

Terrorism, Insurgency, and Civil War—Spring 2013 (Public Policy 27780)

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Student Hours Thursday 4–5 or by appointment

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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?

As we address these questions, we will aim to meet three interrelated goals. First, 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, students will develop an appreciation for how difficult these questions are to answer. Finally, the course is designed to help students think critically about what we learn from the evidence, so that they can engage the relevant policy debates in a serious-minded and informed way.

Course Requirements The course has three requirements: participation, a short presentation, and two exams.

- **Participation** Class will center around a critical evaluation 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** As an experiment, we are going to try something I'm stealing from my former classmate, Macartan Humphreys (now at Columbia). We are going to start each class session off with two short presentations by two-student teams. The point of these presentations is two fold. (There are a lot of "two"'s in this paragraph.) First, they will create a common base of cases of political violence we can talk about in class. Second, they will give each of you the opportunity to learn some details about one or two cases. Your job will be to provide a two-page fact sheet on your event (see below) and give a brief (5–7 minute) presentation about it.

Your two-page fact sheet should include sections addressing the following

1. Short description of event (what happened, who was involved, etc.).
2. Background to the event that provides some context on the conflict it was part of.
3. Why was violence used?
4. Why did people participate?
5. Did the violence have/achieve its purpose?
6. Was the violence organized? If so, how?
7. What arguments were offered to justify the violence?
8. Could the violence have been prevented and if so how?
9. Did this violent incident spark further violence?
10. Describe a question this event raises for our understanding of the use of political violence.

Here are the cases we will cover:

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|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. The 1916 Rising | 14. Attack on Camp Chapman |
| 2. The Srebrenica Massacre | 15. 2010 Moscow Subway Bombing |
| 3. The killing of Samuel Doe | 16. The 1970 October Crisis |
| 4. The Anbar Awakening and Surge | 17. The 1992 L.A. Riots |
| 5. Luvungi Rapes of July 2010 | 18. Lucanamarca Massacre |
| 6. Assassination of Luis Carrero Blanco | 19. 1996 invasion of Congo by Rwanda |
| 7. 2008 Mumbai Attacks | 20. Godhra train burning and riots |
| 8. Aranthalawa Massacre | 21. The Leipzig Monday Demonstrations |
| 9. The Bombing of Omagh | 22. The Guinea Fowl War |
| 10. The Battle of Jenin | 23. The Siege of the 'Red Mosque' |
| 11. The Philippeville Massacre | 24. Cubana Flight 455 |
| 12. Basilan beheading | 25. The Colfax Riot |
| 13. King David Hotel Bombing | 26. Balangiga massacre |

Course Materials All readings are available online. Published materials can be found through the University of Chicago Library e-journals and databases. If you don't know how to use these resources, consult the library staff at the Regenstein. Readings marked with a ** can be found in the course's Chalk Course Documents section.

Grades Grading will be based on the course requirements as follows: participation and presentation (20%), midterm (35%), final exam (45%).

Course Schedule

Introduction

APRIL 1. Introduction and Conceptual Issues

No reading.

APRIL 3. Thinking About Evidence: Cross-Country Analyses of Conflict

** Susan E. Rice, Corinne Graff and Janet Lewis. 2006. "Poverty and Civil War: What Policymakers Need to Know." *Brookings Global Economy and Development Working Paper #02*

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

** Paul Collier and Anke Hoefler. 2004. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56(4): 563-595.

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

The Causes of Conflict?

APRIL 8. Economic Causes 1: Mobilization and Predation

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

** Samuel Bazzi and Christopher Blattman. "Economic Shocks and Conflict: The (Absence of?) Evidence from Commodity Prices." Working Paper.

** Dube, Oeindrila and Juan Vargas. Forthcoming. "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia." *Review of Economic Studies*.

** Nicolas Bermany and Mathieu Couttenierz. "External Shocks, Internal Shots: The Geography of Civil Conflicts." Working Paper.

APRIL 10. Economic Causes 2: Poverty and Mobilization

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. 2012. "Economic Conditions and the Quality of Suicide Terrorism." *Journal of Politics* 74(1):113–128.

APRIL 15. Economic Causes 3: How Rebels Fight

** Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. Forthcoming. "Rebel Tactics." *Journal of Political Economy*.

** Hanson, Matthew, Radha Iyengar, and Jonathan Monten. 2011. "Building Peace: The Impact of Aid on the Labor Market for Insurgents." NBER Working Paper 17297.

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

Eli Berman, Michael Callen, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2012. "Do Working Men Rebel? Insurgency and Unemployment in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Philippines." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(4): 496–528

APRIL 17. 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. 2010. "Sons of the Soil, Migrants, and Civil War." *World Development* 39(2):199–211.

Lars-Erik Cederman, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62(1):87–119.

APRIL 22. Democracy 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.

Erica Chenoweth. 2010. "Democratic Competition and Terrorist Activity." *Journal of Politics* 72(1):16–30.

** Deniz Aksoy and David B. Carter. "Electoral Institutions and the Emergence of Terrorist Groups." Working Paper.

Using Violence

APRIL 24. Who Fights?

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. Forthcoming. "The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion." *International Organization*.

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.

Kuran, Timur. 1989. Sparks and prairie fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution. *Public Choice* 61: 41–74.

APRIL 29. Does Violence Work?

Abrahms, Max. 2006. "Why Terrorism Does Not Work." *International Security* 31: 42–78.

Gould, Eric D. and Esteban Klor. 2010. "Does Terrorism Work?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 125(4): 1459–1510.

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan. 2008. "Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict." *International Security* 33(1).

MAY 1. 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. 2012. "Moral Hazard, Discipline, and the Management of Terrorist Organizations." *World Politics*. 64(1): 39–78.

MAY 6. MIDTERM EXAM

MAY 8. Atrocities and Genocide

** David Yanagizawa-Drott. "Propaganda and Conflict: Theory and Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." Working Paper.

Barbara Harff. 2003. "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955." *American Political Science Review* 97(1):57–73.

Elisabeth Wood. 2006. "Variation in Sexual Violence during War." *Politics & Society* 34(3):307–341.

Stathis Kalyvas and Matthew Kocher. "The Dynamics of Violence in Vietnam: An Analysis of the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES)." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(3): 335-355.

COIN and Counterterrorism

MAY 13. Evaluating Modern COIN Doctrine

Bermann, Eli, Joseph Felter, and Jacob Shapiro. Forthcoming. "Can Hearts and Minds be Bought?: The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq." *Journal of Political Economy*.

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.

** Shapiro, Jacob and Nils Weidmann. "Is the Phone Mightier than the Sword? Cell Phones and Insurgent Violence in Iraq." Working Paper.

MAY 15. Backlash

** 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. 2012. "The Struggle for Palestinian Hearts and Minds: Violence and Public Opinion in the Second Intifada." *Journal of Public Economics* 96 (3–4): 354–368.

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

** Jason Lyall, Kosuke Imai, and Graeme Blair. Forthcoming. "Explaining Support for Combatants During Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan." *American Political Science Review*.

MAY 20. Countering Strategic Adversaries

Robert Powell. 2007. "Defending against terrorist attacks with limited resources." *American Political Science Review* 101(3):527.

Walter Enders and Todd Sandler. 1993. "The effectiveness of antiterrorism policies: A vector-autoregression-intervention analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87(4):829–844.

** Melissa Dell. "Trafficking Networks and the Mexican Drug War." Working Paper.

MAY 22. Various Counter-Rebel Strategies

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.

Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. 2011. "Divide and Conquer or Divide and Concede: How Do States Respond to Internally Divided Separatists?" *American Political Science Review* 105(2):275–297.

Fortna, Page. 2004. "Interstate Peacekeeping: Causal Mechanisms and Empirical Effects." *World Politics* 56:481–519.

MAY 27. MEMORIAL DAY

MAY 29. Aid and Conflict

De Ree, Jopp and Eleonora Nillesen. 2009. "Aiding Violence or Peace? The Impact of foreign aid on the risk of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Journal of Development Economics* 88: 301–313.

** Crost, Benjamin and Patrick Johnston. "Aid Under Fire: Development Projects and Civil Conflict." Working Paper.

** Qian, Nancy and Nathan Nunn. "Feeding Conflict: the Unintended Consequences of Food Aid on Civil War." Working Paper.

** Dube, Oeindrila and Suresh Naidu. 2010. "Bases, Bullets and Ballots: the Impact of U.S. Military Aid on Political Conflict in Colombia." Center for Global Development Working Paper # 197.

The Legacy of Conflict

JUNE 3. Social Consequences

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. 2011. "Civil War, Reintegration, and Gender in Northern Uganda." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(6): 877–908.

Shayo, Moses and Asaf Zussman. 2011. "Judicial Ingroup Bias in the Shadow of Terrorism." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126(3): 1447–1484

JUNE 5. Economic and Political Consequences

Miguel, Edward and Gerard Roland. Forthcoming. "The Long Run Impact of Bombing Vietnam." *Journal of Development Economics*.

Blattman, Christopher and Jeannie Annan. 2010. "The Consequences of Child Soldiering" *Review of Economics and Statistics* 92(4): 882-898.

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.

** Dell, Melissa. "Path dependence in development: Evidence from the Mexican Revolution." Working Paper.