6

Violence

The killing of civilians is a common consequence of armed conflict. Some of this violence is the unintended result of large-scale fighting between warring parties. Some follows directly from conflict-induced famine, malnutrition, and disease. But much of the violence directed at noncombatant populations in the course of war is intended. Armed groups target civilians as they organize their militaries, solicit resources to sustain the fighting, build bases of popular support, and weaken the support networks of opposing groups. This chapter explores patterns of rebel violence in civil war, investigating whether variation in the level and character of violence can be explained by examining differences in the origins and structure of rebel movements. I argue that high levels of indiscriminate violence are committed by insurgent groups that are unable to police defection within their ranks; early missteps in the use of force generate civilian resistance and ever greater levels of coercion over time. Activist rebellions tend to have the institutions needed to choose targets carefully; as a consequence, such movements employ largely selective violence at much lower levels of intensity.

The chapter is divided into five sections. In the first, I introduce a definition of violence that captures a broad range of rebel-civilian interactions that include but are not limited to killing. In the second, I show how differences in the membership and organizational structure of rebel groups can account for variation in observed patterns of violence in civil war. Structures matter because they affect the capacity of rebel leaders to employ violence selectively without making errors; mistakes make a difference because they affect the calculations of potential civilian supporters about how to respond to rebel groups when they enter a region. I then contrast the observable implications of this model with hypotheses that

follow from two others, one of which focuses on the impact of contestation with government forces on rebel strategies and the other of which draws attention to how variation in the degree of control exercised by insurgents shapes patterns of violence. In the fourth section, I present quantitative evidence that rebel groups with different internal characteristics exhibit different patterns of rebel-civilian interaction. Drawing on information about incidents of violence in each of the four civil war case studies, I show how activist and opportunistic rebellions differ in the extent to which rebel groups (as compared to the government) are responsible for violence, the form that violence takes, and who is targeted. Finally, I turn to a consideration of subnational variation within each civil war, demonstrating how theories that focus on organizational capacity better explain the observed consistency in the character of rebel behavior over time and across regions than do approaches that emphasize dynamics of contestation and control.

Defining Violence in Civil War

Violence against and between civilians is a defining feature of civil war. Levels of violence are central to definitions that distinguish civil war from other forms of political instability, but analysts' attention has rarely been directed at understanding variation in the violence that accompanies civil war. Charles King describes this variation: "Episodes of social violence, whether riots or atrocities committed during civil wars, may be well patterned, but they do not occur uniformly across time or space. There are lulls and peaks. Violence comes to different cities, towns, and neighborhoods at different times."[1] Violence also takes on different forms in different contexts. Patterns of killing, rape, and pillage are not the same across all armed groups, nor are strategies of violence consistent throughout every conflict. Yet this variation is traditionally subsumed in the concept of civil war. This chapter instead engages violence at the micro level in a way that allows for systematic comparisons of violence across countries as well as assessment of patterns within countries across geographic space and over time.

I define violence broadly to include patterns of rebel-civilian interaction that involve coercion. Violent homicides in the context of war are an obvious

[1] Charles King, "The Micropolitics of Social Violence," *World Politics* 56 (April 2004): 431–55.

component: killings are distinct events that are relatively easy to identify and count. Rebels also perpetrate other forms of abuse that include the beating of noncombatants, the rape of women and children, abduction, forced relocation and labor, looting, and destruction.

A focus on broader patterns of rebel-civilian interaction is reflective of the range of human rights violations prohibited under the Geneva Conventions.[2] Article 3 provides the following:

In the case of an armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties, each Party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions:
1. Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed 'hors de combat' by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion, or faith, sex, birth, or wealth, or any other similar criteria. To this end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons:
(a) violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment, and torture; (b) taking of hostages; (c) outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment; (d) the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples.[3]

A subsequent protocol drafted in 1977 further clarifies the protections guaranteed to noncombatant populations in internal conflicts. All persons "who do not take a direct part in the hostilities" are protected from "violence to life, health, and physical or mental well-being; collective punishments; taking of hostages; acts of terrorism; outrages upon personal dignity;

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[2] Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions and Protocol II are designed to govern "non-international armed conflicts." Debates over the characteristics of internal conflicts that merit inclusion have been intense. Protocol II provides a fairly clear elaboration, stating that it concerns "all armed conflicts ... not covered by Article I [of Protocol I] ... which take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement [Protocol II]." The inclusion of conflicts hinges on the capacity of the insurgent group, which is debated on a case-by-case basis. The conflicts discussed in this study clearly meet the threshold for inclusion; as such, the provisions of Article III and Protocol II apply. For a fuller discussion, see Babafemi Akinrinade, "International Humanitarian Law and the Conflict in Sierra Leone," *Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics, and Public Policy* 15 (2001): 391–454.

[3] Article 3 Common to the 1949 Geneva Conventions.

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slavery; pillage; and threats to commit any of the foregoing acts."[4] Protections extend not only to civilian life but also to "objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population." A broad definition of violence helps us avoid the problem of focusing only on the most violent places or on atrocities that are easy to identify and measure, such as massacres.[5]

Doing research on violence requires an explicit focus on micro-level interactions. Behaviors, such as killing, abuse, and destruction, are experienced by individuals, groups, and communities. Aggregate patterns tend to obscure these local dynamics. From a more local perspective, one can quickly see that observed patterns of violence are not necessarily a reflection of group strategies. Perpetrators make decisions about assassinations they wish to carry out or government strongholds they would like to destroy. Actual killings and attacks, however, capture the results when such strategies are put into practice. Issues of organization (how groups translate strategies into actions) and interaction (how those actions are received and responded to by civilians) must be entered into the equation. The common tendency to conflate observed violence with strategy leads scholars to search only for plausible explanations of the strategic value of amputation, massacres, and rape when such behavior may or may not have been ordered by commanders at all.

An approach that emphasizes micro-level interactions also requires an understanding of the context in which violence is observed. Warfare empowers actors and structures choices in important ways. Because the nature of warfare differs across contexts, the strategic considerations of perpetrators and the resources available to them are likely to vary.[6] In irregular warfare, insurgent groups operate (at least initially) with fewer resources and less power than government forces. As the strategically weaker side, rebels avoid conventional battles in favor of tactics that emphasize stealth and surprise. They embed themselves in the civilian population, which acts a source of support and sustenance and as a shield against detection. Civil

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[4] Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II), 1977.

[5] Stathis Kalyvas, "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria," *Rationality and Society* 11 (1999): 243–85.

[6] Stathis Kalyvas distinguishes irregular war from two other contexts in which violence is committed: conventional war, in which there is a parity of high resources across the two parties, and symmetric nonconventional warfare, in which both parties are severely resource-constrained. See "Warfare in Civil Wars," in *Rethinking the Nature of War*, eds. Isabelle Duyvesteyn and Jan Angstrom (Abingdton: Frank Cass, 2005), pp. 88–108.

war violence emerges in irregular warfare from the interactions between at least two actors who compete for power and the loyalties of noncombatant populations.

Measuring violence as I define it necessitates capturing the dynamics of this interaction at the local level within and across conflicts. This is a difficult task because perpetrators have strong incentives to misrepresent their behavior during the war and rewrite history in its aftermath, and researchers must turn primarily to participant accounts, as records of violence are rarely kept. Following scholars such as Ashutosh Varshney, Steven Wilkinson, and Stathis Kalyvas, I therefore supplement participant accounts with a systematic coding of incidents of violence across the three civil wars.[7] An *event* is the unit of analysis, defined as any incident of soldier-civilian interaction that involves one of a range of forms of coercion.[8] Culled from decades of local newspaper reporting in each country, the events are coded to reveal patterns of responsibility, the range of tactics and strategies employed, and the identities of those targeted by combatant groups in the context of conflict. This approach yields information on 711 violent incidents in Uganda, 1,379 in Mozambique, 4,159 in Peru (outside of the Huallaga Valley), and 804 in the Huallaga Valley. When combined with information gleaned from hundreds of interviews with combatants and civilians, these event datasets offer a compelling picture of patterns of violence across the three countries and within each of the conflicts. They allow for two sorts of comparisons: tests of hypotheses predicting differences in the aggregate behavior of groups across conflicts and explorations of theories that suggest geographic and temporal patterns of violence within a single civil war. At the same time, such data enable the measurement of two different dimensions of violence. "Intensity" refers to the level of violence – the number of killings, attacks, and incidents of coercion. The "character" of violence, on the other hand, measures the range of violent behaviors rebel groups exhibit and the identity of their targets. These assessments of the character of violence are compared and contrasted with the participant accounts of rebel behavior that we explore in subsequent sections.

Organization and Violence

Explanations of violence against noncombatants often begin with a focus on military tactics. Because rebel groups begin as small, vulnerable military organizations, they tend to employ guerrilla warfare as a strategy against government forces. Guerrilla tactics, almost by definition, make violence against civilians more likely in civil conflict. With the absence of clear lines of battle in guerrilla war, rebel forces operate in areas of fragmented control or in regions dominated by the state. They rely on small, mobile forces to carry out hit-and-run attacks, sabotage, and assassinations. To survive, these units must be able to blend in with noncombatant populations. The result is that guerrillas and their supporters are not always easily identifiable to government forces or to each other. In many cases, they are indistinguishable from the civilian population. The blurring of the line between combatants and civilians grows more extreme when guerrilla armies themselves emerge from the populations in which they seek to hide. Civilians from war zones often become combatants in the rebel group, and local leaders assist in the organization of resources, information, and support for guerrilla armies.

Central to the story of irregular war is the interaction between rebel groups, the armed forces of the state, and civilian populations. Armed groups compete with one another for the affection and loyalties of noncombatant populations. Civilian support is important to the outcome of the conflict: noncombatants are in a position of power, able to shift their support from one side to another, to provide or withhold resources necessary for the groups' operation, and to offer information to combatants about who is supporting the opposition. From the perspective of combatant groups, the dynamics of irregular warfare put a premium on information because knowing who is friend and who is foe helps them to build support, weaken the enemy, and avoid detection. Because control over territory is fragmented, there are often strong incentives for civilians to defect to the other side, even in places where support for the rebel group (or the government) is strong. Both sides offer material and nonmaterial benefits to civilians to induce defection in the hope of shifting civilian support and gaining information that may be useful in weakening the opposition.

Because civilian defection has potentially devastating consequences for a group's survival, groups sometimes employ violence to maintain civilian support. The threat of force is *persuasive* because it sufficiently raises the costs of defection to individuals that care most about survival. To be

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[7] Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Steven Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
[8] A detailed description of the structure, coding, and potential biases of events data is presented in Appendix B.

effective, though, force must also be *selective*.[9] If collaborators cannot be sure that their participation guarantees their survival (or at least protection from attack), they have much weaker incentives to collaborate. Violence is used efficiently if it is employed to punish only those who defect (or are likely to defect): in this case, it acts as a credible signal of the actors' ability to exercise control and protect their supporters. Avoiding the indiscriminate use of violence also helps to minimize the negative consequences of using force against civilians for a group's reputation among domestic and international actors.

But selective violence is difficult to implement in practice. Information that enables groups to distinguish friend from foe must be obtained from civilians living in war zones. Potential denouncers make their own individual calculations about whether to turn a neighbor in – calculations that are often as much about personal feuds and vendettas as they are about broader issues at stake in the conflict. Rebel groups thus require institutions capable of soliciting information from noncombatants and validating denunciations. They also require structures that can translate valuable information about potential enemies into strategic actions to eliminate the threat.

Activist and opportunistic rebellions behave differently as perpetrators of violence. Activist rebellions attract individuals committed to longer-term goals and embedded in networks of repeated interaction that enable leaders to shape the incentives and interests of their followers. Organized around shared identities or ideologies, activist groups build organizational structures that decentralize power while retaining control through a system of norms and formal mechanisms of command and control. Opportunistic rebellions, on the other hand, attract participants interested only in short-term, material gains. Joined together by nothing more than their material interests, opportunistic groups are plagued by indiscipline, as combatants often sacrifice a group's objectives to their individual interests. Figure 6.1 summarizes the differences in activist and opportunistic groups' organizational control and governance structures.

These differences in the membership and structure of rebel groups are reflected in the quality of a group's institutions – its capacity to obtain information and use it to direct violence without making mistakes. Activists build organizations capable of using violence strategically. They construct relationships with noncombatant populations that yield information that enables them to punish defectors and reward collaborators. Networks of

9 The understanding of selective violence I adopt here is drawn from Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence*.
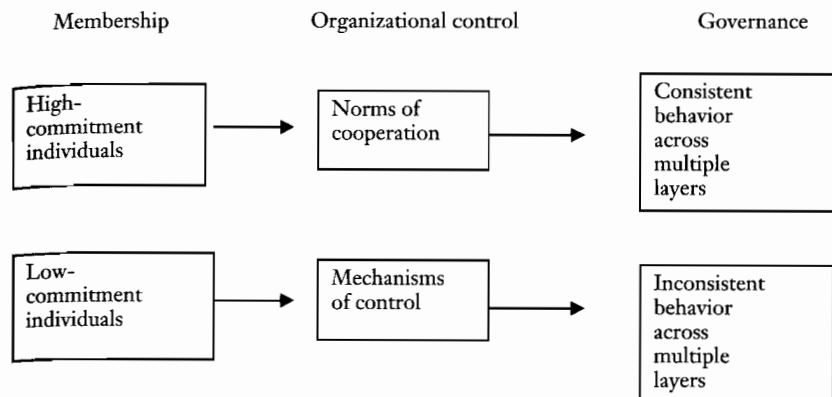
Violence

Figure 6.1. The Nature of the Perpetrator

local ties that enable recruitment, provide the resources needed to maintain the movement, and help to govern areas of influence can also be utilized in pursuit of valuable information. Activist groups also punish misbehavior by rebel combatants publicly to ensure that behavior is consistent across the organization. Beatings, looting, destruction, and other behaviors that potentially diminish civilian support are strictly controlled. The cost of losing loyalty is far too high in activist rebellions.

Opportunistic rebellions lack the social ties and connections necessary to obtain valuable information. Few resources have been invested in constructing institutions of comanagement and cooperation with local leaders that would elicit the truthful denunciations necessary to use force selectively. Moreover, the short-term-oriented behavior of combatants leads to incidents of looting, destruction, and indiscriminate killing that diminish civilian support and condition noncombatants' expectations. When these behaviors go unpunished, as they tend to do in opportunistic rebellions, a group develops a negative reputation. Commitments to restrain the use of force lose credibility. Opportunistic rebellions evolve without the formal and informal mechanisms they need to restrain the behavior of their members.

A group's institutions matter also because rebel behavior that goes unpunished early on in the conflict shapes civilians' expectations about how groups are likely to behave in the future. War involves a series of repeated interactions between combatants and civilians. In the beginning of a conflict, rebel groups often make mistakes in using violence. Because control over territory is fragmented, groups tend to have imperfect information

about who is collaborating and who is defecting. Efforts to use force selectively can backfire when individuals are unjustly targeted. At the same time, new rebels are often unsure of how they are expected to behave. Acts of indiscipline are an inevitable result. Where groups punish indiscipline and apologize for mistakes, they build reputations for restraint. Where such behavior goes unpunished, a reputation for coercion is established.

A group's reputation is important because, in spite of the breakdown of institutions and physical infrastructure, information manages to flow during civil wars. From rural villages to the cities, civilians learn quickly how the rebels are behaving. Information about one attack spreads quickly, conditioning how civilians prepare for and respond to future rebel incursions. Even one incident in which a combatant kills a civilian without cause damages the reputation of the rebel group. When civilians are unsure of what to expect from insurgents or, alternatively, are convinced that rebels are likely to abuse them, they often choose to resist or flee when rebels arrive. This sets into motion a cycle of resistance followed by increasing coercion that leads violence to spiral out of control. Only sustained cooperative behavior enables rebel groups to establish a reputation that elicits civilian collaboration without recourse to coercion. Figure 6.2 depicts the two pathways of rebel action and civilian response.

It may seem puzzling that the use of high levels of indiscriminate force emerges as a rational strategy for groups to employ. Undoubtedly, groups that employ violence against noncombatants incur significant costs in consequence. Indiscriminate violence engenders discontent among civilian populations, creates higher levels of resistance to rebel advances, and damages the reputation of a rebel group both within the country and outside of it. But opportunistic rebellions are largely unable to reverse patterns of indiscriminate violence, for two reasons. Because they are held together by short-term material incentives, combatants' access to material rewards must continue if an organizational collapse is to be prevented. Groups are thus permissive, if not encouraging, of attacks on civilian populations in order to maintain their membership. And since reputations form early on in the conflict, these groups are unable to retreat from high-violence strategies precisely *because* they employ them. Once a cycle of rebel violence and civilian resistance begins, it is difficult to stop.

The logic of this model of violence suggests a number of observable implications. Its most important prediction is that the level and character of violence perpetrated by insurgent groups is likely to vary across groups and across conflicts. Some insurgent organizations will emerge with the capacity

Violence

The sequence

Figure 6.2. Rebel Actions and Civilian Response

to use violence selectively while holding other forms of coercion in check. These activist groups will tend to commit low levels of violence. Other groups will exhibit behavior akin to indiscriminate violence, interspersing killing, looting, and pillaging with more traditional military operations. The resistance such behavior generates among civilians tends to exacerbate coercive behavior over time, leading opportunistic groups to commit much higher levels of violence.

Looking within conflicts rather than across them, the argument suggests that the character of violence will remain fairly consistent across time and in different geographic regions of each conflict. That is, groups that kill

indiscriminately, destroy villages, and loot property are likely to do so at the beginning of the conflict as well as at the end and will tend to do so in every region in which they operate. When facing activist groups, civilians' expectations of cooperation obviate the need for coercive behavior; confronted with opportunistic insurgencies, civilian resistance leads to the persistence of indiscriminate violence. The model offers fewer insights into determinants of levels of abuse within each conflict. Levels of violence vary geographically and temporally within each conflict and are likely linked to the size of a group, the extent of its operations, and its patterns of interaction with government forces. Other theories that seek to explain how groups behave, described later, offer more traction on within-case variation in levels of violence.

Contestation and Control

Two other explanations of violence within civil war have been offered by scholars. Both begin with the assumption that violence is rational – that it is both intentional and a part of the war aims of the party that commits it. Instead of focusing on dynamics internal to the organizations that commit atrocities, these approaches both draw attention to a rebel group's external interactions, the first with opposing forces and the second with noncombatants. The theory of contestation locates the sources of anti-civilian violence in the battle between rebel forces and the government. It begins with the idea that war is the consequence of a bargaining failure between parties unable to agree on a mutually preferable negotiated settlement.[10] Even though on-the-ground military outcomes reveal information about the relative military capabilities of the warring parties, an information asymmetry exists with respect to the resolve of the competing organizations. Rebel groups send signals of their resolve by waging war against civilians.[11] Such tactics raise the price of continued fighting for the government, changing the dynamics of the bargaining process. Violence

[10] James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49 (1995): 379–414.

[11] David Lake first articulated an argument about the rational uses of extremist terror. See "Rational Extremism: Understanding Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century," *Dialog-IO* (2002): 15–29. More recently, Lisa Hultman drew on Lake's analysis in trying to understand the behavior of rebel groups. See "Killing Civilians to Signal Resolve: Rebel Strategies in Intrastate Conflicts" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 3, 2005).

may impose costs on the party that perpetrates it due to the disapproval of both domestic and international audiences, but it is a strategy that is relatively easy for groups to implement. One observable implication of the contestation theory is that as rebel groups experience greater battlefield losses, they compensate by increasing their use of violence against civilians. A second implication points to the decreasing effect of this strategy as war progresses: long wars provide both parties with substantial information about the opposition, decreasing the utility of anticivilian violence as a signal of resolve. Therefore, the theory predicts variation over time in the level of violence linked to the relative military capabilities of the parties. A theory rooted in the dynamics of contestation makes no predictions about variation in the behavior of rebels across conflicts; the logic of the model is intended to be universal. A similar argument that does predict cross-case variation links strategies of violence to the signal rebel groups must send to external patrons and financiers of their commitment to the cause.[12] External support for rebellion is thus associated with anticivilian violence, although for different reasons than those outlined in the theory of organization described earlier.[13]

A second approach highlights how variation in the degree of territorial control exerted by military actors affects their interaction with noncombatants.[14] Military actors seek access to information, which enables them both to prevent civilians from taking actions that can harm the organization and to punish civilians who defect. Because defection requires access to the opposition, however, it is largely a function of control. Organizations that enjoy unrivaled power in a zone are thus unlikely to confront defection, while it is more likely in areas of contested sovereignty. Where they face defection, armed groups aim to use force selectively so as to minimize the negative costs of indiscriminate violence. This puts a premium on obtaining high-quality information about potential defectors. But denunciations are provided by civilians with their own private agendas, who weigh the benefits of informing (gratification and rewards) against the potential costs (retaliation). The likelihood of retaliation is also a function of control, as contested sovereignty makes it possible for the rival organization to exact

[12] Lucy Hovil and Eric Werker, "Portrait of a Failed Rebellion: An Account of Rational, Sub-Optimal Violence in Western Uganda," *Rationality and Society* 17 (2005): 5–34.

[13] The data on Renamo presented in this chapter is consistent with this version of the signaling theory of violence; however, it cannot account for why similar patterns of abuse appear in groups with other sources of finance beyond those provided by external patrons.

[14] Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence.*

retribution. This approach, which conceptualizes violence as an outcome of the interaction between combatants and civilians willing to denounce, generates predictions about the character and level of violence as a function of geography. Zones of absolute control (for one side or the other) are expected to experience the lowest levels of violence. Defection is highly unlikely in such places, and denunciations, while common, are often false. It predicts low levels of selective violence as well in areas of high contestation where defection is common but denunciation is unlikely because the threat of retaliation is high. In such areas, information is scarce, and thus violence, when used, is likely to be indiscriminate; as it is counterproductive, however, the theory suggests such strategies will not be employed. If they are used at all, indiscriminate violence will be observed only at the early stages of the conflict until actors adjust their behavior to minimize its negative consequences. Zones of intermediate contestation, where one group is relatively stronger than the other, are likely to experience the highest levels of selective violence. The theory of control thus draws attention to geographic and temporal variation in violence within conflicts. Like theories of contestation, it is believed to apply uniformly; its predictions can usefully be explored with the evidence provided by our four cases.

The Practice of Violence Across Countries

Neither the theory of contestation nor the argument about territorial control makes empirical predictions about how violence is likely to vary across conflicts in its character or intensity. One of the clearest observable implications of my theory of organizational structure, on the other hand, is that the level and character of violence will vary across rebel groups. Groups constructed around economic endowments are predicted to exhibit much higher levels of indiscriminate violence, looting, and destruction, while rebellions rooted in social endowments are expected to demonstrate restraint and discipline. In this section, I present evidence from Uganda, Mozambique, and Peru that the level and character of anticivilian abuses varies in meaningful ways across conflicts. Specifically, I show that rebel groups are sometimes responsible for much of the violence committed against civilians, but not always; that violence is sometimes accompanied by pillaging and destruction, but not in all contexts; that victims are sometimes massacred in large groups, but only in some conflicts; and that individuals targeted for violence are sometimes identifiable as key supporters of

Table 6.1. *Responsibility for Violence Committed against Noncombatant Populations*

	Uganda (1981–85)	Mozambique (1976–94)	Sendero Nacional (1980–88)	Sendero–Huallaga (1980–2000)
Government	45%	7%	4%	4%
Rebel groups	17%	82%	36%	32%
External forces	0%	4%	0%	0%
Unclear	38%	8%	60%	64%
Total no. incidents	711	1,379	4,159	804

the state (functionaries, politicians, and government workers) but at other times are largely nameless peasants.

On the first aspect of violence, responsibility, patterns of behavior varied in important ways across the conflicts in Uganda, Mozambique, and Peru. Table 6.1 summarizes the differences. In the Ugandan conflict, rebel groups, including the NRA, were responsible for only 17 percent of the total incidents recorded.[15] By contrast, government forces were identifiably linked to nearly 50 percent of the violations committed against civilians. These data accord with anecdotal reports on the conflict in which analysts characterized the violence as a government-directed genocide that led to the deaths of between 200,000 and 300,000 people. In Mozambique, rebel forces were identifiably connected to a much higher percentage of attacks on civilians: Renamo combatants were linked to over 80 percent of the incidents in a war in which estimates suggest that more than 100,000 civilians died in battle-related events.[16] In Peru, both at the national level and in the Upper Huallaga Valley, Sendero Luminoso was responsible for high levels of violence, committing at least one-third of the reported violence against

[15] The NRA was actually responsible for an even smaller percentage of attacks because more than one rebel group was operating in the country throughout the conflict. The dataset includes information about the activities of all rebel groups. Later in this section, I focus only on acts committed by NRA cadres; this data can be extricated by looking at only those incidents where the NRA was identified officially or attacks perpetrated in regions where the NRA operated.

[16] The actual number of deaths in the Mozambican conflict was far higher – some suggest between 200,000 and 300,000. Many of these deaths were the result of significant periods of drought rather than combat itself. Data on civilian casualties can be found in the *SIPRI Yearbook 1999* (Stockholm: Swedish International Peace Research Institute, 1999).