66	0.07	−0.81	0.17	−2.83	−1.38
	(1.79)	(1.32)	(1.16)	(1.58)	(1.21)	(1.75)	(1.89)
GDP	1.53***	0.97***	0.75***	0.99***	0.92***	1.91***	0.95***
	(0.42)	(0.34)	(0.26)	(0.36)	(0.27)	(0.55)	(0.36)
Population	−0.59**	−0.25	−0.30	−0.32	−0.28	−0.73	−0.25
	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.32)	(0.20)	(0.54)	(0.38)
Democracy	0.01	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.03	−0.01	−0.00
	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Bdeaths	0.00**	0.00*	0.00	0.00*	0.00	0.00***	0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Post-CW	−0.64	0.51	0.47	−1.34	0.76	−2.54*	−1.88
	(1.19)	(1.37)	(1.19)	(1.30)	(1.12)	(1.35)	(1.20)
Constant	−8.14	−4.17	−3.31	−3.04	−2.72	−6.43	−5.81
	(5.35)	(3.38)	(2.82)	(3.70)	(3.06)	(7.45)	(5.40)
Relocation							
Distance	1.44***					1.93***	
	(0.41)					(0.58)	
Land area	−0.63*					−0.76**	
	(0.37)					(0.39)	
Bordconf		2.70***					3.76***
		(0.77)					(1.11)
Elections	−0.74	−0.50				−1.57**	−0.82
	(0.66)	(0.75)				(0.71)	(0.83)
Rebclaim	−0.19	−0.96				−2.27**	−1.63
	(0.60)	(0.84)				(1.07)	(1.21)
CDF	4.05***	3.18***				4.67***	3.42***
	(0.76)	(0.55)				(1.00)	(0.67)
Ethnic war			0.31			1.34**	1.11**
			(0.26)			(0.67)	(0.53)
Exclusionary			0.48			−0.22	−0.73
			(0.48)			(0.90)	(0.78)
Rebextsupp				1.00**		1.86**	0.20

				(0.43)		(0.85)	(0.47)
Rebel FR				0.36		0.48	−0.78
				(0.49)		(0.80)	(0.81)
Rebconcen				0.26		−0.05	−1.63*
				(0.54)		(1.00)	(0.86)
Mass kill					0.44	1.54	1.51 **
					(0.49)	(1.00)	(0.65)
Irregular	1.23	1.60*	2.18 ***	2.15 ***	2.27 ***	1.94*	1.68
	(1.01)	(0.97)	(0.74)	(0.81)	(0.72)	(1.16)	(1.11)
GDP	−0.71 **	−0.72*	−0.39	−0.34	−0.31	−1.14 ***	−1.02 **
	(0.32)	(0.37)	(0.31)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.36)	(0.49)
Population	−0.20	−0.07	−0.01	−0.01	−0.01	−0.17	−0.27
	(0.27)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.33)	(0.25)
Democracy	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.02
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Bdeaths	−0.00 **	−0.00 **	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 **	−0.00 **
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 **	0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Post-CW	−0.01	−0.41	−0.28	−0.28	−0.02	−0.21	−0.52
	(0.85)	(0.73)	(0.55)	(0.50)	(0.56)	(1.51)	(0.76)
Constant	−3.42	−1.27	−1.08	−1.74	−1.32	−7.91	0.04
	(3.50)	(1.92)	(1.53)	(1.38)	(1.55)	(4.98)	(2.64)
Observations	149	154	150	147	155	137	141
Pseudo R^2	0.51	0.46	0.25	0.26	0.22	0.59	0.55

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Table F.6: Multinomial Logit Results (Successionist)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Cleansing							
Distance	−0.51*					−0.63*	
	(0.28)					(0.34)	
Land area	0.46***					0.42**	
	(0.17)					(0.20)	
Bordconf		−0.34					−0.59
		(0.65)					(0.87)
Elections	1.44	0.55				1.26	0.14
	(0.91)	(0.68)				(1.11)	(0.95)
Rebclaim	4.59***	3.46***				3.78***	3.24***
	(1.49)	(1.12)				(1.31)	(1.18)
CDF	1.53*	1.09				1.77*	1.82**
	(0.86)	(0.71)				(1.04)	(0.72)
Ethnic war			0.91**			0.53	0.63
			(0.37)			(0.44)	(0.49)
Exclusionary			1.43***			0.34	0.55
			(0.48)			(0.93)	(0.89)
Rebextsupp				1.43**		1.22	1.62*
				(0.68)		(0.90)	(0.84)
Rebel FR				0.19		0.11	0.04
				(0.65)		(0.67)	(0.63)
Rebconcen				−0.20		−0.50	−0.99
				(0.54)		(0.88)	(0.75)
Mass kill					1.47**	1.91*	1.89***
					(0.60)	(0.99)	(0.69)
Irregular	−1.97***	−1.45***	−1.58**	−1.77***	−1.31**	−2.74***	−2.29***
	(0.68)	(0.53)	(0.64)	(0.65)	(0.55)	(0.96)	(0.70)
GDP	0.92***	0.58***	0.32*	0.48***	0.44***	1.08***	0.74***
	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.30)	(0.26)
Population	−0.51***	−0.26	−0.23	−0.24	−0.20	−0.69***	−0.45**
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.24)	(0.22)
Democracy	−0.01	−0.04	0.04	−0.02	−0.01	0.01	−0.04
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Bdeaths	0.00*	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	−0.00	0.00**	−0.00	0.00**	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Successionist	0.90	0.42	1.13*	1.18*	1.62***	0.46	−0.43
	(0.92)	(0.63)	(0.62)	(0.64)	(0.55)	(1.19)	(0.82)
Constant	−2.79	−2.63	−1.03	−0.59	−1.10	−2.26	−3.31
	(2.60)	(2.25)	(1.61)	(1.66)	(1.50)	(2.36)	(2.70)
Depopulation							
Distance	0.47*					0.45	
	(0.26)					(0.35)	
Land area	0.53					0.22	
	(0.36)					(0.31)	
Bordconf		1.00					0.15
		(0.93)					(1.17)
Elections	2.46	1.90				2.21	1.51

	(1.61)	(1.50)				(1.82)	(1.14)
Rebclaim	1.93	0.81				0.36	−0.93
	(1.72)	(1.42)				(1.71)	(1.18)
CDF	1.36	0.76				0.54	0.31
	(1.49)	(1.27)				(1.59)	(1.50)
Ethnic war			1.35**			1.00	1.32*
			(0.63)			(0.62)	(0.70)
Exclusionary			0.70			−0.19	0.75
			(0.76)			(0.79)	(0.73)
Rebextsupp				−0.03		−0.72	−0.18
				(0.78)		(1.30)	(1.07)
Rebel FR				1.63**		1.78*	1.54
				(0.82)		(1.00)	(1.11)
Rebconcen				1.97*		0.97	1.73
				(1.11)		(1.24)	(1.58)
Mass kill					1.14	0.11	0.95
					(0.98)	(1.06)	(1.09)
Irregular	−1.64	−0.82	−0.04	−0.14	−0.19	−1.41	−0.91
	(1.50)	(1.20)	(1.00)	(1.30)	(0.98)	(1.48)	(1.55)
GDP	1.49***	1.02***	0.79***	0.87***	0.91***	1.53***	0.91**
	(0.38)	(0.39)	(0.29)	(0.33)	(0.30)	(0.50)	(0.42)
Population	−0.55*	−0.29	−0.35*	−0.28	−0.32*	−0.59*	−0.24
	(0.30)	(0.25)	(0.19)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.34)	(0.30)
Democracy	0.01	0.01	0.06	0.00	0.05	−0.04	−0.02
	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Bdeaths	0.00**	0.00*	0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00***	0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Successionist	−0.69	−0.41	−0.41	0.05	0.35	−0.45	−0.88
	(1.36)	(1.54)	(1.28)	(1.52)	(1.13)	(1.46)	(1.84)
Constant	−8.35	−3.57	−2.62	−3.65	−1.90	−7.59	−6.55
	(5.46)	(2.57)	(2.01)	(2.92)	(2.07)	(4.80)	(4.63)
Relocation							
Distance	1.71***					2.32***	
	(0.53)					(0.81)	
Land area	−0.68*					−0.82**	
	(0.39)					(0.40)	
Bordconf		2.74***					4.24***
		(0.74)					(1.04)
Elections	−0.85	−0.42				−1.44**	−0.71
	(0.63)	(0.81)				(0.63)	(0.92)
Rebclaim	0.24	−1.39**				−1.91*	−2.07**
	(0.73)	(0.57)				(1.08)	(0.84)
CDF	4.01***	3.33***				4.74***	3.75***
	(0.79)	(0.65)				(1.12)	(1.08)
Ethnic war			0.21			1.66**	0.92*
			(0.28)			(0.79)	(0.48)
Exclusionary			0.49			−0.42	−0.92
			(0.47)			(0.87)	(0.73)
Rebextsupp				1.01**		1.90**	0.27
				(0.43)		(0.76)	(0.45)
Rebel FR				0.47		−0.01	−0.61

				(0.49)		(0.84)	(0.78)
Rebconcen				0.09		−0.38	−2.05 ∗ ∗
				(0.57)		(1.05)	(0.99)
Mass kill					0.53	1.22	2.00 ∗ ∗∗
					(0.48)	(0.82)	(0.64)
Irregular	1.38∗	1.56∗	2.17 ∗ ∗∗	2.18 ∗ ∗∗	2.16 ∗ ∗∗	2.66 ∗ ∗	1.42
	(0.76)	(0.85)	(0.73)	(0.80)	(0.74)	(1.25)	(1.09)
GDP	−0.66∗	−0.77 ∗ ∗	−0.42	−0.37	−0.35	−1.08 ∗ ∗∗	−1.14 ∗ ∗
	(0.34)	(0.36)	(0.33)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.40)	(0.54)
Population	−0.16	−0.17	−0.04	−0.02	−0.01	−0.12	−0.45
	(0.26)	(0.21)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.29)	(0.31)
Democracy	0.07	−0.01	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.06	0.00
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Bdeaths	−0.00 ∗ ∗	−0.00 ∗ ∗	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 ∗ ∗	−0.00 ∗ ∗
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 ∗ ∗	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Successionist	−1.14	1.16	0.59	0.61	0.71	−2.01	1.89∗
	(1.01)	(0.79)	(0.53)	(0.49)	(0.47)	(1.82)	(1.11)
Constant	−5.11	−0.72	−0.97	−1.91	−1.45	−10.41 ∗ ∗	1.08
	(3.69)	(2.00)	(1.49)	(1.38)	(1.56)	(4.92)	(3.21)
Observations	149	154	150	147	155	137	141
Pseudo R^2	0.52	0.47	0.26	0.27	0.23	0.59	0.56

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Table F.7: Multinomial Logit Results (Mountains)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Cleansing							
Distance	−0.68 ∗ ∗					−0.74∗	
	(0.32)					(0.39)	
Land area	0.65 ∗ ∗					0.59∗	
	(0.25)					(0.35)	
Bordconf		−0.33					−0.62
		(0.82)					(1.08)
Elections	1.26	0.41				1.06	−0.12
	(1.13)	(0.91)				(1.36)	(1.04)
Rebclaim	3.83 ∗ ∗∗	3.15 ∗ ∗∗				2.54 ∗ ∗∗	2.04 ∗ ∗
	(0.98)	(1.15)				(0.81)	(0.84)
CDF	1.10	0.81				1.02	0.99
	(0.93)	(0.83)				(0.99)	(0.97)
Ethnic war			0.85 ∗ ∗			0.57	0.62
			(0.35)			(0.42)	(0.47)
Exclusionary			1.38 ∗ ∗			0.28	0.59
			(0.67)			(1.24)	(1.10)
Rebextsupp				1.74 ∗ ∗		0.87	0.80
				(0.80)		(0.94)	(0.78)
Rebel FR				−0.03		−0.02	0.36
				(0.68)		(0.70)	(0.69)
Rebel concen				0.49		−0.06	−0.20
				(0.63)		(0.91)	(0.71)
Mass kill					2.07 ∗ ∗	1.97	2.10 ∗ ∗
					(0.85)	(1.20)	(0.89)
Irregular	−2.03 ∗ ∗∗	−1.63 ∗ ∗	−1.86 ∗ ∗	−2.54 ∗ ∗∗	−1.90 ∗ ∗∗	−3.21 ∗ ∗	−2.85 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.75)	(0.64)	(0.74)	(0.78)	(0.64)	(1.25)	(1.02)
GDP	1.45 ∗ ∗∗	1.05 ∗ ∗∗	0.76 ∗ ∗∗	0.98 ∗ ∗∗	0.98 ∗ ∗∗	1.62 ∗ ∗	1.05 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.34)	(0.23)	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.63)	(0.30)
Population	−0.35	−0.21	−0.18	−0.35	−0.19	−0.49 ∗ ∗	−0.34
	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.23)
Democracy	−0.06	−0.05	0.02	0.01	−0.01	−0.06	−0.05
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.11)	(0.10)
Bdeaths	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 ∗ ∗∗	0.00	0.00	0.00∗
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Mountains	−0.30	−0.16	−0.05	0.47∗	0.15	−0.07	0.19
	(0.26)	(0.19)	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.33)	(0.24)
Constant	−3.02	−2.63	−1.23	−1.76	−2.20	−3.69	−4.19
	(2.91)	(2.37)	(1.73)	(2.02)	(2.00)	(3.22)	(2.84)
Depopulation							
Distance	0.16					0.25	
	(0.46)					(0.38)	
Land area	0.80					0.46	
	(0.53)					(0.51)	
Bordconflict		1.50 ∗ ∗					0.91
		(0.72)					(0.74)
Elections	2.83	2.78				2.55	2.10

	(2.68)	(2.45)				(2.36)	(1.72)
Rebel claim	1.58	1.48				0.12	−0.31
	(1.72)	(1.63)				(1.60)	(2.18)
CDF	1.12	1.08				−0.30	0.01
	(1.51)	(1.17)				(1.64)	(1.70)
Ethnic war			1.14			0.99*	0.87*
			(0.70)			(0.51)	(0.46)
Exclusionary			0.49			−0.20	0.23
			(0.83)			(0.92)	(0.84)
Rebextsupp				−0.02		−1.04	−0.95
				(1.06)		(1.45)	(1.09)
Rebel FR				1.94*		1.77*	1.88
				(1.00)		(0.98)	(1.14)
Rebel concen				2.05**		0.92	1.50
				(0.91)		(1.17)	(1.45)
Mass kill					1.44	−0.24	0.33
					(1.26)	(0.97)	(1.12)
Irregular	−1.61	−1.05	−0.18	−0.64	−0.64	−1.43	−1.34
	(1.35)	(1.21)	(0.92)	(1.26)	(0.97)	(1.67)	(1.37)
GDP	1.67***	1.44***	1.00***	1.40***	1.30***	1.65**	1.32***
	(0.51)	(0.47)	(0.30)	(0.33)	(0.41)	(0.66)	(0.45)
Population	−0.53**	−0.58**	−0.47**	−0.70***	−0.56***	−0.47	−0.59**
	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.32)	(0.25)
Democracy	−0.02	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.03	−0.04	0.02
	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.15)	(0.12)
Bdeaths	0.00**	0.00*	0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00***	0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00*	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Mountains	−0.02	−0.34	−0.02	0.31	0.10	0.13	0.00
	(0.39)	(0.32)	(0.26)	(0.31)	(0.25)	(0.47)	(0.52)
Constant	−9.24	−2.44	−1.37	−1.96	−0.71	−9.33	−3.56
	(5.80)	(2.81)	(2.30)	(2.98)	(2.65)	(6.08)	(3.25)
Relocation							
Distance	1.44***					2.00***	
	(0.49)					(0.60)	
Land area	−0.64*					−0.84**	
	(0.38)					(0.43)	
Bordconf		2.90***					3.53***
		(0.85)					(1.02)
Elections	−1.00	−0.11				−1.60*	−0.30
	(0.78)	(0.85)				(0.82)	(1.12)
Rebel claim	−0.45	−0.74				−2.50**	−1.82
	(0.65)	(0.92)				(1.03)	(1.45)
CDF	3.90***	2.80***				4.41***	3.04***
	(0.73)	(0.71)				(0.87)	(1.11)
Ethnic war			0.69**			1.24**	1.41**
			(0.33)			(0.62)	(0.58)
Exclusionary			0.24			0.07	−0.67
			(0.55)			(0.83)	(1.01)
Rebextsupp				1.06*		1.62*	0.07
				(0.62)		(0.86)	(0.57)
Rebel FR				0.31		0.45	−0.55

				(0.65)		(0.72)	(0.93)
Rebconcen				0.61		0.06	−0.94
				(0.70)		(0.91)	(0.99)
Mass kill					0.47	1.55*	1.16
					(0.57)	(0.94)	(0.74)
Irregular war	1.50*	1.55*	2.32 * **	2.05 * *	2.07 * *	1.91 * *	2.11
	(0.90)	(0.91)	(0.82)	(0.93)	(0.81)	(0.95)	(1.33)
GDP	−0.68*	−0.41	−0.26	−0.16	−0.17	−1.09 * **	−0.76
	(0.37)	(0.41)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.32)	(0.37)	(0.51)
Population	−0.08	−0.12	0.01	−0.07	0.01	−0.05	−0.33
	(0.32)	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.32)	(0.35)
Democracy	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.03
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.09)
Bdeaths	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 * *	0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Mountains	−0.10	−0.02	0.02	0.13	−0.02	−0.06	0.08
	(0.29)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.16)	(0.36)	(0.43)
Constant	−4.15	−1.55	−1.75	−1.91	−1.32	−8.60*	−0.94
	(4.15)	(2.09)	(1.61)	(1.45)	(1.54)	(4.95)	(3.72)
Observations	125	126	122	119	126	115	115
Pseudo R^2	0.50	0.48	0.29	0.31	0.26	0.56	0.56

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Table F.8: Multinomial Logit Results (War Duration)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Cleansing							
Distance	−0.55 ∗ ∗					−0.89 ∗ ∗	
	(0.27)					(0.40)	
Land area	0.34					0.30	
	(0.22)					(0.25)	
Bordconf		−0.66					−0.76
		(0.66)					(0.80)
Elections	1.25	0.40				0.92	−0.03
	(0.91)	(0.69)				(1.04)	(1.00)
Rebclaim	5.10 ∗ ∗∗	3.52 ∗ ∗∗				5.46 ∗ ∗∗	3.36 ∗ ∗∗
	(1.42)	(1.19)				(1.87)	(1.15)
CDF	0.82	1.14				0.20	1.57∗
	(0.79)	(0.86)				(1.15)	(0.90)
Ethnic war			0.96 ∗ ∗∗			0.22	0.42
			(0.37)			(0.47)	(0.53)
Exclusionary			1.28 ∗ ∗			0.04	0.34
			(0.55)			(0.98)	(0.91)
Rebextsupp				1.19		1.93 ∗ ∗	1.60 ∗ ∗
				(0.74)		(0.83)	(0.80)
Rebel FR				−0.86		−1.20	−0.61
				(0.63)		(0.76)	(0.75)
Rebconcen				−0.22		−0.25	−1.17
				(0.56)		(0.98)	(0.73)
Mass kill					1.44 ∗ ∗	2.20 ∗ ∗	1.84 ∗ ∗∗
					(0.60)	(0.87)	(0.62)
Irregular	−2.43 ∗ ∗∗	−1.95 ∗ ∗∗	−2.06 ∗ ∗∗	−2.64 ∗ ∗∗	−1.69 ∗ ∗∗	−3.46 ∗ ∗∗	−2.83 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.83)	(0.68)	(0.67)	(0.82)	(0.61)	(0.95)	(0.92)
GDP	1.17 ∗ ∗∗	0.72 ∗ ∗∗	0.55 ∗ ∗∗	0.68 ∗ ∗∗	0.68 ∗ ∗∗	1.62 ∗ ∗∗	0.82 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.28)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.48)	(0.30)
Population	−0.41 ∗ ∗	−0.30∗	−0.24	−0.26	−0.23∗	−0.61 ∗ ∗	−0.51∗
	(0.21)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.14)	(0.26)	(0.27)
Democracy	−0.03	−0.05	0.05	0.02	0.01	−0.05	−0.06
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Bdeaths	0.00 ∗ ∗	0.00∗	0.00∗	0.00∗	0.00	0.00 ∗ ∗	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 ∗ ∗∗	0.00	0.00 ∗ ∗∗	0.00 ∗ ∗
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Wardur	0.02 ∗ ∗∗	0.01 ∗ ∗	0.02 ∗ ∗∗	0.02 ∗ ∗∗	0.02 ∗ ∗∗	0.03 ∗ ∗	0.01 ∗ ∗∗
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Constant	−4.49	−2.96	−1.76	−0.63	−1.49	−4.87 ∗ ∗	−3.18
	(3.07)	(2.42)	(1.65)	(1.79)	(1.54)	(2.27)	(2.86)
Depopulation							
Distance	0.33					0.36	
	(0.33)					(0.45)	
Land area	0.58					0.10	
	(0.48)					(0.81)	
Bordconf		0.69					−0.03
		(1.09)					(1.25)
Elections	2.07	1.75				2.50	1.44

	(1.61)	(1.53)				(2.35)	(1.09)
Rebclaim	1.83	0.51				−0.48	−1.61
	(2.28)	(1.36)				(2.06)	(1.57)
CDF	0.71	0.64				−0.55	−0.01
	(1.48)	(1.12)				(1.76)	(1.53)
Ethnic war			1.29**			1.86**	1.36*
			(0.62)			(0.90)	(0.81)
Exclusionary			0.22			−0.01	0.76
			(0.76)			(1.35)	(0.85)
Rebextsupp				−0.66		−1.55	−0.74
				(0.77)		(1.49)	(1.17)
Rebel FR				0.80		1.08	1.14
				(0.96)		(1.72)	(1.36)
Rebconcen				2.07**		2.05	2.23
				(0.82)		(1.42)	(1.76)
Mass kill					1.04	0.20	0.78
					(1.05)	(1.68)	(1.02)
Irregular	−2.54	−1.21	−0.57	−0.91	−0.67	−2.66	−1.47
	(1.93)	(1.28)	(1.05)	(1.39)	(1.10)	(1.97)	(1.74)
GDP	1.60***	1.05***	0.88***	0.96***	1.03***	1.78***	0.90**
	(0.52)	(0.38)	(0.30)	(0.35)	(0.33)	(0.64)	(0.40)
Population	−0.46	−0.28	−0.31	−0.26	−0.35	−0.48	−0.25
	(0.32)	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.22)	(0.45)	(0.36)
Democracy	−0.05	−0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03	−0.14	−0.03
	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.18)	(0.12)
Bdeaths	0.00**	0.00*	0.00*	0.00**	0.00*	0.00***	0.00**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Wardur	0.02*	0.01	0.02**	0.02**	0.02**	0.03**	0.01***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Constant	−10.15*	−4.11	−3.97	−4.44	−2.62	−11.23	−6.91
	(5.88)	(2.74)	(2.52)	(3.47)	(2.28)	(7.81)	(5.76)
Relocation							
Distance	1.70***					2.86***	
	(0.49)					(0.72)	
Land area	−0.88**					−1.87***	
	(0.43)					(0.65)	
Bordconf		2.43***					4.16***
		(0.78)					(1.12)
Elections	−1.44*	−1.08				−2.23**	−1.15
	(0.74)	(0.88)				(0.94)	(1.17)
Rebclaim	−0.49	−1.30				−3.94***	−2.06
	(0.67)	(1.05)				(1.43)	(1.38)
CDF	3.75***	2.86***				5.47***	3.19***
	(0.87)	(0.62)				(1.39)	(0.92)
Ethnic war			0.33			2.04**	1.08**
			(0.31)			(0.96)	(0.48)
Exclusionary			−0.18			−0.54	−1.30
			(0.66)			(1.48)	(0.94)
Rebextsupp				0.33		1.21	−0.16
				(0.58)		(0.86)	(0.66)
Rebel FR				−0.73		−1.20	−2.06**

				(0.60)		(1.26)	(0.84)
Rebconcen				0.08		1.07	−1.60*
				(0.59)		(1.34)	(0.89)
Mass kill					0.28	2.47**	1.90**
					(0.56)	(1.11)	(0.84)
Irregular	0.70	1.39	1.49*	1.09	1.50*	1.87	1.18
	(0.89)	(0.90)	(0.82)	(0.85)	(0.79)	(1.52)	(1.23)
GDP	−0.84**	−0.78*	−0.19	−0.24	−0.21	−1.41***	−0.88
	(0.36)	(0.44)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.32)	(0.43)	(0.65)
Population	−0.23	−0.09	−0.05	−0.07	−0.03	−0.49	−0.45
	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.36)	(0.28)
Democracy	0.05	−0.00	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.07	0.03
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.11)	(0.09)
Bdeaths	−0.00	−0.00*	0.00	0.00	0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Wardur	0.02***	0.01***	0.02***	0.02***	0.02***	0.03***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Constant	−3.67	−1.47	−2.30	−1.48	−2.35	−6.17	0.83
	(3.35)	(1.68)	(1.71)	(1.51)	(1.57)	(4.65)	(2.93)
Observations	149	154	150	147	155	137	141
Pseudo R^2	0.56	0.49	0.33	0.34	0.30	0.64	0.59

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Table F.9: Multinomial Logit Results (Rebel SD)

	Model 1 (Assortative)	Model 2 (Assortative)	Model 3 (Nationalism)	Model 4 (Denial)	Model 5 (Punishment)	Model 6 (Full Model)	Model 7 (Full Model)
Cleansing							
Distance	−0.57 ∗ ∗					−0.71 ∗ ∗∗	
	(0.25)					(0.26)	
Land area	0.64 ∗ ∗∗					0.70 ∗ ∗	
	(0.20)					(0.28)	
Bordconf		−0.21					−0.09
		(0.69)					(0.83)
Elections	1.44∗	0.34				0.86	−0.23
	(0.82)	(0.63)				(1.00)	(0.98)
Rebclaim	5.37 ∗ ∗∗	3.63 ∗ ∗∗				5.57 ∗ ∗∗	3.83 ∗ ∗∗
	(1.25)	(1.16)				(1.46)	(1.15)
CDF	1.55	0.78				1.89∗	1.55 ∗ ∗
	(0.96)	(0.69)				(1.06)	(0.75)
Ethnic war			0.89 ∗ ∗			0.15	0.37
			(0.37)			(0.61)	(0.62)
Exclusionary			1.60 ∗ ∗∗			0.54	0.71
			(0.49)			(1.09)	(0.94)
Rebextsupp				1.57 ∗ ∗		1.35	1.25
				(0.70)		(0.84)	(0.94)
Rebel FR				−0.32		−0.66	−0.38
				(0.69)		(0.81)	(0.70)
Rebconcen				−0.14		−1.05	−1.34∗
				(0.57)		(1.05)	(0.77)
Mass kill					1.57 ∗ ∗∗	2.43 ∗ ∗∗	2.34 ∗ ∗∗
					(0.56)	(0.83)	(0.77)
Irregular	−1.67 ∗ ∗	−1.11∗	−1.26∗	−1.47 ∗ ∗	−0.85	−2.68 ∗ ∗	−2.11 ∗ ∗
	(0.77)	(0.60)	(0.67)	(0.71)	(0.62)	(1.10)	(0.94)
GDP	0.97 ∗ ∗∗	0.56 ∗ ∗∗	0.37 ∗ ∗	0.53 ∗ ∗∗	0.52 ∗ ∗∗	1.20 ∗ ∗∗	0.60 ∗ ∗
	(0.26)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.34)	(0.25)
Population	−0.54 ∗ ∗	−0.27	−0.24∗	−0.28∗	−0.22	−0.82 ∗ ∗∗	−0.46∗
	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.28)	(0.25)
Democracy	−0.05	−0.05	0.04	−0.00	−0.00	−0.02	−0.04
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Bdeaths	0.00 ∗ ∗	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00∗	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00 ∗ ∗∗	0.00	0.00	0.00 ∗ ∗
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Rebel SD	2.88 ∗ ∗∗	1.62 ∗ ∗	1.37∗	1.42∗	1.69 ∗ ∗	3.39 ∗ ∗∗	2.01∗
	(0.82)	(0.81)	(0.76)	(0.77)	(0.74)	(1.30)	(1.12)
Constant	−4.43	−2.82	−1.05	−0.25	−1.07	−3.69	−3.40
	(2.82)	(2.28)	(1.48)	(1.71)	(1.45)	(2.74)	(2.66)
Depopulation							
Distance	0.30					0.59 ∗ ∗	
	(0.31)					(0.29)	
Land area	0.65∗					−0.03	
	(0.36)					(0.31)	
Bordconf		1.01					0.44
		(0.95)					(1.19)
Elections	2.21	1.91				2.47	1.70

	(1.73)	(1.55)				(1.93)	(1.12)
Rebclaim	2.01	0.66				0.27	−1.09
	(1.99)	(1.31)				(2.08)	(1.32)
CDF	1.35	0.95				0.58	0.66
	(1.51)	(1.05)				(1.65)	(1.20)
Ethnic war			1.28**			1.28**	1.40**
			(0.60)			(0.50)	(0.60)
Exclusionary			0.49			−0.02	0.55
			(0.75)			(0.74)	(0.71)
Rebextsupp				−0.16		−1.34	−0.59
				(0.98)		(1.38)	(1.28)
Rebel FR				1.77**		2.18*	2.09*
				(0.86)		(1.19)	(1.17)
Rebconcen				1.85**		0.51	1.37
				(0.87)		(1.15)	(1.26)
Mass kill					1.01	0.14	0.60
					(0.89)	(1.21)	(0.92)
Irregular	−1.77	−0.95	−0.02	−0.25	−0.01	−2.11*	−1.49
	(1.47)	(1.01)	(0.90)	(0.92)	(0.87)	(1.27)	(1.00)
GDP	1.46***	0.98***	0.72***	0.88***	0.89***	1.62***	0.87**
	(0.41)	(0.33)	(0.25)	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.52)	(0.42)
Population	−0.63**	−0.30	−0.30	−0.26	−0.31*	−0.71**	−0.20
	(0.28)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.35)	(0.25)
Democracy	−0.01	0.00	0.03	−0.00	0.04	−0.05	−0.03
	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Bdeaths	0.00**	0.00*	0.00*	0.00*	0.00	0.00**	0.00*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Rebel SD	1.59	0.03	0.27	−0.26	0.71	0.04	−1.42
	(1.33)	(1.57)	(1.34)	(1.74)	(1.29)	(1.99)	(2.60)
Constant	−7.82*	−3.47	−2.98	−3.63	−1.91	−6.11*	−6.59
	(4.11)	(2.43)	(2.15)	(2.86)	(2.02)	(3.52)	(4.18)
Relocation							
Distance	1.52***					2.27***	
	(0.44)					(0.69)	
Land area	−0.73*					−1.05**	
	(0.40)					(0.42)	
Bordconf		2.71***					3.92***
		(0.79)					(1.16)
Elections	−0.96	−0.58				−1.94**	−0.79
	(0.68)	(0.75)				(0.79)	(0.82)
Rebclaim	−0.08	−0.99				−2.16*	−1.61
	(0.58)	(0.84)				(1.22)	(1.24)
CDF	4.01***	3.05***				5.14***	3.23***
	(0.86)	(0.61)				(1.24)	(0.80)
Ethnic war			0.24			1.56**	1.02**
			(0.25)			(0.68)	(0.49)
Exclusionary			0.51			−0.12	−0.70
			(0.50)			(0.96)	(0.81)
Rebextsupp				0.99**		2.15**	0.27
				(0.42)		(0.94)	(0.51)
Rebel FR				0.23		−0.08	−0.88

				(0.46)		(0.83)	(0.83)
Rebconcen				0.16		−0.50	−1.77 * *
				(0.51)		(1.10)	(0.86)
Mass kill					0.40	1.62	1.55 * *
					(0.49)	(1.03)	(0.71)
Irregular	1.72 * *	2.00 * *	2.43 * **	2.47 * **	2.52 * **	3.28 * **	2.14 * *
	(0.79)	(0.79)	(0.66)	(0.69)	(0.63)	(1.25)	(1.08)
GDP	−0.81 * *	−0.73 * *	−0.47	−0.40	−0.39	−1.41 * **	−1.02 * *
	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.32)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.47)	(0.48)
Population	−0.20	−0.09	−0.02	−0.02	−0.00	−0.26	−0.27
	(0.26)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.33)	(0.25)
Democracy	0.04	−0.01	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Bdeaths	−0.00 * *	−0.00 * *	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00 * *	−0.00 * *
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Milper	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00*	0.00	−0.00	−0.00	−0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Rebel SD	1.78 * *	0.60	1.22	1.17	1.47	2.70 * *	0.62
	(0.72)	(0.75)	(0.93)	(0.96)	(0.99)	(1.07)	(0.79)
Constant	−3.66	−1.48	−1.33	−1.91	−1.56	−8.57*	−0.47
	(3.43)	(1.86)	(1.48)	(1.40)	(1.47)	(5.07)	(2.73)
Observations	149	154	150	147	155	137	141
Pseudo R^2	0.53	0.47	0.26	0.27	0.24	0.61	0.56

Standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.010

Appendix G

List of Interviews in Syria

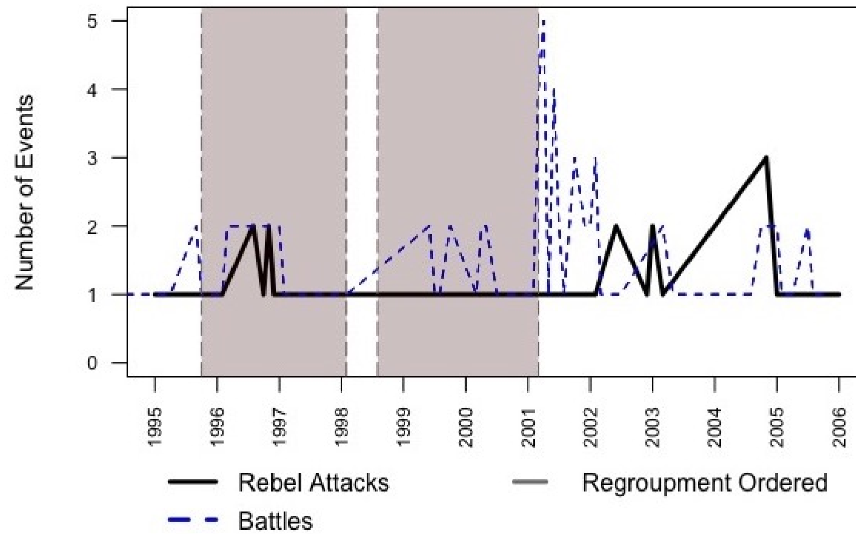
G.1 List of Interviews in Syria

ID	Location	Date of Interview	Respondent Description
SYR001	Gaziantep, Turkey	January 2016	Male, Syrian human rights activist
SYR002	Gaziantep, Turkey	January 2016	Female, Syrian journalist
SYR003	Gaziantep, Turkey	January 2016	Male, Syrian aid worker
SYR004	Gaziantep, Turkey	March 2016	Male, Syrian opposition official
SYR005	Gaziantep, Turkey	March 2016	Male, U.N. aid worker
SYR006	Gaziantep, Turkey	March 2016	Female, Syrian activist
SYR007	Gaziantep, Turkey	May 2016	Male, Syrian journalist
SYR008	Gaziantep, Turkey	May 2016	Male, Syrian activist
SYR009	Gaziantep, Turkey	May 2016	Male, former rebel combatant
SYR010	Gaziantep, Turkey	June 2016	Male, Syrian NGO official
SYR011	Gaziantep, Turkey	June 2016	Male, former government official
SYR012	Gaziantep, Turkey	June 2016	Male, former local councilman, Aleppo
SYR013	Gaziantep, Turkey	June 2016	Male, former local councilman, Idlib
SYR014	Gaziantep, Turkey	June 2016	Male, former rebel combatant
SYR015	Istanbul, Turkey	December 2016	Male, regime defector
SYR016	Istanbul, Turkey	January 2017	Male, Syrian activist
SYR017	Istanbul, Turkey	January 2017	Male, regime defector
SYR018	Istanbul, Turkey	January 2017	Male, Syrian journalist
SYR019	Istanbul, Turkey	January 2017	Male, regime defector/rebel commander
SYR020	Istanbul, Turkey	January 2017	Male, Syrian opposition official
SYR021	Istanbul, Turkey	January 2017	Female, Syrian human rights activist
SYR022	Istanbul, Turkey	June 2017	Male, Provincial council official
SYR023	Istanbul, Turkey	June 2017	Female, Syrian researcher
SYR024	Istanbul, Turkey	July 2017	Male, Syrian analyst
SYR025	Istanbul, Turkey	July 2017	Male, Syrian NGO leader
SYR026	Berlin, Germany	October 2017	Male, Syrian activist
SYR027	Berlin, Germany	October 2017	Male, Syrian journalist
SYR028	Berlin, Germany	October 2017	Male, Syrian aid worker
SYR029	Berlin, Germany	October 2017	Male, Aid worker/SARC advisor
SYR030	Beirut, Lebanon	January 2019	Male, Syrian aid worker
SYR031	Al-Hasakeh, Syria	January 2019	Male, IDP, Roj Camp
SYR032	Al-Hasakeh, Syria	January 2019	Male, IDP, Roj Camp
SYR033	Al-Hasakeh, Syria	January 2019	Male, IDP, Roj Camp
SYR034	Ein Issa, Syria	January 2019	Male, Local council member, Idlib province
SYR035	Ein Issa, Syria	January 2019	Female, Syrian aid worker

Appendix H

Violent Events Data in Burundi

Figure H.1: Military Battles and Rebel Attacks in Bubanza Province



Source: UCDP GED (Sundberg and Melander 2013).

Figure H.2: Civilians Deaths from Rebel and Government Attacks in Bubanza Province

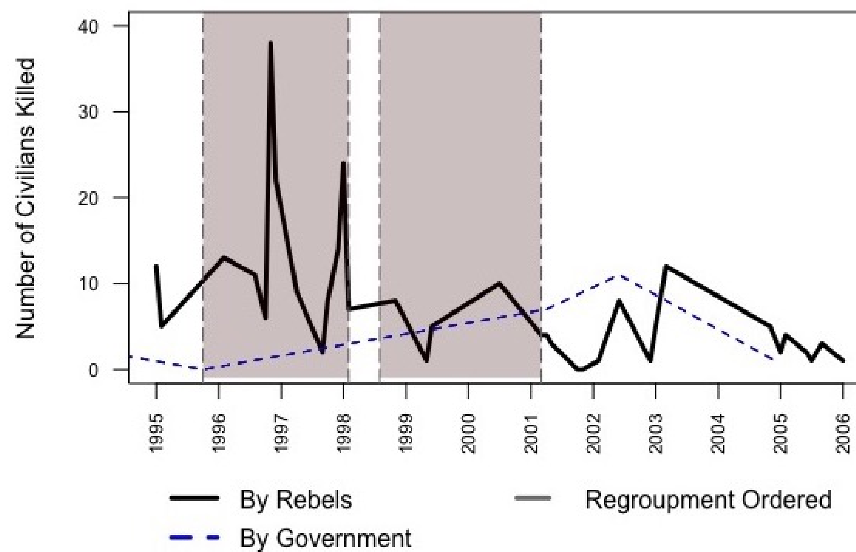


Figure H.3: Military Battles and Rebel Attacks in Bujumbura-Rural Province

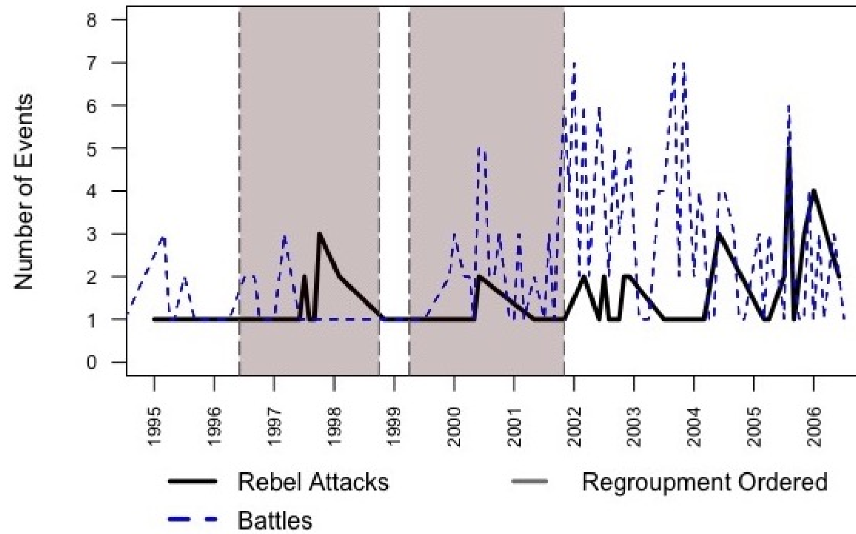


Figure H.4: Civilians Deaths from Rebel and Government Attacks in Bujumbura-Rural

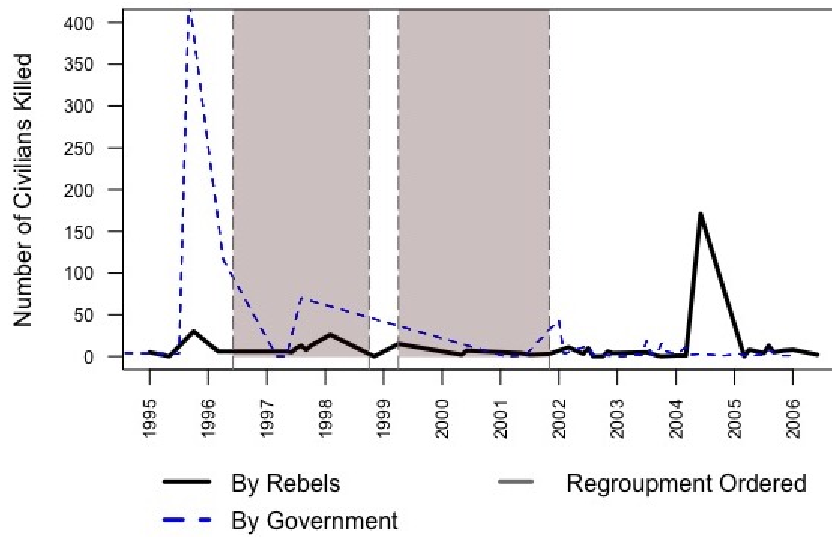


Figure H.5: Military Battles and Rebel Attacks in Bururi Province

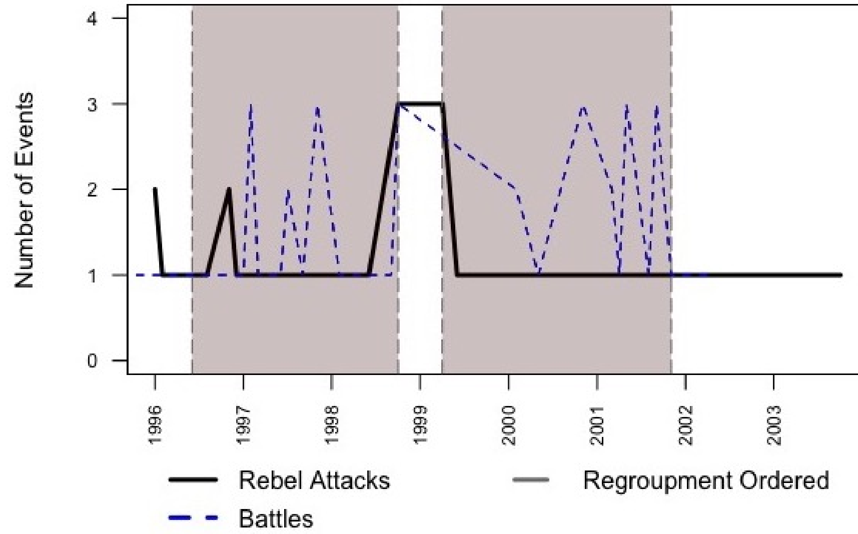


Figure H.6: Civilians Deaths from Rebel and Government Attacks in Bururi Province