

Terrorism and Political Violence

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Course Description:

This course offers an introduction to the comparative study of terrorism, civil war, revolution, and other forms of domestic-level political violence. We will consider a variety of theoretical and empirical approaches to studying violence. The purpose of the class is to learn how social scientific tools can be used to understand conflict and to gain a sense of what we do and do not know about the politics of violence. As such, we will focus on reading, understanding, and critiquing the recent social scientific literature on political violence. Although some of the papers contain technical content (both game theoretic and statistical), no mathematical background beyond high school algebra is prerequisite for the course. Basic game theory and statistics will be introduced as necessary.

Course Requirements:

Reading/Participation (10%): Articles or book chapters are assigned for each class meeting. You should do the readings prior to the class for which they are assigned and participate actively in class. All of the readings are available either from the universities electronic reserve, online JSTOR, or website links are provided on the syllabus.

Short papers (25% each): Two short papers (3-5 pages) will be assigned during the semester. Topic questions will be handed out and students will have two weeks to write the papers from the time the questions are distributed.

Final Paper (40%): Students are expected to turn in a final paper on an independently chosen research topic at the end of the semester. Topics should be chosen in consultation with either the professor or TA. A one to two page paper proposal, outlining the research question to be answered and the approach to be taken is due by November 13.

Course Schedule:

General Issues

AUGUST 30 – CLASS INTRODUCTION

SEP 4 – NO CLASS (LABOR DAY)

SEP 6 – What are social scientists doing when they study violence?

- Keddie, Nikki. 1994. “Can Revolutions be Predicted: Can their Causes be Understood?” In Nikki Keddie (ed.) *Debating Revolutions* (New York: NYU Press).
- Goldstone, Jack. 1994. “Predicting Revolutions: Why we could (and should) have foreseen the revolutions of 1989-1991 in the USSR and Eastern Europe” In Nikki Keddie (ed.) *Debating Revolutions* (New York: NYU Press).
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1996. “The Benefits of a Social-Scientific Approach to Studying International Affairs.” In Ngaire Woods, ed. *Explaining International Affairs Since 1945*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press).

SEP 11 – Collective Action

- Finkel, Steven E. and Edward N. Muller. 1998. “Rational Choice and the Dynamics of Collective Political Action: Evaluating Alternative Models with Panel Data.” *American Political Science Review* 92(1):37-49. (JSTOR)
- Migdal, Joel. 1974. *Peasants, Politics, and Revolution: Pressures Towards Political and Social Change in the Third World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 10, pp. 226-256.

SEP 13 – Deprivation and Resource Mobilization

- Gurr, Ted. 1968. “A Causal Model of Civil Strife: A Comparative Analysis Using New Indices.” *American Political Science Review* 62(4):1104-1124. (JSTOR)
- Khawaja, Marwan. 1994. “Resource Mobilization, Hardship, and Popular Collective Action in the West Bank.” *Social Forces* 73(1):191-220.
- Thompson, J.L.P. 1989. “Deprivation and Political Violence in Northern Ireland, 1922-1985: A Time-Series Analysis.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 33(4): 676-699. (JSTOR)

Terrorism

SEP 18 – The Nature of Terrorism and Terrorist Groups (*change readings*)

- DeNardo, James. 1985. *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), chapter 10.
- Chai, Sun-Ki. 1993. “An Organizational Economics Theory of Anti-Government Violence.” *Comparative Politics* 26(1):99-110.
- Adams, James. 1987. “The Financing of Terror.” In *Contemporary Research in Terrorism*, ed. Paul C. Wilkinson and Alasdair M. Stewart. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press).

SEP 20 – Structural Causes of Terrorism

- Blomberg, S. Brock, Gregory D. Hess, and Akila Weerapana. 2004. “Economic Conditions and Terrorism.” *European Journal of Political Economy* 20(2):463–78.
- Krueger, Alan B., and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. “Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(4):119–44. <http://www.krueger.princeton.edu/terrorism2.pdf>
- Li, Quan. “Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49(2):278—297. http://polisci.la.psu.edu/faculty/li/research_papers/paper_files/terrorism_jcr_2005.pdf

SEP 25 – Terrorism and the Economy

- Abadie, Alberto. 2004. “Poverty, Political Freedom, and the Roots of Terrorism.” NBER Working Paper #w10859. Available at <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~aabadie/povterr.pdf>
- Abadie, Alberto and Juan Gardeazabal. 2003. “The Economic Costs of Conflict: A Case Study of the Basque Country,” *American Economic Review*, vol. 93(1):113-131.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. “The Quality of Terror.” *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3):515-530.

SEP 27 – Negotiating with Terror

- Kydd, Andrew and Barbara F. Walter. 2002. “Sabotaging Peace: The Politics of Extremist Violence.” *International Organization* 56(2):263-296.

- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "Conciliation, Counterterrorism, and Patterns of Terrorist Violence." *International Organization* 59(1):145-176.

Applications: Israel/Palestine, ETA, IRA

OCT 2 – NO CLASS (Yom Kippur)

OCT 4 – NO CLASS (Out of town)

OCT 9 – Optimal Counterterror

- Powell, Robert. "Defending Against Terrorist Attacks with Limited Resources." UC Berkeley Working Paper.
<http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/seminars/pegroup/Powelldefendaug05.pdf>
- Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. 1993. "The Effectiveness of Anti-Terrorism Policies: Vector-Autoregression-Intervention Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87(4):829-844. (JSTOR)
- Zussman, Asaf and Noam Zussman. 2006. "Assassinations: Evaluating the Effectiveness of an Israeli Counterterrorism Policy Using Stock Market Data." *Journal fo Ecoomic Perspectives* 20(2):193-206.
<http://www.arts.cornell.edu/econ/azussman/assassinations-jep.pdf>

OCT 11 – Suboptimal Counterterror

- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan. 2005. "Politics and the Suboptimal Provision of Counterterror." Washington University Typescript. Available at
http://bdm.wustl.edu/papers/public_private.pdf
- Powell, Robert. "Allocating Resources to Defend Against Terrorist Attacks with Private Information about Vulnerability." UC Berkeley working paper.

OCT 16 – Terrorism and International Relations

- Rosendorff, Peter and Todd Sandler. 2004. "Too Much of a Good Thing? The Proactive Response Dilemma." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48(4).
- Sandler, Todd and Kevin Siqueira. 2003. "Global Terrorism: Deterrence versus Preemption." University of Southern California Typescript.
- Bapat, Navin. "State Bargaining with Transnational Terrorist Groups." *International Studies Quarterly*. Forthcoming.
<http://www.personal.psu.edu/faculty/n/a/nab12/StateBargain.pdf>

OCT 18 – Suicide Terror

- Bloom, Mia M. 2004. "Palestinian Suicide Bombing: Public Support, Market Share and Outbidding." *Political Science Quarterly* 119(1):61–88.

- Pape, Robert A. 2003. 2003. “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism” *American Political Science Review* 97(3):343-361. Counter-terror

OCT 23 – Terrorism and Public Opinion

- Berrebi, Claude and Esteban Klor. 2004. “On Terrorism and Electoral Outcomes: Theory and Evidence from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.” Princeton University Industrial Relations Sections Working Paper #480.
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=487202
- Bueno de Mesquita, Ethan and Eric Dickson. “The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and Mobilization.”
<http://bdm.wustl.edu/PDF/vanguard.pdf>

OCT 25 – The Cycle of Violence

- de Figueiredo, Jr., Rui J.P. and Barry Weingast. 2001. “Vicious Cycles; Endogenous Political Extremism and Political Violence.” *Institute of Governmental Studies Working Paper* 2001-9.
- Jaeger, David A. and M. Daniele Paserman. 2006. “The Cycle of Violence? An Empirical Analysis of Fatalities in the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.”
http://economics.huji.ac.il/facultye/paserman/Jaeger-Paserman-CycleOfViolence_October2005.pdf

Civil Wars, Genocides, and Coups

OCT 30 – Structural Causes of Civil War

- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2002. “On Economic Causes of Civil War.”
<http://econ.worldbank.org/programs/conflict/topic/13188/library/doc?id=13204>
- Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti. 2004. “Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach” *Journal of Political Economy* 112(4), 725-753
http://www.econ.berkeley.edu/~emiguel/miguel_conflict.pdf
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. 2003. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97(1):75-90.

Applications: Liberia, Zimbabwe

NOV 1 – Strategic Causes of Civil War

- Fearon, James. 1998. “Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict.” In David Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds., *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

NOV 6 – Civil War Termination

- Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. “Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars.” *International Security* 20(4):136-175.
- Walter, Barbara. 1997. “The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement” *International Organization* 51(3):335-364. (JSTOR)
- Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. “Disentangling the Determinants of Successful Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration.” Unpublished paper available at <http://www.stanford.edu/~jweinst/docs/manuscripts/DDR%20IGCC.pdf>

Application: Yugoslavia

NOV 8 – Aftermath of Civil Wars

- Atlas, Pierre M. and Roy Licklider. “Conflict Among Former Allies After Civil War Settlement: Sudan, Zimbabwe, Chad, and Lebanon.” *Journal of Peace Research* 36(1):35-54.
- Collier, Paul. “On the Economic Consequences of Civil War.” Available at http://econ.worldbank.org/files/13201_CollierEcConsequences.pdf
- Ghobarah, Hazem, Paul Huth, and Bruce Russett. 2003. “Civil Wars Kill and Maim People—Long after the Shooting Stops.” *American Political Science Review* 97(2): 189-202. <http://www.yale.edu/unsy/brussett/CWDALYleitner11.04.02.pdf>

NOV 13 – Atrocities and Genocide

- Humphreys, N. Macartan and Jeremy Weinstein. 2004. “Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War: Determinants of the Strategies of Warring Factions.” Unpublished paper. Available at <http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/papers1/Civilians.pdf>
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 1999. “Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria.” *Rationality and Society* 11(3):243-285.
- Easterly, William, Roberta Gatti, and Sergio Kurlat. “Development, Democracy, and Mass Killings.” *Journal of Economic Growth*, forthcoming. <http://www.nyu.edu/fas/institute/dri/Easterly/File/Masskillings2005Dec21.pdf>

Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict

NOV 15 – On the Nature of Ethnic Identity.

- Bates, Robert. 1974. “Ethnic Competition and Modernization in Contemporary Africa.” *Comparative Political Studies* 6(4):457-477.

- Fearon, James D. “What is identity (as we now use the word)?” Unpublished paper available at <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/iden1v2.pdf>
- Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. “Ethnic Identifiability: An Experimental Approach.” Unpublished paper available at http://www.stanford.edu/~jweinst/docs/manuscripts/ID_paper_MAR05.pdf

NOV 20 – Ethnic Conflict

- Fearon James D. and David D. Laitin. 1996. “Explaining Interethnic Cooperation.” *American Political Science Review* 90(4):715-735. (JSTOR)
- Easterly, William. 2001. “Can Institutions Resolve Ethnic Conflict?” <http://www.nyu.edu/fas/institute/dri/Easterly/File/can%20institutions%20resolve%20ethnic%20conflict.pdf>
- Sambanis, Nicolas. 2001. “Do Ethnic an Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(4):259-282.

Application: Rwanda

NOV 22 – No class (Thanksgiving)

NOV 27 – Religion and Violence

- Rapoport, David C. “Messianic Sanctions for Terror.” *Comparative Politics* 20(2):195-213.
- Reynal-Querol, Marta. 2002. “Ethnicity, Political Systems, and Civil Wars.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Available at <http://www.worldbank.org/research/conflict/papers/ethnicity.pdf>

NOV 29 – The Legacy of Colonialism

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson. 2001. “The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation.” *American Economic Review* 91(5):1369-1401.
- Berman, Bruce J. “Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence: Colonial Administration and the Origins of the ‘Mau Mau’ Emergency in Kenya.” *British Journal of Political Science* 6(2):143-175.
- Glaeser, Edward L., Rafael La Portan Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes, and Andrei Shleifer. 2004. “Do Institutions Cause Growth?” *Journal of Economic Growth* 9(3):271-303.

DEC 4 – Predatory Government

- Olson, Mancur. 1993. “Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development.” *American Political Science Review* 87(3):567-576.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 2001. “Political Institutions and Incentives to Govern Effectively.” *Journal of Democracy* 12:58—72.

DEC 6 – Foreign Aid and Rogue States

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. “Political Development and the Threat of Revolution.”
- Easterly, William. “Can Foreign Aid Buy Growth?”
<http://www.nyu.edu/fas/institute/dri/Easterly/File/can%20foreign%20aid%20buy%20growth.pdf>