

Instructor: Matteo Giglioli

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Course Title: 85415 – Forecasting and Analyzing Political Violence

Sessions: Mondays, 1-3pm (*aula 7*)
Tuesdays, 1-3pm (*aula 7*)

Office hours: Tuesdays, 10-12pm, by appointment
Via de' Bersaglieri 4 (ground 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: *Non-attendees* will sit an in-class, closed-book, written final exam, worth 100% of their overall grade. They will choose one of three dates set by the instructor in the two exam periods (Dec. 10th – Jan. 10th; Jan. 11th – Feb. 15th). The final exam will cover all the required reading for the course. A sample exam is available on the course webpage. *Attendees*, in addition to sitting a part of the same final exam as non-attendees (see sample exam for details), will also be responsible for weekly reading responses. The reading responses address the required readings for the Tuesday seminar discussions. The questions are posted on the website the previous Wednesday night, and the responses (300 words max) are due by 11:59pm on the previous Sunday. Students may elect either to respond to one of the discussion questions for the week, or to link to/attach a current affairs news item, report, commentary, or other pertinent material and describe its relevance to the week's readings. Submission is handled exclusively through the course website. Reading responses are graded on a check/check plus/check minus basis (medium/good/bad); if a response is not submitted by the deadline, the grade is zero. The two worst grades out of nine total reading responses are dropped from the computation of the aggregate score. The weighing of the reading responses aggregate score and the final exam in the overall course grade is 50% each.

COURSE OUTLINE:

Week 1 (24-25 Sept.): Introduction

Topics:

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

Required Readings (Monday):

- Timur Kuran, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics*, 44, No. 1 (Oct., 1991), pp. 7-48

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- Douglas A. Van Belle "Leadership and Collective Action: The Case of Revolution," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Mar., 1996), pp. 107-132
- Stathis Kalyvas, "The Ontology of Political Violence," *Perspectives on Politics* 1:3 (2003), pp. 475-494

Week 2 (1-2 Oct.): Actors

Topics:

- Individual and group perpetrators of political violence

Required Readings (Monday):

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein. "Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil Wars." *American Journal of Political Science* 52:2 (2008): 436-455
- 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

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- Aliza Luft, "Toward a Dynamic Theory of Action at the Micro Level of Genocide: Killing, Desistance, and Saving in 1994 Rwanda" *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (JUNE 2015), pp. 148-172
- Saab, B.Y., Taylor, A.W., 2009. "Criminality and Armed Groups: A Comparative Study of FARC and Paramilitary Groups in Colombia," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32, 455-475.

Week 3 (8-9 Oct.): Motivation, mobilization, and recruitment

Topics:

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

Required Readings (Monday):

- Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Resources and the Information Problem in Rebel Recruitment," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (2005): 598-624
- Beber, B., Blattman, C., 2013. "The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion," *International Organization* 67, 65-104.

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- Paul Staniland, "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources, and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security*, 37:1, Summer 2012, pp. 142-177

- Boone, C., 2011. "Politically Allocated Land Rights and the Geography of Electoral Violence: The Case of Kenya in the 1990s." *Comparative Political Studies* 44, 1311–1342.

Week 4 (15-16 Oct.): Goals

Topics:

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

Required Readings (Monday):

- Paul Collier, "Rebellion as a Quasi-Criminal Activity," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 44, No. 6 (2000): 839-853
- Fjelde, H., Nilsson, D., 2012. "Rebels against Rebels: Explaining Violence between Rebel Groups," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, 604–628.

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- 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

Week 5 (22-23 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

Required Readings (Monday):

- Paul Collier and Anke Hoefler, "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

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- Michael Ross, "How Does Natural Resources Influence Civil War?" *International Organization* 58 (2004), pp. 35-67
- Lieberman, E.S., Singh, P., 2012. "The Institutional Origins of Ethnic Violence," *Comparative Politics* 45, 1–24.
- Langer, A., 2005. "Horizontal Inequalities and Violent Group Mobilization in Côte d'Ivoire," *Oxford Development Studies* 33, 25–45.

******* No class: midterm week *******

Week 6 (5-6 Nov.): Tactics

Topics:

- Violence as a way of fighting

Required Readings (Monday):

- Jason Lyall, 2010. "Are Co-Ethnics More Effective Counter-Insurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." *American Political Science Review* 104:1–20
- Idean Salehyan, "Transnational Rebels: Neighboring States as Sanctuary for Rebel Groups," *World Politics*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (January 2007): 217-42

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- Chowanietz, C., 2011. "Rallying around the flag or railing against the government? Political parties' reactions to terrorist acts," *Party Politics* 17, 673–698.
- Goldsmith, A.A., 2015. "Electoral Violence in Africa Revisited," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27, 818–837.

Week 7 (12-13 Nov.): Strategies

Topics:

- Violence as a means of winning

Required Readings (Monday):

- Bevan, J., 2007. "The Myth of Madness: Cold Rationality and 'Resource' Plunder by the Lord's Resistance Army," *Civil Wars* 9, 343–358.
- de Waal, A., Hazlett, C., Davenport, C., Kennedy, J., 2014. "The epidemiology of lethal violence in Darfur: Using micro-data to explore complex patterns of ongoing armed conflict," *Social Science & Medicine* 120, 368–377.

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- 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 (19-20 Nov.): Intensity and time horizon

Topics:

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

Required Readings (Monday):

- David Cunningham, "Veto Players and Civil War Duration," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 4 (October 2006): 875-892
- Fearon, J.D., 2004. "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer than Others?" *Journal of Peace Research* 41, 275–301.

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- Vinci, A., 2007. "Existential Motivations in the Lord's Resistance Army's Continuing Conflict," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 30, 337–352.
- Hastings, J.V., 2009. "Geographies of state failure and sophistication in maritime piracy hijackings," *Political Geography* 28, 213–223.

Week 9 (26-27 Nov.): Outcomes

Topics:

- Societies wrought by conflict and violence

- Settlement and post-conflict societies

Required Readings (Monday):

- Jason Lyall and Isaiah Wilson, III. 2009. "Rage Against the Machines: Explaining Outcomes in Counterinsurgency Wars." *International Organization* 63: 67–106
- Blattman, C., 2009. "From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda," *American Political Science Review* 103, 231–247.

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- Sinisa Malesevic, "Nationalism, War, and Social Cohesion," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34:1 (2011), 142-161
- Ole Magnus Theisen, Helge Holtermann, Halvard Buhaug, "Climate Wars?: Assessing the Claim That Drought Breeds Conflict" *International Security*, Volume 36, Number 3, Winter 2011/12, pp. 79-106

Week 10 (3-4 Dec.): Victims

Topics:

- Strategic stakes of civilian populations

Required Readings (Monday):

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 100, No. 3 (2006): 429-447
- Wood, E.J., 2006. Variation in Sexual Violence during War. *Politics & Society* 34, 307–342.

Required Readings (Tuesday):

- 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:

- 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)
- Chiot, 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
- 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).

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)
- 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

- *Civil Wars*
- *Conflict, Security, and Development*
- *Contemporary Security Policy*
- *Dynamics of asymmetrical conflict*
- *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*
- *International Security*

- *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- *Media, War & Conflict*
- *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*
- *Security Studies*
- *Small Wars and Insurgencies*
- *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*
- *Terrorism and Political Violence*