

Instructor: Matteo Giglioli

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Course Title: 85415 – Forecasting and Analyzing Political Violence

Sessions: Mondays, 3-5pm (*aula 7*)
Tuesdays, 3-5pm (*aula 5*)

Office hours: Tuesdays, 12-2pm, by appointment
Ufficio assegnisti (3rd floor)

Description: Political violence is one of the key elements of instability in today's world. However, the paradigm within which we understand it has undergone a sea change since the end of the Cold War and 9/11. The present course aims to expose students to the latest social-scientific literature on conflict and violence. The perspective adopted aims to transcend traditional State-centric distinctions, and conceive of political violence as a unified phenomenon, with a variety of forms and actors giving rise to a plurality of equilibriums and outcomes. The course aims to enable students to understand the multifaceted nature of contemporary political violence, form reasonable and fact-based expectations of future developments, and thereby contribute to managing risk in a variety of institutional settings.

Assessment: Student performance will be assessed on the basis of in-class, closed-book, written exams. Non-attendees will sit a final exam, worth 100% of their overall grade. They will choose one of two dates set by the instructor in the exam periods (Dec. 11th – Jan. 12th; Jan. 15th – Feb. 16th). The final exam will cover all the required reading for the course. Attendees, in addition to sitting the same final exam as non-attendees, will also sit a midterm exam, which will be administered in class on Tuesday, October 31st. The midterm will cover the required readings through week 5. The weighing of the midterm and final in the overall grade follows the principle of “rainy-day insurance”: 60% from the exam with the higher grade, 40% from the other exam.

COURSE OUTLINE:

Week 1 (25-26 Sept.): Introduction

Topics:

- Basic concepts and problems of definition
- Changing historical paradigms of conflict and political violence
- The dilemma of prediction

Required Readings:

- Stathis Kalyvas, “The Ontology of Political Violence,” *Perspectives on Politics* 1:3 (2003), pp. 475-494

Week 2 (2-3 Oct.): Actors

Topics:

- Individual and group perpetrators of political violence

Sample case studies:

- Bosnia
- Colombia

Required Readings:

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil Wars." *American Journal of Political Science* 52:2 (2008): 436–455
- Kimberly Marten, "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective," *International Security*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Winter 2006/ 07): 41-73
- Diego Gambetta and Steffen Hertog, "Why Are There So Many Engineers Among Islamic Radicals?" *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (2009) pp. 201-230

Week 3 (9-10 Oct.): Motivation, mobilization, and recruitment

Topics:

- Organizational challenges for non-State actors engaged in violent conflict

Sample case studies:

- South Asia

Required Readings:

- Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2005): 598-624
- Jeff Victoroff, "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:1 (February 2005): 3-42
- Rune Henriksen and Anthony Vinci, 'Combat Motivation in Non-State Armed Groups,' *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20:1 (2008), 87-109

Week 4 (16-17 Oct.): Goals

Topics:

- Objectives of violent campaigns, symbolic and material
- Violence as a system of rule

Sample case studies:

- Palestine

Required Readings:

- Stuart Kaufman, "Symbolic Politics or Rational Choice? Testing Theories of Extreme Ethnic Violence," *International Security* Vol. 30, No. 4 (Spring 2006): 45-86
- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization*, 54:4 (Autumn 2000), 845-877
- Paul Collier, "Rebellion as a Quasi-Criminal Activity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 44, No. 6 (2000): 839-853

Week 5 (23-24 Oct.): Causes, structural and proximate

Topics:

- Inequalities, perceptions of injustice, and violence
- Systemic incentives and potential rents
- Pivotal political moments and power transitions
- Rapid social change

Sample case studies:

- Pakistan
- Côte d'Ivoire
- Uganda
- Kenya

Required Readings:

- Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, "Greed and Grievance in Civil War," *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (2004): 563-595
- Alan Krueger and Jitka Malečková, "Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (2003) pp. 119-144
- Michael Ross, "How Does Natural Resources Influence Civil War?" *International Organization* 58 (2004), pp. 35-67
- Kristine Höglund, 2009. "Electoral Violence in Conflict-Ridden Societies: Concepts, Causes, and Consequences" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21:3 (2009), 412-427.

******* Midterm week *******

Week 6 (6-7 Nov.): Tactics

Topics:

- Violence as a way of fighting

Sample case studies:

- Lebanon
- Sri Lanka
- Ireland

Required Readings:

- Jason Lyall, 2010. "Are Co-Ethnics More Effective Counter-Insurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." *American Political Science Review* 104:1-20
- Jenna Jordan, "When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation," *Security Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (2009): 710-755
- Idean Salehyan, "Transnational Rebels: Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Groups," *World Politics*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (January 2007): 217-42

Week 7 (13-14 Nov.): Strategies

Topics:

- Violence as a means of winning

Sample case studies:

- Italy
- West Germany

Required Readings:

- Robert Pape, 2003. "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97: 343–361
- Ivan Arreguin-Toft, "How the Weak Win Wars: A Theory of Asymmetric Conflict," *International Security* 26, no. 1 (Summer 2001): 93-128
- Idean Salehyan, "The delegation of War to Rebel Organizations," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 54:3 (2010), 493-515

Week 8 (20-21 Nov.): Intensity and time horizon

Topics:

- The tradeoff between intensity and duration: the epidemiological analogy
- The problem with closure: endgames

Sample case studies:

- Cambodia
- Indonesia
- Colombia

Required Readings:

- Helen Fein, "Revolutionary and Antirevolutionary Genocides: A Comparison of State Murders in Democratic Kampuchea, 1975-1979, and in Indonesia, 1965-1966," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35:4 (1993), 796-823
- David Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 4 (October 2006): 875-892
- Jodi Vittori, "All Struggles Must End: The Longevity of Terrorist Groups," *Contemporary Security Policy* Vol. 30, No. 3 (2009) pp. 444-466

Week 9 (27-28 Nov.): Outcomes

Topics:

- Societies wrought by conflict and violence
- Settlement and post-conflict societies

Sample case studies:

- Somalia
- Spain
- Uganda

Required Readings:

- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, III. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63: 67–106
- Sinisa Malesevic, "Nationalism, War, and Social Cohesion," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34:1 (2011), 142-161

- Barbara Walter, 1997. "The Critical Barrier to Civil Wars Settlement." *International Organization* 51:335–364

Week 10 (4-5 Dec.): Victims

Topics:

- Strategic stakes of civilian populations

Sample case studies:

- Yugoslavia
- Algeria
- South Africa

Required Readings:

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 100, No. 3 (2006): 429-447
- Alan J. Kuperman, "The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans," *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (March 2008): 49-80
- Sarah Kenyon Lischer, "Collateral Damage: Humanitarian Assistance as a Cause of Conflict," *International Security* 28, no. 1 (Summer 2003): 79-109

Further Reading:

- Apter, David, ed., *The Legitimization of Violence*, (New York: New York University Press, 1997)
- Bloom, Mia, *Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005)
- Byman, Daniel, *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
- Chirot, Daniel and Clark McCauley, *Why not Kill them All? The Logic and Prevention of Mass Political Murder*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).
- Clunan, Anne L. and Harold A. Trinkunas, Eds., *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010)
- Gupta, Dipak K. *Understanding Terrorism and Political Violence*. (London: Routledge, 2008).
- Horowitz, Donald, *The Deadly Ethnic Riot* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001)
- Joes, Anthony James. (2004) *Resisting Rebellion: The History and Politics of Counterinsurgency*. University Press of Kentucky
- Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Krain, Matthew. *Repression and Accommodation in Post-Revolutionary States* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2000)
- Malesevic, Sinisa. 2013 (second edition). *The Sociology of War and Violence* Cambridge University Press.

- Nakray, Keerty (ed). 2013. *Gender-based Violence and Public Health: International perspectives on budgets and policies*. New York: Routledge.
- Percy, Sarah, *Mercenaries: The History of a Norm in International Relations*. (Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Rosenfeld, Jean E. 2011. *Terrorism, Identity and Legitimacy: The Four Waves theory and Political Violence* Routledge
- Roy, Beth, 1994. *Some Trouble with Cows: Making Sense of Social Conflict*, Berkeley, University of California Press
- Salehyan, Idean, *Rebels without Borders: Transnational Insurgencies in World Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009)
- Tilly, Charles. 2003. *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weinstein, Jeremy. *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Readers and anthologies

- Besteman, Catherine, ed., *Violence: A Reader. Main Trends of the Modern World*. (New York: New York University Press, 2002).
- Bufacchi, Vittorio, *Violence: A Philosophical Anthology*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- Lawrence, Bruce B. and Aisha Karim, eds., *On Violence: A Reader*. (London: Duke University Press, 2007).
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy and Philippe Bourgois, eds., *Violence in War and Peace: An Anthology*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).
- Steger, Manfred B., and Lind Nancy S. *Violence and its alternatives: an interdisciplinary reader*. (New York: St. Martin press, 1999)

Case studies

- Petersen, Roger, *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth Century Eastern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)
- Ron, James, *Frontiers and Ghettos: State Violence in Serbia and Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003)
- Tambiah, Stanley J., 1996. *Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia*. Berkeley, University of California Press
- Wilkinson, Steven I. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. (Cambridge University Press, 2006)
- Wood, Elisabeth, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Journals

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|---|--|
| - <i>Civil Wars</i> | - <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i> |
| - <i>Conflict, Security, and Development</i> | - <i>Media, War & Conflict</i> |
| - <i>Contemporary Security Policy</i> | - <i>Nationalism and Ethnic Politics</i> |
| - <i>Dynamics of asymmetrical conflict</i> | - <i>Security Studies</i> |
| - <i>International Journal of Conflict and Violence</i> | - <i>Small Wars and Insurgencies</i> |
| - <i>International Security</i> | - <i>Studies in Conflict and Terrorism</i> |
| | - <i>Terrorism and Political Violence</i> |