Ethnic Defection in Civil War

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1. Introduction

In this paper I explore the issue of ethnic defection in the context of civil war, broadly defined to include insurgencies against foreign occupiers and colonizers. In many ways, foreign occupation and colonization constitute the most "naked" and the harshest forms of alien rule, hence they are toughest to justify and the hardest to sustain in the age of nationalism. From this point of view, processes of native collaboration with occupiers and colonizers constitute a form of ethnic defection that is particularly puzzling and remains under-explored. I link this question to the broader theoretical issue of the dynamics of ethnic identification, especially in the context of "ethnic" civil wars. This paper suggests that civil wars are settings that permit the manipulation of political dimensionality, including ethnicity. Although the ethnic demography of a country is difficult to alter, especially in the short term, ethnic identities are not fixed and ethnic defection is not uncommon. I provide a tentative theory to explain the determinants of ethnic defection at the macro and micro levels.

I begin with an overview of recent empirical research, discuss the contribution of constructivist insights to civil wars, propose a tentative theory of ethnic defection in civil wars, and conclude with some empirical illustrations, including a micro-comparative test in Greece. I hypothesize that the factors most likely to produce processes of ethnic defection are the level of resources enjoyed by political actors and the war itself, particularly through its violence.

2. Ethnicity in civil war

Ethnicity enters in studies of civil wars in two ways: either as an independent variable that helps account for the likelihood of such outcomes as civil war onset, duration, termination, etc; or as a set of assumptions that inform, mostly implicitly and informally, arguments about the dynamics and conduct of civil wars. The most common argument in this respect is that ethnic civil wars are fundamentally different from non-ethnic ones. Ethnic wars are assumed to be worse than their non-ethnic counterparts, notably more violent and more intractable. In this paper, I focus on the relationship between ethnicity and the conduct of civil wars. In particular, I explore the extent to which ethnic identity predicts political behavior in civil wars related to occupation, decolonization, and secession.

There is a widespread consensus that a shared ethnic identity facilitates collective action (Fearon and Laitin 1996; Hardin 1995).[1] The underlying mechanisms vary widely, however; they include the inherent strength of ethnic bonds and the subsequent trust and/or loyalty they generate; communication and information flows that encourage monitoring and deter defection; formal and informal networks that facilitate collective action and the acquisition of group-related goods, and identification markers that serve as focal points for coordination under uncertainty. These mechanisms are primarily compatible with primordialist arguments, though they are not inconsistent with constructivist claims broadly understood, since ethnic identities may be constructed and fluid but they "harden" and solidify once a war begins. They potentially converge into two distinct claims: (a) civil wars are more likely to erupt among ethnic groups than other types of groups; (b) ethnic civil wars are fundamentally different from non-ethnic ones in terms of how they are fought and, therefore, resolved.

Empirically, most work on civil war onset (state capacity, grievance theories, greed accounts, etc) dismisses the causal role of ethnic identities on the main outcomes.[2] The fact that the Ethnic Fractionalization Index lacks statistical significance in most econometric models raises a methodological contradiction: whereas most case studies of ethnic civil wars stress the central role of ethnic identities, ethnicity does not seem to matter at the aggregate level, either in broad causal theories, or in terms of micromechanisms. Moreover, constructivist insights seem irrelevant: whether ethnicity is real or manufactured does not matter. In other words, the constructivist insight that ethnic groups are constructed and can change over time does not seem to provide any particular insight about the onset of civil wars.

Constructivist assumptions may enjoy more traction if we turn our attention to the dynamics of civil wars and the way in which they are fought, rather than their causes. If we take seriously the argument that groups can change over time, we should be able to observe such changes. However, constructivist claims seem, once more, to be associated with the expectation of strong group identities (as opposed to more fluid ones), such as the claim that group identities "harden" by the war (Van Evera 2001). Tone Bringa's fascinating documentary "We Are All Neighbors" certainly corroborates this insight, as Croats and Moslems in the village she documents end up more wrapped-up in their respective identities

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[1]At the same time there is a dearth of systematic studies that compare, explicitly and systematically, the impact of ethnic and non-ethnic identities on collective action.
[2]For a different view, see Sambanis (2001) and Cederman (2004).

and groups than they initially were: identity is endogenous to the war only insofar as its intensity and exclusiveness is concerned. This insight is confirmed by a number of studies. As Allen and Seaton (1999:3) point out about Bosnia: "Once violence starts, ethnic identities become social facts, they are quickly ascribed to people whether or not they want to have them, and many protagonists will not hesitate in giving highly essentialist ethnic explanations for what they are doing." Likewise Dale (1997:91) found that despite the mixed motives behind many acts of violence (including pervasive robbery and the takeover of neighbors' apartments), the Abkhaz-Georgian civil war was "superlatively ethnic in character," because "whatever role ethnicity per se may have played in producing the conflict, it has become the primary category with which people on the ground narrate and comprehend the war's violence." In a similar way, religion may be used opportunistically in Sudan, as a means of justifying actions or assigning blame (Dean 2000:74-5), but as Peterson (2000:174-5) notes, although religion in Sudan "may be window dressing--a means of mobilizing troops and cash for both sides," it has caused a deepening of religious sense "for the populations hammered by this conflict."

This, taking constructivist insights seriously appears to be only useful for clarifying the process of polarization, not for predicting outcomes. Put otherwise, the identity equilibrium does not change in the course of the war: groups remain stable throughout the war around the initial distribution of ethnic attributes. Bosnian Moslems do not become Serbs (despite the fact that religious conversion is theoretically possible), Tamils do not turn into Sinhalas, and so on. In fact, we may think of civil war as a process that reinforces the initial identity equilibrium: the difficulty of acquiring attributes that produce identity shifts may increase during the war as identities "harden." The apparent failure to observe widespread shifts of this kind has led many scholars to see, ethnic civil wars as fundamentally different from non-ethnic ones.

Indeed, the claim that ethnic cleavages are deeper or 'harder' than non-ethnic ones (or, alternatively, that they uniquely "deepen" or "harden" because of the war), underlies the claim that in ethnic civil wars hardly anyone ever fights for or can be recruited by the opposing ethnic group and leaders cannot broaden their appeals to include members of opposing groups. As a result, people cannot "escape their identity:" Serbs cannot become Albanians or Croats. In contrast, non-ethnic ("ideological") wars are seen as "fundamentally different" from ethnic wars: they are competitions between the government and the rebels for

the (flexible) loyalties of the people, i.e. contests between factions within the same community over how that community should be governed; these conflicts are informed by individual loyalties which are softer and fluid, with the same population serving as the shared mobilization base for both sides (Kaufmann 1996a; 1996b). If this claim is correct, then constructivist insights have little predictive or causal value even when the focus is on the dynamics of civil war.

An implication of this claim is that "ideological" civil wars ought to produce identity shifts, presumably because ideological attributes are easier to acquire than ethnic ones; all that is required is a change of mind. For example, during the Greek Civil War, all it took for most suspected communists to be released from prison, find employment, and escape persecution was a signature in a "declaration of repentance."[3] By signing this boilerplate declaration, which was then published in local newspapers, one presumably acquired a new attribute, "patriotism," and qualified for membership in the category of the "national-minded" people (*ethnikofrones*)—a term that could have been crafted by constructivist theorists. Obviously, signing this declaration was costly, both emotionally and practically, as one was ostracized by her former comrades, while still viewed with suspicion by non-communists. Nevertheless, most people did sign.

However, not all "ideological" civil wars fit this pattern. For example, Francoist Spain was far less generous toward its rivals than was Greece. In fact, and contrary to a prevailing assumption (e.g. Kaufmann 1996b:75), non-ethnic identities are not always "relatively soft." The Spanish Civil War is an example of a non-ethnic civil war where mostly ideological polarization (somewhat correlated with class in certain areas, the secular/religious divide in others, and ethnicity in some others) ran extremely deep. Indeed, the violence of the Spanish Civil War often took quasi-genocidal aspects. For instance, Díaz-Balart et al. (1997:15) describe the violence exercised by the victorious side of the Spanish Civil War as "often" intended to fulfill extermination purposes. Likewise, Ranzato (1988) and De la Cueva (1998) show that the persecution of the Catholic clergy by the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War reveals a desire to exterminate as many priests as possible simply because they were priests. If caught by the one side, sympathizers of the opposite one would almost always be killed. Many people, in other words, could not escape their identity—which was often

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[3]This did not apply to those accused of having committed crimes and many prisoners were not given a choice.

publicly transparent. Hundreds of thousands of Republicans and their families fled the country after the war was won by the Nationalists.[4] Likewise, hundreds of thousands White Russians, Nationalist Chinese, or anticommunist Vietnamese fled their countries when defeated. Furthermore, the cases of East Germany, North Vietnam, and North Korea suggest that partition and state-building can also take place on the basis of an ideological cleavage. Last, and contrary to claims that non-ethnic identities can be disguised in ways that ethnic identities cannot, there is plenty of evidence that "ideological" identities can be quite visible. In countries where one party boycotts elections, such as post-WWII Greece and Colombia, electoral registers become depositories of information about whether specific individuals voted or not—and hence about their ideological identity (Rosenberg 1991:41). The class cleavage may also carry visible marks. During the Russian Civil War, the Whites would sometimes shoot workers recognized by their "callused hands" (Figes 1996:665). Similar practices have been reported in civil wars in Spain and Korea. Conversely, there is substantial evidence that in some ethnically divided societies, including Bosnia, ethnic identities can be disguised.

Moreover, the difficulty of acquiring the winning set of attributes may be less the result of the intrinsic difficulty of acquiring attributes, but of the willingness or unwillingness of the organizations representing groups to allow entry for members of rival groups. For example, the Serbs displayed no intention of giving Bosnian Moslems the option to join their group either via religious conversion or otherwise, even though the two groups shared language, ethnic origins and characteristics, and many customs.

Hence the key question: what explains the variability of barriers to entry? In other words, what explains the difference between Spain and Greece? What accounts for the Greek government's *decision* to endow the "winning" category of "nationally-minded" with identity

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[4]Non-ethnic civil wars may produce high levels of segregation. As a man from heavily secessionist Independence, Missouri wrote his brother (quoted in Fellman 1989:74): "All the people are leaving here that are for the Union." Lear (1961:120) reports that the anti-Japanese guerrillas in the Philippines "encouraged the migration of loyal Filipinos from the enemy-controlled areas to the unoccupied districts." A pro-Japanese administrator (quoted in Lear 1961:208) reported that "At present there are only 30 families in the poblacion and our efforts to increase the number of returning families meet with little success because guerrilla elements controlling the barrios outside the poblacion are prohibiting or preventing the people to come in, or have contract with the authorities. They threaten to kill, kidnap, punish, or inflict injuries to those who are attached to, and cooperate with, the present regime."

attributes that were relatively easy to acquire as opposed to the Spanish government's *decision* to make the "winning" category of nationalist much harder to acquire? In more general terms, what accounts for the facility of transition into new categories? Is this facility structural or contingent on decisions by actors? If it is contingent on actors' decision, as suggested by the examples of Greece and Spain, we need a theory that helps us explain the variation in the degree to which political actors let their rivals join the winning coalition. More generally, this discussion suggests that we must eventually replace the category of "ethnic identity" with a term that better reflects its underlying analytical content, namely the cost of defection, which may be high for some ethnic groups, as well as for some non-ethnic groups. The cost of defection may also vary across and within wars, as well as temporally.

A number of mechanisms may be at work. For example, uncertainty about the intentions of the opponents may produce in-group coordination even when their intentions are non-violent, along the lines of the logic of the security dilemma. If individual Bosnian Moslems think that they will be targeted by Serbs, and if Serbs think that Moslems assume that they will be targeted irrespective of what the Serbs really wish to do, then escaping one's identity is impossible given an individual utility geared toward survival.[5] Another mechanism, leading to a similar outcome may be revenge; unlike the security dilemma, this is a retrospective rather than prospective mechanism, and an emotional rather than a rational one, but the outcome is the same: identity shifts become prohibitive.

3. Identity shift in civil wars
Nevertheless, it makes sense to consider the conditions under which an identity equilibrium may shift during a civil war and explore the conditions of a destabilization of a country's ethnic demography.

To begin with, civil war destroys existing structures, networks, and loyalties; it creates new opportunities for political losers, alters the size of optimal coalitions, gives rise to new entrepreneurs, and reshuffles politics in general. True, these changes may sometime take place without affecting the identity equilibrium on the surface; some other times, however, they do. The collapse of the Yugoslav state, for example, caused the category of Yugoslav to disappear, even though the attributes of Yugoslav identity did not change; the

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[5]Of course, the same outcome obtains if true intentions are violent.

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"islamicization" of Chechen identities was an outcome of the war, not its cause (Tishkov 2004), etc. Clearly, civil war is compatible with identity change, either by altering the content of existing identities or by reducing and/or increasing their political and social salience. A comparison of Yugoslavia in 1941-45 and 1992-3 illustrates the point. During the Second World War, the Communist Party was able to successfully compete with several nationalist groups and eventually win. Tito's partisans offered individuals an ideological identity which was a plausible alternative dimension to nationalist identities. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, however, the ruling Communist party disintegrated into competing nationalist factions.

However, few civil wars appear to produce the kind of permanent ethnic identity changes that require a change in inherited attributes; such was the case of many premodern civil wars (including wars of religious conquest where populations converted en masse) or of civil wars that took place on the cusp of modernity just before the emergence of modern centralizing nation-states. These were situations where the national consciousness of mostly illiterate population could be molded. A most instructive case is that of the guerrilla war in Macedonia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria (as well as Romania to some extent) competed for the ethnification of the local Christian Slavic-speaking population. The gradual demise of the Ottoman Empire made the previous equilibrium based on the religious dimension (the Ottoman *Millet* system) untenable, and ethnic entrepreneurs promoted both a new nationality dimension and particular ethnic categories based on a combination of attributes including language, educational affiliation, religious affiliation, and political affiliation. The goal was to turn the peasants of Macedonia who had up to then identified themselves as Christians into Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, or Romanians.[6] The population split on the basis of local cleavages, mostly kin and village, by making a variety of choices—religious, educational linguistic, and political: for example, people could join the Bulgarian Exarchate or the (Greek) Ecumenical Patriarchate of Costantinople and send their children to various national schools. Ethnic identities were seen by all actors as malleable and subject to change. The Greeks, for instance, referred to the followers of the Bulgarian Exarchate not as Bulgarians but as "people with Bulgarian tendencies" (*Voulgarizontes*), or more simply and beautifully as

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[6]The category of Macedonian was initially promoted only by a small group of Macedonian autonomists but became a real option only when adopted by the Communists in the interwar period and Tito's Yugoslav partisans during and after the Second World War.

"Bulgarian-minded" (*Voulgarofrones*). Likewise, Bulgarians referred to the followers of the Ecumenical Patriarchate as "Greek-obsessed" (*Grkomani*). Attribute selection was possible and relatively easy (indeed, encouraged) and after a succession of shifts, these choices led to relatively stable identities. The empirical evidence suggests that the majority of the Slav peasants initially found it extremely difficult to identify with national ideologies, which others tried to impose upon them: "What determined their choice, always tentative and reluctant, ranged from financial considerations, social cleavages, and local politics, to personal animosities, leaving thus precious little room, if any, for 'national' orientations (Livanios 1999:196-7). Individual instrumental calculations were also prevalent. A slavophone peasant in Western Macedonia told a French traveler in the late 19th century that he was not prepared to waste his time thinking about Serbia or Bulgaria: "Our fathers were Greek and none mentioned the Bulgarians," he remarked. "We became Bulgarians, we won. If we have to be Serbs it is not a problem. But for the time being it is better for us to be Bulgarians." (in Livanios 1999:198) Violence was a key tool for what was described by a Greek strategist as an enterprise "to conquer the territory of the souls" of the peasantry (in Livanios 1999:196). According to Kostantinos Mazarakis, a Greek officer and leader of a guerrilla band, "it was by the persuasion of the gun" and the shedding of blood that a village "became Greek or Bulgarian" (in Livanios 1999:203).

Most ethnic civil wars of the modern era do not entail such fundamental shifts in inherited or recorded attributes since national and ethnic identities tend to be more crystallized though mass literacy and/or public education. What they do entail, instead, is a manipulation of political dimensionality through the introduction of a new attribute, sometimes referred to as "loyalism." During the 1980s in Turkey, a "loyal Kurd" was a supporter of the Turkish states, whereas a supporter of the secessionist PKK was considered disloyal. The PKK simply reversed these categories but had to take this additional dimension into account. In a way, this is a typical case of transformation of a one-dimensional into a two-dimensional space with the addition of a credible non-ethnic dimension.

These civil wars, though classified by scholars as ethnic wars and often understood by most participants in the same way, are no different in terms of their dynamics from the so-called ideological civil wars, precisely because they challenge the existing ethnic demography by lowering the cost of defection.

In these civil wars ethnic identity is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for targeting. In fact many people find that they are actually safer living under the complete control of their ethnic rivals than they would be in their ethnic homelands. Tamils in the Sinhalese-controlled capital of Sri Lanka Colombo, Kashmiris in New Dehli, Kurds in Istanbul, Chechens in Moscow, Bosnian Moslems in the Serb Sanjak, even Kosovar Albanians in Belgrade have enjoyed high levels of security during civil wars, despite the inevitable harassment they must undergo. This situation implies that incumbents do not feel threatened by ethnic minorities living in their capital cities (or elsewhere) and vice-versa; in turn, ethnic minorities are able to credibly signal to incumbents their trustworthiness, thus defeating the logic of the security dilemma.

In short, a subset of ethnic civil wars displays the following patterns (a) civilians collaborate with the army of their ethnic rivals, (b) armies recruit among their ethnic rivals, and (c) fighters switch sides. In these ethnic civil wars, at least one political actor (usually the incumbents) eventually seeks to control the "underlying" population of the ethnic rival, rather than exterminate it or expel it. Such patterns suggest that ethnic identity is not necessarily a reliable predictor of behavior. Despite claims to the contrary, ethnic defection is feasible *when it is actively solicited*. Ethnic defectors acquire what is probably a new attribute ("loyalism") which, in turn, generates a new category usually expressed in the use of qualifiers such as "moderate," "loyal," "anti-extremist," etc. These defectors do not migrate to a new dimension, nor do they discard their previous ethnic identity: they just add a qualifier to it. Figure 1 illustrates this point using the example of the Algerian War of independence which was also an (ethnic) civil war between non-Muslim settlers and Muslim natives.

(Figure 1 here)

The onset of the war led to the addition of a new dimension in the politics of French Algeria, that of "loyalty" to France—on top of the existing dimension of "ethnicity" used both by French colonialists and Algerian independentists.[7] The French need for local support (and

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[7]Ethnicity does not refer to inherited genetic attributes, since many settlers were not French and often not even perceived as such by the Metropolitan French. Likewise, the native population was not just Algerian or Arab but rather Muslim since it also included Berbers. The term loyalty is also relative, since the *pieds noirs* ended up being disloyal to the French

their resources that allowed for policy implementation) led to the recruitment of Algerian auxiliaries, some of whom were known as *Harkis*. Joining the Harkis was not related to attribute acquisition: French-educated professional Moslems were, in fact, more likely to join the FLN than the French. Instead, the Harkis were mostly rural, uneducated, and poor. Interestingly, the addition of a dimension was often associated with the activation of sub-ethnic attributes, such as regional, tribal, and clan identities (see below), often reflected in the use of anthropologists by colonial powers.[8] On the other hand French Communists (ironically dubbed *pieds rouges* in contradistinction to the settlers, known as *pieds noirs*) supported the FLN, adding an ideological dimension to the war.[9] They did not become Moslems or learn Arabic, they just acted in support of the independentist cause.

Defection forces rebels to resort to selective violence against the members of their own ethnic group, so as to deter any collaboration between them and their rivals. The result is considerable intra-ethnic violence whose presence indicates the failure of ethnic actors to trust the behavior of their "underlying" population and demonstrates that ethnic identities can be poor indicators of individual behavior in ethnic civil war. In other words, cases such as Bosnia and Lebanon constitute a subset of ethnic civil wars that should not be generalized to the universe of ethnic civil wars. The relevant questions is, then, what accounts for the variation.

Individual motivations behind defection are complex, and civil wars provide the additional feature of coercion and violence. The IRA cadre Eamon Collins (1999:280) who collaborated with the British Security Forces describes this process as follows:

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state when De Gaulle decided to abandon Algeria. Some participated in terrorist actions against the French state, in the context of the infamous OAS (*Organisation Armée Secrete*).

[8]The French relied on the services of Jean Servier who attempted to manipulate the traditional hostility of two Chaouïa clans: the Touabas (which had sent men to the FLN) and the Ouled Abdi. As a point of entry he used their chief, agha Merchi and armed a group of fifty people in the town of Arris. As a result, the FLN attacked Arris, burned houses, destroyed sheep, and murdered relatives of the leading figures of the tribe. Eventually, the cleavage cut across the two tribes, as many Ouled-Abdi men joined the rebellion and many Touabas joined the auxiliaries (Roux 1991:32-35). The British used the services of Louis Leakey in Kenya (Anderson 2005).

[9]This raises the issue of self-representation or meaning. Although some organizations may recruit overwhelmingly or even exclusively from one ethnic group they may make (often credible) claims of not being ethnic organizations. Witness the predominantly Pashtoun Taliban in Afghanistan.

> Of course, no ideological conversion had taken place: I had not become a supporter of the system which I had spent the previous six years fighting, even though in a practical sense I had become its agent. I was simply so morally and emotionally exhausted that I had become like an empty vessel floating in whatever direction my weakness and fear would take me, guided only by the controlling hand of my policeman saviour.

The experience of the civil patrols in Guatemala shows that even though people may be coerced to join, they nevertheless form a long-term and quite genuine association with their coercers.

Introducing constructivist insights in the study of civil wars allows the use of finer tools of analysis and measurement. For instance, it is possible to challenge the assumption that ethnic civil wars are fought by political actors who effectively recruit *all and only* members of their underlying ethnic group; it is possible to conceptualise, instead, variable mixes of ethnic recruitment in the following way. A political actor (incumbent or insurgent) may obtain the allegiance (and recruit from) its entire underlying ethnic group ("all" = over 90%), a sizeable part ("some" = 20-90%), or a minority ("none" = below 20%). At the same time it may also win the allegiance (and recruit from) their rival's ethnic group along the same lines. This generates several patterns of recruitment which are variable both across wars and across time, within wars.

4. A tentative theory of ethnic defection with some empirical illustrations

I propose a tentative theory of ethnic defection based on the following two insights: first, ethnic defection is demand-driven rather than supply-driven; second, it is endogenous to civil war rather than exogenous. These insights can be formulated as hypotheses:

1. The extent of ethnic defection is a function of the resources of the incumbent
2. Once initial collaborationist structures are in place, ethnic defection is assisted by dynamics endogenous to the war, especially revenge.

An implication from hypothesis 1 is that colonizers and occupiers will be more likely to induce ethnic defection since they have more resources compared to weak states facing ethnic insurgencies.

Rather than attempt a full-fledged test, I will first discuss individual motivations in two cases, Algeria and Kenya, and then supply more rigorous evidence from a limited empirical test in Greece.

Algeria

As already mentioned, the French in Algeria were able to recruit a substantial native militia whose members became iinformally known as *harkis*.[10] The estimated total number of auxiliaries reached 158,000 in 1960, of which 62,000 were harkis, a large number when compared to the independentists who had mobilized 75,000 to 90,000 men (Faivre 1994:117; Roux 1991:140-1).

Why did so many Muslim Algerians joined and fought for the French, especially given that France treated the Algerians as second class citizens?

First, the French offered Algerian Muslims an explicit choice: As an officer argued in a memo, the "power of France and the weakness of the rebels must suggest to the mind of the rural population that there is choice to be made right now and that a bad calculation has consequences. This must in the end bring the muslim population to the idea that they must collaborate with France" (in Roux 1991:69).

Second, the motivations underlying the choice of those who joined were multiple and heterogeneous. For some people, tribe or clan ties were essential; when tribal and clan leaders allied with the French, often on the basis of local conflicts and enmities, tribe and clan members felt compelled to join (Roux 1991:15). For others, French pressures proved to be essential for people concerned about their security (Roux 1991:156). Material incentives (better food, passes for free movement, status, etc.) were not inconsequential (Roux 1991:41-42). Last, revenge appears to have been a key motivation. Many people had been targeted by the FLN for a variety of reasons, justified or not. Their relatives and friends sought revenge by joining the auxiliary forces when such an opportunity was available (Roux 1991: 150-152). In fact, Hamoumou (1993:157) argues that reaction to this violence was the most

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[10]This is a popular umbrella term that includes several auxiliary formations such as the *groupes d'autodéfense*, *groupes mobiles de sécurité* (GMS) which replaced the *groupes mobiles de police rurale* or GMPR, the *makhzen* (the *mokhaznis* were attached to the special administrative sections or SAS), and the *groupes d'autodéfense* (GAD).

important factor in motivating Algerians to join the harkis and emphasizes the powerful effect of initial small choices in constraining future actions (an expression used by his informants was *être pris dans l'engrenage*). Using oral interviews, he found that that "fidelity to France" was a minor factor (Hamoumou 1993:130).

Kenya

By March 1954 there were 25,600 Kikuyu Home Guards in Kenya, 14,800 full-time and 10,800 part-time, a total that exceeded the strength of the Mau Mau armies. Anderson (2005: 241-2) argues that the success of the British should not be interpreted to mean that loyalism was a popular cause, or that those who joined the Home Guard necessarily opposed the broader aims of the Mau Mau movement ("Nothing in this dirty colonial war could ever be so simple"). For the most part, recruitment to the Home Guard was left solely in the hands of the chiefs and their headmen: "some cajoled and persuaded; others bullied and threatened; some tested the political views of their recruits, others dragooned their enemies. The Kikuyu Home Guard was a rag-bag army, whose membership had little to do with matters of conscience but everything to do with circumstance." Anderson (2005:229) adds that "These people did not *like* colonialism. In taking a stand, these so-called loyalists were in fact motivated by more prosaic and personal concerns: by the interests of their families; by the need to protect their property; by their sense of social status; and by their own values." He also stresses the endogenous dynamic of recruitment and its polarizing effects. As a British December 1952 intelligence report from the Kiambu area put it, "the district is now tending to divide into two camps, whereas formerly the entire population was sitting firmly on the fence. … Now that there are targets for the attacks of the thugs in the shape of the Home Guard, incidents of violence are likely to increase, but this is a more healthy atmosphere than the uneasy quiet which has hung over our district for so long." As a result, Anderson (2005:241) concludes, "the British were forcing the Kikuyu to take sides. Kiambu would see the most bitter of all the cycles of reprisal between Home Guard and Mau Mau as the war unfolded."

Greece

In this last section I attempt to probe these insights more systematically by testing them using data from a regional study that I conducted in Southern Greece (the region of Argolid), where a civil war raged in 1943-1944, in the context of the German occupation. The analysis is based on data from sixty one villages and two towns—all settlements of the two principal

counties of the Argolid prefecture, an area with a total population of 65,136 in 1940 (Kalyvas 2006).

Following its defeat by the German army in April 1941, Greece was occupied by German, Italian, and Bulgarian forces. Resistance to the occupation began in north-central Greece, in late 1942, but really developed following the Italian withdrawal from the war, in September 1943. The fact that Italian forces had policed most of the country and the Germans lacked the manpower to control the country, gave the (primarily leftist) partisans of the National Liberation Front (EAM) the opportunity to extend their control to over 70 percent of the country.

The vast majority of the population at that time sympathized with the partisans and supported them. Though controlled by the Communist Party, EAM articulated a strong nationalist message that emphasized the nationalist right of the Greek population to defend itself against a foreign occupation—especially one as harsh as the German one. The ethnic demography in this case was very clear: Greeks on the one side, Germans on the other. Ideological collaboration was minimal, as Greece lacked the kind of mass Fascist movements that were present in some Western European countries.

However, things changed significantly in 1944, especially during the spring and summer. Realizing that they could not defend the territory they held, German authorities decided to set-up auxiliary military units. The biggest challenge was to recruit and arm thousands of men from a population that was deeply hostile to them. However, they were able to recruit over 20,000 men, while turning off many more due to lack of weapons. What is most remarkable is that they did so in the spring and summer 1944, when it was obvious that Germany was losing the war—a fact that rules out opportunism as a cause for joining. What accounts for their success?

The empirical analysis I conducted in one Greek province throws some light on this puzzle. I focus on the Security Battalions, the main collaborationist organization in the region and use fatalities per village of origin as a proxy for their strength.[11] The question I ask is which variables explain collaborationist recruitment in villages.

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[11]Unfortunately, we lack a full listing of the men who joined, but qualitative evidence

I include four types of variables. First is a political variable, the strength of the prewar cleavage between conservatives (royalists) and liberals, measured using the results of the 1933 elections. Historians have suggested that liberals were more likely to join the guerrillas and conservatives the auxiliary militia. In this view, the war was a replay of Greek politics, albeit under different labels. Indeed, the communists were able to attract many liberals by stressing their anti-royalist agenda, while collaborators emphasized an anti-communist platform, thus presenting themselves as nationalists who allied with the Germans to fight off the more dangerous communist threat. The expectation is that royalist villages would be more likely to collaborate with the Germans compared to liberal ones. Second are two variables that measure the effect of geography, such as the altitude of villages and their distance from the closest town: since rough terrain is associated with insurgent strength, a location in the lowlands and close to the towns should be associated with collaborationist strength. Third are two variables that capture my hypotheses: the extent of control enjoyed by each actor which measures their access to the local population,[12] and the level of violence inflicted upon civilians by the partisans once the war started, months before the Security Battalions started recruiting. One would expect that villages with a high level of German control and substantial prior leftist violence to be more likely to provide recruits for the auxiliary militia.[13] Last, I use three control variables, education (measured as the number of high school students in a village, per capita), relative wealth (a three-scale variable), and a measure of social capital and conflict (measured as the number of civil suits tried in the local courts in the period 1935-1939, per capita). Table 1 describes these variables.

(Table 1 here)

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suggests a good fit between the locations that produce many recruits and locations where fatalities were high.

[12]I coded this myself using archival material and interviews (see appendix). I developed and measured a five-zone measure of control over four distinct time periods. In this analysis I use the mean score of control for each village over the entire period under study (September 1943-September 1944).

[13]It could be argued that the partisans targeted villages with a collaborationist potential and that, therefore, recruitment is endogenous to an unobserved variable that captures political preferences. However, my analysis shows that leftist violence was not based on a prediction of future political behavior but on the level of control during the initial period which was a function of the military forces arrayed in the region; likewise the factors that account for German control are independent of political and socioeconomic variables, and are related to the military necessities and constraints of guerrilla warfare (Kalyvas 2006).

The results support the insights of the tentative theory (Table 2). Although the n is small, as is the fatality count, the relevant independent variables have the expected sign: intense prior leftist violence and a high level of German control are associated with high levels of armed collaborationism, even when controlling for political socio-economic, and geographical variables; these variables are statistically significant unlike the other variables included in the model.

(Table 2 here)

Obviously, an analysis limited to 63 localities of one province in one country, can only be suggestive. Still, the results are consistent with qualitative evidence from other cases, including Algeria and Kenya. Though ethnic identities were unchanged (Greek collaborationists never thought of themselves as anything else than Greek), Greek identity did not predict political behavior; it was consistent with both anti-German and pro-German activity. The fact that the German occupiers were (a) among the most violent ones (b) absolutely unconcerned about providing a credible political vision for collaboration or winning the "hearts and minds" of the Greek population, and (c) losing the war when collaborationist recruitment picked-up, points to the explanatory power of forces that were endogenous to the war—in at least two respects. First, irregular war places a premium on territorial control which, in turn, generates support; and, second, the violence of the civil war generates both a need for protection and a preference for revenge—hence an incentive for joining an armed actor that can provide the means for either. In contrast, the ideological signals that the German occupiers sent out were never credible among the Greek population. However, the civil war between collaborationists and partisans had lasting effects (including ideological ones) on Greek politics for decades to come. In many ways, the civil war produced lasting political identities rather than be caused by them.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have challenged the assumption that ethnic defection is impossible in ethnic civil wars or civil wars that take place in the context of foreign occupation and colonization. Ethnic defection does not mean that people actually alter their ethnic identification; they rather array themselves on another dimension that influences their behavior. If ethnic defection is not uncommon (and its relative prevalence remains to be empirically estimated),

what explains it? I argue that at the macro level, the key issue is the decision of incumbents to offer a choice to the population claimed by the insurgents. In turn, this seems to be related to their resources. At the micro level the extent of military control they exercise and revenge, a mechanism endogenous to the civil war, appear to be important determinants of the likelihood that individuals will side actively with incumbents that do not represent their ethnic group rather than with insurgents that claim to represent them. Consistent with this interpretation, historical accounts from Algeria and Kenya suggest that ideological factors are less important at the mass level than generally thought.
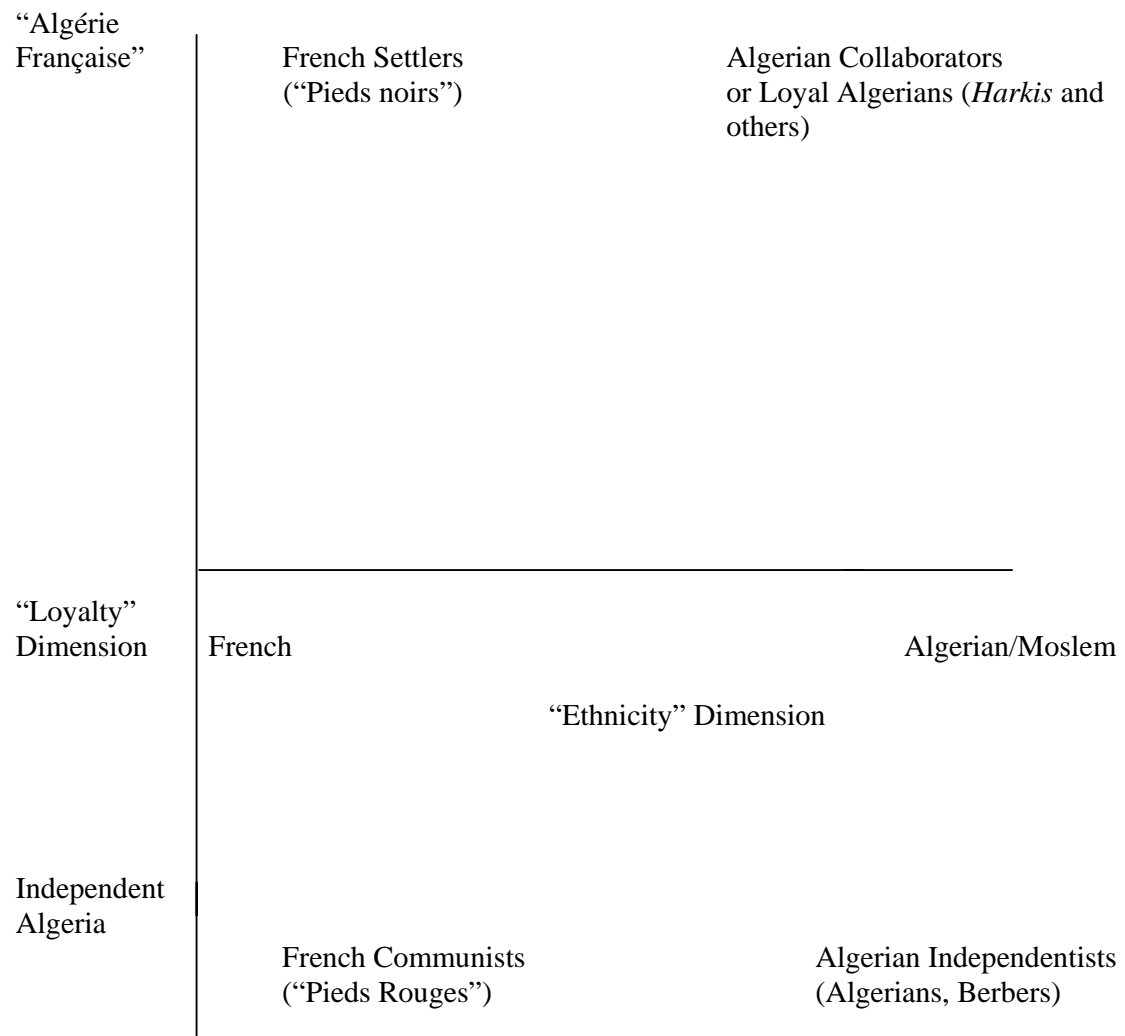
Figure 1

"Algérie
Française"
    French Settlers   Algerian Collaborators
    ("Pieds noirs")   or Loyal Algerians (*Harkis* and
                                            others)

"Loyalty"
Dimension   French   Algerian/Moslem

                          "Ethnicity" Dimension

Independent
Algeria

    French Communists   Algerian Independentists
    ("Pieds Rouges")   (Algerians, Berbers)

Table 1
Variables Used in Microcomparative Test

Table 7: Independent Variables

VARIABLE	RANGE	SOURCE
Number of Security Battalionists from a given village killed in action	Mean: .83 Min: 0 Max: 20	Own coding using material from the Historical Archival of the Argolid (IAA)
Rebel violence per village (Fall 1943)	Mean: 0.97 Min: 0 Max: 12	Own coding using material from the Historical Archival of the Argolid (IAA) and interviews
Mean Control zone (scale 1 to 5, averaged over four time periods); 1=total incumbent control; 5= total insurgent control	Mean: 2.83 Min: 1.25 Max: 4.75	Own coding using material from the Historical Archival of the Argolid (IAA) and interviews
Altitude (meters)	Mean: 231 Min: 10 Max: 960	Miliarakis 1886; Stamatelatos and Vamva-Stamatelatou 2001
Distance from closest town (minutes)	Mean: 167 Min: 0 Max: 510	Miliarakis 1886; Anagnostopoulos and Gagalis 1938
1933 Elections (dummy variable: 1=royalist majority; 0= liberal majority)	Mean: .92 Min: 0 Max:1	Ministry of Interior, Official Electoral Results
Education level (secondary school students per capita)	Mean: .71 Min: 0 Max: 3.66	School archives, Argos and Nafplio high school records, Historical Archive of the Argolid (IAA)
Prewar social capital and conflict: per capita court cases (1935-1939)	Mean: .06 Min: .01 Max:.24	Archives of the Civil Courts of Nafplio, Historical Archive of the Argolid (IAA)
GDP proxy (interval variable; wealthiest village=3)	Mean: 2.21 Min: 1 Max: 3	Own coding based on Anagnostopoulos and Gagalis 1938

Table 2
Determinants of Collaboration with Occupying Forces: Argolid, 1943-1944
OLS Regressions (standard errors and p values in parenthesis)

Dependent Variable: Number of Security Battalion Fatalities by Village	Model 1	Model 2
Rebel violence (Fall 1943)	0.506*** (0.188) (0.009)	0.440** (0.200) (0.033)
Mean score of control	-1.312** (0.575) (0.026)	-1.562** (0.648) (0.019)
Altitude (meters) (log)	0 (0.003) (0.846)	0 (0.003) (0.840)
Distance from closest town (in minutes) (log)	0.008 (0.006) (0.183)	0.009 (0.006) (0.160)
1933 Elections	0.326 (1.480) (0.826)	0.318 (1.754) (0.857)
Education level (high school students per capita)		0.134 (0.565) (0.813)
Prewar social capital and conflict (court suits per capita (1935-1939) (log)		-0.557 (0.447) (0.219)
GDP proxy (interval variable; wealthiest village=3)		-0.061 (0.830) (0.941)
constant	2.209 (1.871) (0.243)	1.018 (2.927) (0.729)
Observations	63	63
R squared	0.226	0.248
Prob > F	0.010	0.039

* $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$ (two-tailed test)

Appendix

Zone 1   Incumbent combatants permanently garrisoned in the village or in a one-hour radius; incumbent combatants and administrators operate freely during all times of day and night; no insurgent activity reported; insurgent clandestine organizations never set-up or completely destroyed.

Zone 2   Incumbent combatants permanently garrisoned in the village or in a one-hour radius; incumbent combatants and administrators operate freely during all times of day and night; insurgent clandestine organizations operate inside the village; clandestine meetings take place; sporadic visits at night by insurgent combatants.

Zone 3   Incumbent combatants permanently garrisoned in the village but do not move freely at night; incumbent administrators usually do not sleep in their homes; insurgent organizers are active; regular nightly visits by insurgent combatants at night.

Zone 4   Insurgent combatants permanently garrisoned in the village or near it; insurgent combatants and administrators operate freely during all times of day and night; incumbent clandestine organizations inside the village; clandestine meetings take place; sporadic visits at night by incumbent combatants.

Zone 5   Insurgent combatants permanently garrisoned in the village or near it; insurgent combatants and administrators operate freely during all times of day and night; no insurgent activity reported; incumbent clandestine organizations never set-up or completely destroyed.

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