

Terrorism, Insurgency, and Civil War—Fall 2010

(Public Policy 38730)

Professor Ethan Bueno de Mesquita

Office 1155 E. 60th, Rm. 108

Office Hours Tu/Th 3–4 pm (or by appointment)

Office Phone 773.834.9874

Email bdm@uchicago.edu

Course website The course has a website at chalk.uchicago.edu

Course Description This course introduces students to modern, social scientific approaches to the study of political violence. We will focus on several key questions: What are the causes of political violence? How is violence used? Who participates in political violence? What do we know about how to counter the use of violence? How are rebel groups organized? And what are the consequences of violence for society?

The course addresses these questions by presenting students with the best, cutting edge research on political violence in the social sciences. The goal of doing so is three-fold. First, I hope that students will come away from the course with a better sense of the social mechanisms underlying these critical phenomena and a more nuanced understanding of the policy challenges that political violence poses. Second, I hope students will develop an appreciation for how difficult these questions are to answer credibly. Finally, and most importantly, the course is designed to help students think critically about the literature, so that they can engage the relevant policy debates in a serious-minded and informed way.

Course Requirements The course has three requirements: participation, short essays, and a final paper.

- **Participation** Class will center around a critical discussion of the papers assigned for the session. Thus, doing the reading is essential. The goal is to have a serious dialogue among class members. Your contribution to participation will be judged not in terms of its quantity, but in terms of the level of insight and the extent to which it furthers this critical dialogue.
- **Presentations** Twice during the quarter, in groups of 3–4, you will be responsible for an in-class presentation. Class presentations should take approximately the first 20 minutes of class. In these presentations, you should attempt to achieve two objectives. First, to present an overall narrative of what we can learn about the problem at hand from

the combination of papers assigned for that sessions reading. This narrative should be presented non-technically, in the way you would if you were trying to present research findings to a non-specialist policy audience. Second, to evaluate the credibility of the arguments presented, indicating what you found convincing, what you didn't find convincing, and why. We will use these presentations as a launching point for our class discussion. The quality of these presentations will play an important role in determining your participation grade.

- **Short, critical essays** You must submit a short critical essay through the Dropbox feature of the course chalk website by 5 pm the night before class, 6 times during the quarter. These essays should be short (no more than 750 words). They should include either a comment on or critique of the readings for the session.

The goal of these essays is two-fold. First, I want you to engage critically with the readings. Simply restating the arguments won't do. You should organize your essay around a few key comments, critiques, or ideas about the readings. Second, I want you to work on writing in a concise and direct way (which is much more important than writing beautifully). As such, I will stop reading after 750 words. You should start your essay by laying out, very clearly, the points you are going to make. Then you should make each point in as brief and direct a manner as possible.

Taken together, these essays will constitute 40% of your grade. If you submit fewer than 6, the missing essays will receive a 0. The essays will be graded on a 5 point scale: (5) deep stuff (this will be rare), (4) well written and interesting, (3) meets expectations, (2) seriously flawed in argument or writing, (1) seriously flawed in argument and writing (I hope this will be rare).

- **Final Paper** You must write a final paper which aims to make a contribution to our understanding of political violence. The paper can be theoretical or empirical. It can focus on one country or group, or it can be cross-national. (My guess is that most people will want to write an empirical, single country study. That is fine.)

Masters students should write their papers in teams of 3–5 students. The goal is for team discussion to facilitate careful and creative thinking. I will grade the papers, but I will also ask each team member to submit a grade for each other team member. These within-team evaluations will play a role in final grading, especially if it is clear that any members of the team did more or less than their fair share of the work.

Ph.D. students should write their own paper.

About half-way through the quarter, we will devote 2 class sessions to students presenting their paper ideas and receiving feedback from the class. You should come talk to me about your paper topic before those sessions.

Papers should be between 15 and 25 pages. If you think you need more space, rewrite again and again. If you still think you need more space, come talk to me.

I think the best description of good academic paper writing is by John Cochrane:

http://faculty.chicagobooth.edu/john.cochrane/research/papers/phd_paper_writing.pdf

Course Materials All readings are available online.

Grades Grading will be based on the course requirements as follows: participation (30%), critical essays (35%), final paper (35%).

Course Schedule

Introduction

Introduction and the Puzzle of Conflict

Fearon, James. 1995. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49: 379–414.

Powell, Robert. "War as a Commitment Problem" *International Organization* 60: 169–203.

The Causes of Conflict

Economic Causes of Conflict 1: Macro-Level

Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97: 75–90

Abadie, Alberto. "Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism." *American Economic Association Papers and Proceedings* 96: 50–56.

Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. 2004. "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach." *Journal of Political Economy* 112: 725–753.

Economic Causes of Conflict 2: Natural Resources and Violence

Dube, Oeindrila and Juan Vargas. 2008. "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia." Working Paper.

Humphreys, Macartan. 2005. "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49: 508–537.

Ross, Michael. 2006. "A Closer Look at Oil, Diamonds, and Civil War." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:265–300.

Ethnicity

Fearon, James and David Laitin. 1996. "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 30: 715–735.

Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Dan Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein. 2007. "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101: 709–725.

Fearon, James and David Laitin. Forthcoming. "Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War." *World Development*.

Repression, Occupation, and Freedom

Pape, Robert. 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97: 343–361.

Ashworth, Scott, Joshua Clinton, Adam Meirowitz, and Kristopher Ramsay. 2008. "Design, Inference, and the Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 102.

- Li, Quan. 2005. "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:278–297.

Using Violence

Who Fights 1: Civil Wars

- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil Wars." *American Journal of Political Science* 52: 436–455.
- Beber, Bernd and Christopher Blattman. 2010. "The Industrial Organization of Rebellion: The Logic of Forced Labor and Child Soldiering." Working Paper.
- Kalyvas, Stathis and Matthew Adas Kocher. 2007. "How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem" *World Politics* 59:177–216.

Who Fights 2: Terrorism

- Krueger, Alan and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is there a Causal Connection?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17: 119–144.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "The Quality of Terror." *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 515:530.
- Benmelech, Efraim, Claude Berrebi, and Esteban Klor. 2010. "Economic Conditions and the Quality of Suicide Terrorism." NBER Working Paper No. 16320.

Does Terrorism Work?

- Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31: 42–78.
- Gould, Eric D. and Esteban Klor. Forthcoming. "Does Terrorism Work?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.
- Abadie, Alberto and Javier Gardeazabal. 2003. "The Economic Costs of Conflict: A Case Study of the Basque Country." *American Economic Review* 93:113–132.

Internal Organization and the Efficacy of Violence

- Berman, Eli and David D. Laitin. 2008. "Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model." *Journal of Public Economics* 92: 1942–1967.
- Weinstein, Jeremy. 2005. "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49: 598–324.
- Shapiro, Jacob and David Siegel. 2010. "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations." Working Paper.

Terrorism and Civil War

- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. "Insurgent Tactics." Working Paper.
- Samabanis, Nicholas. 2008. "Terrorism and Civil War." In Keefer, Phillip and Norman Loayza (eds.) *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laitin, David and Jacob Shapiro. 2008. "The Sources of Terrorism: An Ecological and Organizational Perspective." In Keefer, Philip and Norman Loayza (eds.) *Terrorism, Economic Development, and Political Openness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

COIN and Counterterrorism

Modern COIN Doctrine

Bermann, Eli, Joseph Felter, and Jacob Shapiro. "Can Hearts and Minds be Bought?: The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." NBER Working Paper No. 14606.

Lyall, Jason. 2010. "Are Co-Ethnics More Effective Counter-Insurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." *American Political Science Review* 104:1–20.

Lyall, Jason and Isaiah Wilson, III. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63: 67–106.

Civilians and Conflict

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 100:429–447.

Condra, Luke, Joseph Felter, Radha Iyengar and Jacob Shapiro. "The Effect of Civilian Casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq." Working Paper.

Jaeger, David, Esteban Klor, Sami Miaari, and M. Daniele Paserman. 2010. "The Struggle for Palestinian Hearts and Minds: Violence and Public Opinion in the Second Intifada." Working Paper.

Strategic Challenges

Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 1993. "The Effectiveness of Anti-Terrorism Policies: Vector-Autoregression-Intervention Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87:829–844.

Lyall, Jason. 2009. "Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks?: Evidence from Chechnya." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53: 331–362.

Condra, Luke and Jacob Shapiro. "Who Takes the Blame? The Strategic Effects of Collateral Damage." Working Paper.

Security and Civil Liberties

Posner, Eric and Adrian Vermeule. 2006. "Emergencies and Democratic Failure." *Virginia Law Review* 92:1092–1146.

Dragu, Tiberiu. "Is There a Tradeoff Between Security and Liberty? Executive Bias, Privacy Protections, and Terrorism Prevention." Working Paper.

Zussman, Asaf and Noam Zussman. 2006. "Assassinations: Evaluating the Effectiveness of an Israeli Counterterrorism Policy Using Stock Market Data." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 20:193–206.

Conflict's End

Negotiations and Peace Processes

- Kydd, Andrew and Barbara Walter. 2002. "Sabotaging the Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence." *International Organization* 56: 263–296.
- Bueno de Mesquita. 2005. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence" *International Organization* 59:145–176.
- Bapat, Navin. 2005. "Insurgency and the Opening of Peace Processes." *Journal of Peace Research* 42: 699–717.

Peacekeeping

- Doyle, Michale and Nicholas Sambanis. 2007. "The U.N. Record in Peacekeeping Operations." In Thomas G. Weiss and Sam Daws, eds., *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sambanis, Nicholas. 2008. "Short-Term and Long-Term Effects of United Nations Peace Operations." *World Bank Economic Review* 22:9–32.
- Walter, Barbara. 2007. "The Critical Barrier to Civil Wars Settlement." *International Organization* 51:335–364.
- Fortna, Page. 2004. "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects." *World Politics* 56:481–519.

Post Conflict: Social Reintegration

- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. 2007. "Demobilization and Reintegration." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51:531–567.
- Annan, Jeannie, Christopher Blattman, Dyan Mazurana, and Kristopher Carlson. "Civil War, Reintegration, and Gender in Northern Uganda." Working Paper.
- Miguel, Edward, Sebastian Saiegh, and Shanker Satyanath. Forthcoming. "Civil War Exposure and Violence." *Economics and Politics*.

Post Conflict: Economic and Political Reintegration

- Miguel, Edward and Gerard Roland. Forthcoming. "The Long Run Impact of Bombing Vietnam." *Journal of Development Economics*.
- Blattman, Christopher and Jeannie Annan. Forthcoming. "The Consequences of Child Soldiering" *Review of Economics and Statistics*.
- Blattman, Christopher. 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda." *American Political Science Review* 102: 231–247.
- Bellows, John and Edward Miguel. 2009. "War and Local Collective Action in Sierra Leone." *Journal of Public Economics* 93:1144–1157.