

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
PIA 2453 FALL 2015
ECONOMICS AND POLITICS OF COUNTERINSURGENCY¹

Professor Luke N. Condra

Office Hours

3936 Posvar Hall

Monday 9-10 AM, Wednesday 4-5 PM

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Class: Monday, 3:00 PM – 6:00 PM, 3430 Posvar Hall

I. Course Summary

What makes counterinsurgency policy successful in its goals, and how can we judge whether policy has been successful?

This research seminar will engage graduate students in the rigorous analysis of multiple dimensions of contemporary counterinsurgency theory and practice. The ultimate goal is to develop and test competing hypotheses about important theoretical and policy-relevant issues in the area of counterinsurgency.

The course will cover 5 broad topics with linked theory and empirical evidence from both political science and economic disciplinary perspectives. The topics will include:

- a. the causes of insurgency and civil war,
- b. patterns of recruitment and participation,
- c. the organization of insurgent groups,
- d. violent strategies used by warring factions, and
- e. development policy.

Every other week we will introduce a new theme and discuss the major theoretical issues surrounding that theme. In the other weeks, students will work together to document empirical support for the major theoretical arguments—with all argumentation based on original research, produced during the week in question, using data made available by the instructors and/or gathered by the participants. Students should have taken at least a basic course in statistics and be able to work with quantitative data in a statistics software program (e.g., Stata). Familiarity with game theoretic methods and the literatures on civil conflict and economic growth will be helpful, but not necessary.

¹ Much of this course's structure is borrowed from Professors Jeremy Weinstein and Macartan Humphreys' excellent course and syllabus on "African Civil Wars."

II. Course Objectives

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

1. Speak knowledgeably about the main topics and questions that concern social scientists and policy makers who work in the arena of counterinsurgency policy broadly defined.
2. Evaluate arguments about those questions according to logical and evidentiary standards.
3. Comfortably engage in philosophical as well as scientific analysis.
4. Write clear and persuasive arguments of their own.
5. Read analytically.
6. Learn how to work collaboratively and successfully in a group of your peers, mirroring how most work is done in the public and private sector economy.

III. Requirements

(a) *Readings.* The syllabus lists both required and additional readings. You are responsible for completing all of the assigned readings and coming to seminar prepared to discuss and debate the issues raised for the week.

(b) *Empirical Presentations.* Working together, you will be responsible for presenting new empirical results that help us assess the relative explanatory power of major theories advanced in the field. Each group will be assigned a theory (or set of theories) identified in the previous week and you will be expected to use data to make the best case for your theory (and to undermine the claims made by competing theories). You should be prepared to present the results of your empirical analysis using Power Point. The structure of your presentation should mirror that of a well-thought out academic paper—you should first highlight the relevant theory, discuss its testable implications, describe the data gathered, and discuss the empirical results. You should present your strongest findings using data for at least one case, and then show how the theory you are defending works (or fails to work) in the other cases, either qualitatively or quantitatively.

(c) *Class structure.* Each week the class will take on one of two formats.

On the “on” weeks, or the theory weeks, the first two hours of class will be dedicated to an open discussion of the readings, with approximately 20-30 minutes devoted to each reading. For such discussions, you should come prepared with at least one core critique or observation on the readings that you are willing to defend. The remaining half an hour will be used to identify hypotheses that can be tested using micro-level data.

On the “off” weeks, or the presentation weeks, students will present their results. It will be structured as follows: students will have 25 minutes to present their major findings (each member of the team should play a role in this presentation); following this, the instructor will ask questions and critique the results presented. We will then break and students will take 20-30 minutes to prepare a response to those questions and criticisms of their work. After we resume, students will have 15 minutes to deliver their response, followed by a general discussion for about 20 minutes. We will aim to end this discussion in enough time to use the remaining time to identify avenues for future research, including thoughts about appropriate data and empirical tests that one could use to test or refute the hypotheses in question.

(d) *Final Project*. As a group, you will write a policy memo (20-25 pages) to a relevant international organization (e.g., UN) or government agency (e.g., USAID, Department of Defense, NSC). The memo should present recommendations for addressing problems related to state weakness in a contemporary case, based on inferences drawn from empirical research. Also, you will deliver a presentation based on that memo's recommendations. The memo and presentation each will receive a separate grade; that grade shall be the same for all students.

Grading

Class discussion: roughly 30%

Empirical presentations: roughly 30%

Final memo and presentation: roughly 40%

IV. Data Sources

A primary goal of the research seminar is to develop your capacity to evaluate existing theories using empirical evidence. In contrast to much of the current research on counterinsurgency, the seminar will focus mainly on micro-level processes involving counterinsurgency policy. For this reason, we have endeavored to gather the most up-to-date and innovative micro-level datasets on violence and development. Data used in articles we read are linked with a URL or, when possible, available on the course website. Moreover, there are likely countless data sources of which we are not even aware including those produced by local human rights organizations tracking conflict and information included in household surveys which probe on issues of security. Be on the lookout.

A primary repository of survey, GIS, administrative, archival and other data for your use is the Empirical Studies of Conflict website (<http://esoc.princeton.edu>). It has collected various datasets from scholars' work on Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Colombia, Pakistan, Philippines, Vietnam, and Northern Ireland. Please familiarize yourself with what is available early in the course.

Pakistan

The BFRS Dataset of Political Violence in Pakistan

The Dataset contains incident-level data on political violence in Pakistan from January 1988 to December 2010 based on press reporting. The dataset will be posted soon; the codebook can be downloaded now.

Pakistan FMS09 Survey Data

The survey was conducted with a sample of 6000 adult Pakistani men and women from the four provinces of the country. The respondents were selected randomly from 500 locations: comprising of 332 rural and 168 urban locations in all four provinces of Pakistan. No identifying information is included.

Pakistan Geo-referenced WITS Data (2004-2009)

Data on incidents in Pakistan. The data are generated based on the Worldwide Incidents Tracking System (WITS) that is the U.S. Government's database on acts of terrorism, and contains details about incidents of violence against civilians and non-combatants

Vietnam

Vietnam Hamlet Evaluation System Gazetteer Data

This file provides the details of every hamlet, village, district, and province recorded at some point by the Hamlet Evaluation System. It is a combination of the official HES Gazetteer, the HES system that ran from 1967 to 1969 called HAMLTA, and the HES system that ran from 1969 to 1974 called HES 70/71. See Readme for further details.

VI. Course Topics and Schedule

August 31: Course Introduction

- Max Boot, “Lessons from a Decade of War: Counterinsurgency Is Here to Stay,” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6 (November/December 2014), 5-14.
- Richard Betts, “Pick Your Battles,” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6 (November/December 2014), 15-24.

September 7: *No class – Labor Day observance*

To do:

- Begin discussion of final project.
- Coordinate on statistical software and plan for biweekly group work.

September 14: History and Cases I

- Eli Berman and Aila M. Mataock, “The Empiricists’ Insurgency,” *Annual Review of Political Science* (forthcoming).

-Students read any two of the following books and be prepared to summarize them for the class.

- Ian F. W. Beckett, *Modern Insurgencies and Counterinsurgencies: Guerrillas and their Opponents since 1750*, (New York: Routledge), 2001. On reserve.
- Mao Tse-tung. *On Guerrilla Warfare*. On reserve.
- Ernesto Che Guevara. *Guerrilla Warfare*. On reserve.
- Frank Kitson, *Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency, Peace-keeping* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971). On reserve.
- Max Boot. *Invisible Armies: An Epic History of Guerrilla Warfare from Ancient Times to the Present*. On reserve.
- John Nagl. *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*.
- US Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual
- David Kilcullen, *The Accidental Guerilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Available online at Pitt library.
- David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (New York: Praeger, 1964). On reserve.
- Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). On reserve.

- David Kilcullen, *Counterinsurgency* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). On reserve.
- Sir Robert Thompson, *Defeating Communist Insurgency: The Lessons of Malaya and Vietnam* (New York: Praeger, 1966). On reserve.

September 21: History and Cases II

-Students choose a contemporary/historical case of counterinsurgency on which to become the class 'expert.'

-Each student delivers a presentation to the class to educate us on their particular case and point out one or more puzzles that could inform work later in the semester.

Angola

- Tony Hodges. *Angola from Afro-Stalinism to Petro-Diamond Capitalism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).
- William Minter. *Apartheid's Contras: An Inquiry into the Roots of the War in Angola and Mozambique* (London: Zed Books, 1994).

Sudan

- Douglas Hamilton Johnson. *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003).
- Jok Madut Jok. *War and Slavery in Sudan* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

Congo

- Karen Ballentine and Michael Nest. *The Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005).
- John F. Clark (ed.). *The African Stakes of the Congo War* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).
- Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja. *The Congo From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (London: Zed Books, 2002).

El Salvador

- Cynthia McClintock. *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998).
- Elisabeth Wood. *Insurgent collective action and civil war in El Salvador* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Vietnam

- David W. P. Elliott. *The Vietnamese War: Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta 1930– 1975* (Armonk, NY and London: M. E. Sharpe, 2003).
- Jeffrey Race. *War Comes to Long An: Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).
- John A. Nagl and Peter J. Schoomaker, *Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife: Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

- Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam's Hearts and Minds* (Westview Press, 1995).

Democratic Republic of the Congo

- Jason K. Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters* (New York: Public Affairs, 2012).
- Séverine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Iraq

- Chehab, Zaki. 2006. *Iraq Ablaze: Inside the Insurgency*. New York: I. B. Tauris.
- Cockburn, Patrick. 2007. *The Occupation: War and Resistance in Iraq*. New York: Verso.

Afghanistan

- Vanda Felbab-Brown, *Aspiration and Ambivalence: Strategies and Realities of Counterinsurgency and State-Building in Afghanistan*
- Robert S. Anders, *Winning Paktika: Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan*
- Seth G. Jones, *In the Graveyard of Empires*
- Fred Kaplan, *The Insurgents: David Petraeus and the Plot to Change the American Way of War*
- Barnett R. Rubin, *The Fragmentation of Afghanistan: State Formation and Collapse in the International System*

Ivory Coast

- Mike McGovern, *Making War in Cote d'Ivoire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

Liberia

- Will Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States* (Lynne Rienner, 1999).

Sierra Leone

- David Keen. *Conflict and Collusion in Sierra Leone* (London: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Paul Richards. *Fighting for the rain forest: war, youth and resources in Sierra Leone* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1996).
- Will Reno, *Corruption and State Politics in Sierra Leone* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

September 28: Theory - Causes of Insurgency and Civil War

- Grossman, H. I. (1991). "A General Equilibrium Model of Insurrections." *American Economic Review* 81: 912-21.
- Robert Bates, Avner Greif and Smita Singh. 2002. "Organizing Violence," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46(5): 599-628.
- Aspinall, Edward. 2007. "The Construction of Grievance: Natural Resources and Identity in a Separatist Conflict." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* no. 51 (6):950-972.
- Humphreys, Macartan. "Natural Resources, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Uncovering the Mechanisms." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (August 2005): 508-537.

- James Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), chapter 7. On reserve.

October 5: Empirical - Causes of Insurgency and Civil War

- Nicholas Sambanis, “Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes? A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part I),” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 45, No. 3, June 2001, pp. 259-282. Data: Available on CourseWeb.
- James Fearon and David Laitin, “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War,” *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 75-90. Data: <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/data/apsr03repdata.zip>.
- Lars-Erik Cederman, Nils B. Weidmann and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, “Horizontal Inequalities and Ethno-nationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison,” *American Political Science Review* 105, i. 3 (2011). Data: http://nils.weidmann.ws/sites/default/files/cederman11horizontal/HI_APSR_ReplicationData.zip
- Michael Ross, “How Do Natural Resources Influence Civil War? Evidence from Thirteen Cases,” *International Organization* 58, no. 1 (2004): 35–68. Data: <http://dvn.iq.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/mlross>.
- Michael Albertus and Oliver Kaplan, “Land Reform as a Counterinsurgency Policy: Evidence from Colombia,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57 (April 2013): 198-231. Data: Available on CourseWeb.
- James D. Fearon, “Primary Commodity Exports and Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (August 2005): 483-507. Data: <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/data/sxprepdata.zip>.
- Oeindrila Dube and Juan Vargas, “Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia,” *Review of Economic Studies* (2013). Data: <https://sites.google.com/site/commodityshocksandconflict/>.

October 12: Theory – Patterns of Recruitment and Participation

- Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter 3. On reserve.
- Scott Gates. “Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (2002): 111–130.
- Mark Lichbach, “What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary: Dilemma, Paradox, and Irony in Peasant Rebellion,” *World Politics* 46 (1994): 383-418.
- Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (1970), chapter 2. On reserve.
- James Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), chapter 5. On reserve.
- Rukmini Callimachi, “ISIS Enshrines a Theology of Rape,” *New York Times* (August 13, 2015). Available from: <http://nyti.ms/1L7EiUn>.

October 20: Empirical – Patterns of Recruitment and Participation (Note Tuesday meeting)

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War,” *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2 (April 2008): 436-455. Data: http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/papers1/RECRUIT_REP.zip.

- Alan B. Krueger and Jitka Maleckova, “Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17, no. 4 (Autumn 2003): 119-144.
- Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapters 1 and 3.
- James Pugel, “What the Fighters Say: A Survey of Ex-Combatants in Liberia, February-March 2006,” (UNDP, 2007). Available from: <http://www.operationspaix.net/DATA/DOCUMENT/904~v~What the Fighters Say A Survey of Ex-combatants in Liberia.pdf>.
- Ana M. Arjona and Stathis N. Kalyvas, “A Micro-level Approach to Armed Organizations: Results of a Survey of Demobilized Guerilla and Paramilitary Fighters in Colombia,” manuscript, Yale University, 2008. Available from: http://www.anamarjona.net/docs/Arjona_Kalyvas_2008.pdf.
- Bernd Beber and Chris Blattman, “The Logic of Child Soldiering and Coercion,” *International Organization* 67 i. 1 (January 2013): 65-104. Data: <http://chrisblattman.com/projects/sway/>.
- Omar Shahabudin McDoom, “Who Killed in Rwanda’s Genocide? Micro-space, Social Influence and Individual Participation in Intergroup Violence,” *Journal of Peace Research*. Data: <http://www.prio.no/jpr/datasets>.
- Ben Oppenheim, Abbey Steele, Juan F. Vargas, and Michael Weintraub, “True Believers, Deserters, and Traitors: Who Leaves Insurgent Groups and Why,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (2015). Data: <http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/early/2015/04/13/0022002715576750/suppl/DC1>.

October 26: Theory – Organization of Insurgent Groups

- Paul D. Kenny, “Structural Integrity and Cohesion in Insurgent Organizations: Evidence from Protracted Conflicts in Ireland and Burma,” *International Studies Review* 12 (2010): 533-555.
- Roos Haer, Lilli Banholzer, and Verena Ertl, “Create Compliance and Cohesion: How Rebel Organizations Manage to Survive,” *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 22, i. 3 (2011).
- Kristin M. Bakke, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee J. M. Seymour, “A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars,” *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (June 2012): 265-83.
- Osita Afoaku, “Congo’s Rebels: Their Origins, Motivations, and Strategies,” in John F. Clark ed., *The African Stakes of the Congo War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), chapter 7. Available online from Pitt library.
- Paul Berman, *Revolutionary Organization* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1974), p. 79-118. On reserve.
- Douglas Hamilton Johnson. *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2003), chapters 7-8. On reserve.
- Cynthia McClintock, “Why Did the Revolutionary Movements Emerge and Expand,” in *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America: El Salvador's FMLN and Peru's Shining Path* (Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace, 1998), p. 249-298.
- Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist’s Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), chapters 1-2. Available as an ebook via the library.

- Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chapters 1 and 8. On reserve.
- Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapters 1-2. On reserve.

November 2: Empirical – Organization of Insurgent Groups

- Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, “Divide and Conquer or Divide and Concede: How Do States Respond to Internally Divided Separatists?” *American Political Science Review* 105, i. 2 (May 2011): 275-297. Data: Available on CourseWeb.
- Jacob N. Shapiro, *The Terrorist’s Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), chapter 3.
- Jacob N. Shapiro and Nils B. Weidmann, “Is the Phone Mightier than the Sword? Cell Phones and Insurgent Violence in Iraq,” *International Organization* 69, no. 2 (2015): 247-274. Data: <http://iojournal.org/is-the-phone-mightier-than-the-sword-cellphones-and-insurgent-violence-in-iraq/>.
- Lindsay Heger, Danielle Jung, and Wendy H. Wong, “Organizing for Resistance: How Group Structure Impacts the Character of Violence,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 24 (2012): 743-768. Data: http://www.start.umd.edu/start/data_collections/tops/.
- Asal, V. H. & Rethemeyer, R. K. (2008). “The Nature of the Beast: Terrorist: The Organizational and Network Characteristics of Organizational Lethality.” *Journal of Politics*, 70(2), 437-449. Data: [Victor Asal, R. Karl Rethemeyer, and Ian Anderson, “Big, Allied, and Dangerous \(BAAD\) Database 1 – Lethality Data, 1998-2005.”](#)
- Victor Asal, Mitchell Brown, and Angela Dalton, “Why Split? Organizational Splits among Ethnopolitical Organizations in the Middle East,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56, no. 1 (2012): 94-117.

November 9: Theory – Violent Strategies

- Jean-Paul Azam. “On Thugs and Heroes: Why Warlords Victimize Their Own Civilians,” *Economics of Governance* 7, i. 1 (January 2006): 53-73.
- Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapters 6-7. On reserve.
- Jeremy Weinstein, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter 6. On reserve.
- Benjamin Valentino, *Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the 20th Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), chapter 3.

November 16: Empirical – Violent Strategies

- Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapter 8. On reserve.
- David A. Jaeger, Esteban F. Klor, Sami H. Miaari, and M. Daniele Paserman, “Can Militants Use Violence to Win Public Support? Evidence from the Second Intifada,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (forthcoming). Available from: <http://pluto.huji.ac.il/~eklor/VPS.pdf>. Data: Available on CourseWeb.
- Dara Kay Cohen, “Explaining Rape During Civil War: Cross-National Evidence (1980-2009),” *American Political Science Review* 107, i. 3 (August 2013): 461-477. Data: Available on CourseWeb.

- Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, “Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War,” *American Political Science Review* 100, i. 3 (August 2006). Data: http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/papers1/aprs2006/APSR_REPLICATION.zip
- Matthew Kocher, Thomas Pepinsky, and Stathis Kalyvas, “Aerial Bombing and Counterinsurgency in the Vietnam War,” *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 2 (April 2011): 201-218. Data: <http://tompepinsky.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/bombing.zip>
- Patrick Johnston, “Does Decapitation Work? Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Targeting in Counterinsurgency Campaigns,” *International Security* 36, no. 4 (2012): 47-79. Data: Available on CourseWeb.
- Bryan Price, “Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism,” *International Security* 36, no. 4 (2012): 9-46. Data: <http://www.bryanprice.com/Data.html>.
- Laia Balcells, “Continuation of Politics by Two Means: Direct and Indirect Violence in Civil War,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (2011): 327-339. Data: <http://www.laiabalcells.com/wp-content/uploads/BalcellsJCR2011ReplicationFilescorr1.zip>.
- Laia Balcells, “Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars,” *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2010): 291-313. Data available on CourseWeb.
- Jason Lyall, “Are Co-Ethnics More Effective Counter-Insurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War.” *American Political Science Review*, 104:1 (February 2010), 1-20. Data: http://www.jasonlyall.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Coethnics_APSRrep.zip.
- Jason Lyall, “Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53:3 (June 2009), 331-362. Data: http://www.jasonlyall.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Artillery_JCRrep.zip.

November 23: Theory – Economic Development Policy

- James Dobbins, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation-Building* (Santa Monica: RAND National Security Research Division, 2007), chapters 7 and 9. Book available online through Pitt Library.
- Sarah Chayes, “[Why Farmers Grow Poppies](#),” *New York Times* (July 20, 2006).
- Eli Berman, Joe Felter, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Erin Troland, “Effective Aid in Conflict Zones,” *Vox EU* (May 26, 2013). Available from: <http://www.princeton.edu/~jns/publications/Effective%20aid%20in%20conflict%20zones.pdf>.
- Timothy Besley and Torsten Persson, “State Capacity, Conflict and Development,” *Econometrica*, 78, 1-34, 2010. Available from: <http://econ.lse.ac.uk/staff/tbesley/papers/statecapacity.pdf>.
- Eli Berman and David D. Laitin, “Religion, Terrorism and Public Goods: Testing the Club Model,” *Journal of Public Economics* 92 (2008): 1942-1967.
- Timothy Besley and Torsten Persson, “The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights, Taxation, and Politics,” *American Economic Review* 99, 4 (2009): 1218-44. Available from: <http://econ.lse.ac.uk/staff/tbesley/papers/originsofstatecapacity.pdf>.
- Jeffrey Gettleman, “As Tourism Sags on Kenyan Coast, Terrorists Could Lure the Unemployed,” *New York Times* (February 24, 2015). Available from: <http://nyti.ms/1DNVBnT>.

November 30: Empirical – Economic Development Policy

- Eli Berman, Jacob N. Shapiro, and Joseph H. Felter, “Can Hearts and Minds Be Bought? The Economics of Counterinsurgency in Iraq,” *Journal of Political Economy* 119 (August 2011): 766-819. Data:
https://webspace.princeton.edu/users/esocweb/Replication_Data_ESOC_Publications/JPEReplicationMaterial_CanHeartsMindsBought.zip.
- Eli Berman, Michael Callen, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro, “Do Working Men Rebel? Insurgency and Unemployment in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Philippines,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55, no. 4 (2011): 496-528. Data:
https://webspace.princeton.edu/users/esocweb/Replication_Data_ESOC_Publications/JCRReplicationMaterial_DoWorkingMenRebel.zip.
- Benjamin Crost, Joseph H. Felter, and Patrick Johnston, “Aid under Fire: Development Projects and Civil Conflict,” Data:
- Benjamin Crost, Joseph H. Felter, and Patrick Johnston, “Government Transfers and Civil Conflict: Experimental Evidence from the Philippines,” Working Paper. Data:
- Jan Rasmus Bohnke and Christoph Zürcher, “Aid, Minds and Hearts: The Impact of Aid in Conflict Zones,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 30, no. 3 (July 2013). Data:
Available on CourseWeb.
- Jeffrey Clemens, “Evaluating Economic Warfare: Lessons from Efforts to Suppress the Afghan Opium Trade.” January 28, 2013. Working paper, UCSD. Available from:
http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2201172.

December 7: Research week

- Students deliver presentation based on policy memo.
- Rough draft of policy memo due.

December 14: Final draft of policy memo due

APPENDIX: LISTS OF CIVIL WARS
(taken from Professor Alexander Downes syllabus)

Good lists of civil wars may be found in the following articles, books, or locations on the web.

- Correlates of War Project Intrastate War Data, v. 4.0 (1816-2007)
 - <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>
- Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, "A Revised List of Wars between and within Independent States, 1816-2002," *International Interactions* 30, no. 3 (July-September 2004): 231-262.
- James Fearon and David Laitin's list of civil wars (1945-1999) used in their 2003 APSR article.
 - <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/addtabs.pdf> (pp. 7-10)
- Nicholas Sambanis's civil war data (1945-1999)
 - <http://pantheon.yale.edu/~ns237/index/research.html#Civil> (scroll down to "Data"). See also his coding notes at the same url
- UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset (1946-2010)
 - http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/datasets/ucdp_prio_armed_conflict_dataset/
 - These data contain four different conflict types: extrasystemic, interstate, internal, and internationalized internal. See the codebook for definitions. Only interstate (type = 2) are clearly not civil wars.
 - Note also the lower fatality threshold for a conflict to be included in the dataset
- Political Instability Task Force, *Internal Wars and Failures of Governance (1955-2008)*
 - <http://globalpolicy.gmu.edu/pitf/pitfdata.htm>
 - See also the list of episodes of political instability in Jack A. Goldstone et al., "A Global Model for Forecasting Political Instability," *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 1 (January 2010): 190-208.

Broadly similar lists of civil wars for the post-World War II period may be found in several books and articles:

- Nicholas Sambanis, "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature," *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (July 2000): 437-483.
- Michael W. Doyle and Nicholas Sambanis, "International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis," *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 4 (December 2000): 779-801.
- Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices after Civil War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).
- Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Finally, for a good general reference on armed conflict, see:

- Micheal Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and other Figures, 1494-2007*, 3rd ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2008).