## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>List of Figures</th>
<th>page ix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventions</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### PART I

1 Violence Against Civilians During Civil Wars
   1.1 Puzzle and State of the Art                | 3       |
   1.2 Summary of the Argument                  | 3       |
   1.3 Theoretical Strategy                     | 5       |
   1.4 Case Selection and Research Design       | 11      |
   1.5 Scope Conditions and External Validity   | 15      |
   1.6 Plan of the Book                         | 16      |

2 A Theory of Violence Against Civilians
   2.1 Conceptual Considerations                | 19      |
   2.2 A Theory of Direct Violence             | 19      |
   2.3 Subsequent Time Periods                 | 26      |
   2.4 Additional Observable Implications      | 37      |
   2.5 Discussion                              | 41      |
   2.6 Concluding Remarks                      | 43      |

### PART II

3 History of the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939)
   3.1 Introduction                            | 49      |
   3.2 Antecedents of the Civil War            | 49      |
   3.3 Inside the War                          | 50      |
   3.4 Violence Against Civilians              | 63      |
   3.5 Scope Conditions and External Validity  | 67      |
3.5 The Study of Violence During the Spanish Civil War: Data Sources and Caveats 76
3.6 Regional Patterns of Violence 77
4 Executions and Massacres During the Spanish Civil War 87
4.1 Direct Violence in Initial Periods of the Spanish Civil War 87
4.2 Violence in Non-Initial Periods 116
4.3 Localities That Fit the Theory and Outliers 124
4.4 Additional Empirical Checks 127
4.5 Concluding Remarks 128
5 Bombardments During the Spanish Civil War 130
5.1 Introduction 130
5.2 Is Indirect Violence Necessarily Indiscriminate? 131
5.3 Accounting for Indirect Violence Against Civilians 132
5.4 Bombardments in Catalonia During the Spanish Civil War 135
5.5 Conclusions 145

PART III
6 The Conflict in Côte d'Ivoire (2002–2011) 151
6.1 Introduction 151
6.2 The Civil War in Côte d'Ivoire 152
6.3 Direct Violence in 2010–2011 164
6.4 Concluding Remarks 169
7 Additional Evidence and Macro-Level Implications 171
7.1 Introduction 171
7.2 Evidence from Other Cases 171
7.3 Large-n Analyses 175
7.4 Conclusions 180
8 Conclusions 181
8.1 Main Lessons 181
8.2 Lessons About Case Studies 184
8.3 Competing Explanations 187
8.4 Broader Implications and Next Steps 189
8.5 Concluding Remarks 192

Appendix 194
Bibliography 219
Index 252