

**University of Pittsburgh**  
**Graduate School of Public and International Affairs**  
**PIA 2463: Order and Violence**  
**Fall 2018**

Wednesdays, 3:00 - 5:50 pm  
Posvar 3911

**Professor Luke Condra**  
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*Office hours:*

Tuesday, 10 AM – 12 PM, and by appointment (Posvar 3810)  
Sign-up: <http://www.wejoinin.com/sheets/otstx>

**Course Description**

Whether at the international, national, or local level, the problem of creating order is fundamental to modern politics. This course is divided into three parts and addresses three main questions:

Part I: How do states and communities establish and maintain political order?

Part II: Why does political order break down and manifest in different types of violence?

Part III: How can relevant actors use theory and evidence to craft and evaluate policy designed to counteract these threats to order?

**Course Assignments**

Each student's final course grade will be comprised of the following assignments and weighted as follows:

**1. In-class professionalism and contribution (20%)**

The importance of participation in a graduate seminar cannot be stressed enough. The quality of a graduate seminar depends to a great extent on the efforts of the students. I expect each of you to come to class fully prepared to engage in vigorous academic debate and to engage in respectful discussion with classmates' ideas and perspectives. Students should be able to demonstrate having thoroughly read and reflected upon the readings. Consistent and thorough preparation of this kind is an excellent way to prepare for the final exam.

**2. Reading review essay (10%)**

Students will be divided as evenly as possible across the 5 weeks of Part I for this assignment. Each student will write one essay, which reviews the assigned week's readings. In your review essay:

- a. Briefly state, compare, and contrast the main arguments and findings of the week's readings. This exercise should set up the main part of the essay, which is your own critical assessment of the material.
- b. Critically evaluate the weaknesses and strengths of the readings. How do they fit together? What questions still need to be answered?

- c. At the end of the essay, you must provide 2 questions that you think we should discuss in class (questions should be on a separate page – page 3).

Your essay must be single-spaced, with one-inch margins on all sides and in 12-point Times New Roman font. The review essay must not exceed 2 pages. We will read these essays in advance of class meetings and incorporate them into our class discussion. Essays must be uploaded to Courseweb by 9:00 AM on Tuesday (the day before class). Late submissions will not be awarded credit.

### **3. Analytic essay (20%)**

Students will be divided as evenly as possible across the 4 weeks of Part II for this assignment. Each student will choose a case of communal/criminal/insurgent violence that is politically significant and write a short (3-page) essay that summarizes this individual's, movement's, or group's origins, provide an argument explaining the cause(s) of disorder in the chosen case (paying close attention to how evidence supports your argument), and how theory in our readings is (or is not) relevant for understanding and explaining that case. Your essay must be single-spaced, with one-inch margins on all sides and in 12-point Times New Roman font. We will read these essays in advance and discuss them together in class. Essays must be uploaded to Courseweb by 9:00 AM on Tuesday (the day before class). Late submissions will not be awarded credit.

### **4. Presentation (20%)**

Students will be divided as evenly as possible across the 4 weeks of Part III for this assignment. Each student will be assigned one of the readings to evaluate in written and oral form. The written evaluation takes the form of a 2-pg essay that critically analyzes the study (what does it do well/poorly, what we learn, and questions left unanswered). Your essay must be single-spaced, with one-inch margins on all sides and in 12-point Times New Roman font. The oral evaluation takes the form of a Power Point presentation to the class (10 min), which should mirror the essay's contents as well as provide guidance for how one would improve upon the study being evaluated if another study were performed. Essays must be uploaded to Courseweb by 9:00 AM on Wednesday (the day of class). Late submissions will not be awarded credit.

### **5. In-class Final Exam (30%).**

A final exam will be administered from 3:00-5:50 p.m. on December 12, and will cover material from the lectures, required readings, and in-class discussion. The format of the exam will be discussed ahead of time. Students should prepare for the exam cumulatively throughout the semester by staying current on the required readings and lecture content. Students are encouraged to collaborate and to pool reading summaries throughout the course of the semester.

### **Final Letter Grades**

Your final grade will be assigned on the following scale:

|    |   |        |    |   |       |    |   |       |    |   |          |
|----|---|--------|----|---|-------|----|---|-------|----|---|----------|
| A  | = | 94-100 | B+ | = | 87-89 | C+ | = | 77-79 | D+ | = | 67-69    |
| A- | = | 90-93  | B  | = | 83-86 | C  | = | 73-76 | D  | = | 65-66    |
|    |   |        | B- | = | 80-82 | C- | = | 70-72 | F  | = | Below 65 |

Students receiving grades of "C+" or lower on early assignments are urged to meet with the instructor at the earliest opportunity to develop strategies for improvement.

### **Cheating and plagiarism**

All students are expected to adhere to the standards of academic honesty. Any student engaged in cheating, plagiarism, or other acts of academic dishonesty would be subject to disciplinary action. Any student suspected of violating this obligation for any reason during the semester will be required to participate in the procedural process, initiated at instructor level, as outlined in the University Guidelines on Academic Integrity:

[http://www.provost.pitt.edu/sites/default/files/academic\\_integrity\\_guidelines.pdf](http://www.provost.pitt.edu/sites/default/files/academic_integrity_guidelines.pdf). This may include, but is not limited to the confiscation of the examination of any individual suspected of violating the University Policy. Take the time to familiarize yourself with the rules of citation and with GSPIA's policy (found in Appendix A of the online GSPIA Handbook of Academic Policies and Procedures). If you have any questions on how to cite sources correctly, please ask the professor directly. Unless clearly specified (for instance, group presentations), you are expected to complete all assignments individually.

### **Disability Statement**

If you have a disability for which you are or may be requesting and accommodation, you are encouraged to contact both your instructor and Disability Resources and Services (DRS), 140 William Pitt Union, (412) 648-7890, [drsrecep@pitt.edu](mailto:drsrecep@pitt.edu), (412) 228-5347 for P3 ASL users, as early as possible in the term. DRS will verify your disability and determine reasonable accommodations for this course.

### **Religious Observances**

The University of Pittsburgh has a tradition of recognizing religious observances of members of the University community in instances where those observances may conflict with University activities. Examples of such occasions are Yom Kippur, Muharram, Diwali, and Good Friday, but other days of religious observance may also conflict with scheduled academic activities. When such conflict occurs, students and faculty should make a reasonable effort to reach mutually agreeable arrangements to reschedule the academic activity or provide a substitute activity or evaluation. Please make the instructor aware of any such conflicts as early in the term as possible so that we can make appropriate accommodations.

### **Readings**

Readings are drawn from multiple disciplines, including political science, economics, criminology, and sociology, and reflect a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches, as well as geographic regions. Articles and book chapters are available for download on the course website or through the library's online databases.

### Week 1. Introduction (8/29)

Berman, Eli, Joseph Felter, Ethan B. Kapstein, and Jake Shapiro. "How empirical studies of political violence (can) help policymakers." *Washington Post* (March 16, 2015). Available from: <https://tinyurl.com/y9s7vmhy>.

Humphreys, Macartan. "10 Strategies for Figuring out if X Caused Y." EGAP Methods Guide. Available from: <http://egap.org/methods-guides/10-strategies-figuring-out-if-x-caused-y>.

Meier, Gerald M. and James E. Rauch. 2005. *Leading Issues in Economic Development*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. "Appendix: How to Read a Regression Table," pp. 633-638.

Long, Abby. "10 Things to Know about Reading a Regression Table." EGAP Methods Guide. Available from: <http://egap.org/methods-guides/10-things-know-about-reading-regression-table>.

### **Part I: Theory**

#### Week 2. Theories of Order I (9/5)

Bates, Robert H. *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Chapter 2, "From Fable to Fact," (pp. 15-32); chapter 6, "Things Fall Apart," (pp. 97-128). Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Hechter, Michael and Nika Kabiri. "Attaining social order in Iraq." In Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro, and Tarek Masoud, eds. *Order, Conflict and Violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 43-74. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

North, Douglass C., John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Chapter 2, "The Natural State," pp. 30-74.

#### Week 3. Theories of Order II (9/12)

Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (1993): 567-576.

North, Douglass C. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1981. Chapter 3, "A Neoclassical Theory of the State," pp. 20-32.

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Chapter 6, "Democratization," pp. 173-220. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Weingast, Barry R. "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law." *American Political Science Review* 91, no. 2 (1997): 245-263.

#### Week 4. Building Order in Comparative Perspective: Europe (9/19)

Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1990. Chapters 3-4, pp. 67-126.

Bates, Robert H. *Prosperity and Violence*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: W. W. Norton, 2010. Chapter 3, "The Formation of States," pp. 50-69.

Weber, Eugen. *Peasants into Frenchmen*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976. Chapter 18, "Civilizing in Earnest: Schools and Schooling," pp. 303-338. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Week 5. Building Order in Comparative Perspective: Southeast Asia and Africa (9/26)

Scott, James C. *The Art of Not Being Governed*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Chapters 2-3, pp. 40-97.

Boone, Catherine. *Political Topographies of the African State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Chapters 2-3, pp. 11-140.

Herbst, Jeffrey. *States and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chapters 1-2, 4 (pp. 11-57, 112-136 only). Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Sawyer, Amos. "Violent conflicts and governance challenges in West Africa: the case of the Mano River basin area." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 42, i. 03 (2004).

Week 6. Building Order in Comparative Perspective: Urban Areas (10/3)

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House, 1961.

Chapters 2-3 (pp. 29-73).

Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000. Chapters 15 and 18 (pp. 277-284, 307-318).

Tyler, Tom R. *Why People Obey the Law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.

Chapters 3, 6 (pp. 19-39, 71-84).

LeBas, Adrienne. "Violence and Urban Order in Nairobi, Kenya and Lagos, Nigeria." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48, i. 3 (2013): 240-262.

Gambetta, Diego. *The Sicilian Mafia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993. Chapter 1 (pp. 15-33).

**Part II: Violence**

Week 7. Communal Violence (10/10)

Wilkinson, Steven. "Which group identities lead to most violence? Evidence from India." In

Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro, and Tarek Masoud, eds. *Order, Conflict and Violence*.

Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 271-300. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Wilkinson, Steven. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Chapter 5 (pp. 137-171).

Bohlken, Anjali Thomas and Ernest John Sergenti. "Economic Growth and Ethnic Violence: An Empirical Investigation of Hindu-Muslim Riots in India." *Journal of Peace Research* 47, no. 5 (2010): 589-600.

Week 8. Criminal Violence (10/17)

Beittel, June S. "Mexico's Drug Trafficking Organizations: Source and Scope of the Violence."

CRS Report, 2013. Available from:

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B1XnDFa2nmdhT05LOEZfbTAzSGs/view>. Read pp. 1-32.

Dell, Melissa. "Trafficking Networks and the Mexican Drug War." *American Economic Review* 105, no. 6 (2015): 1738-1779.

Robles, Gustavo, Gabriela Calderón, and Beatriz Magaloni. "The Economic Consequences of Drug Trafficking Violence in Mexico." Working paper (2015).

Arias, Enrique Desmond. *Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Introduction and chapter 1, pp. 1-37. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

### Week 9. Insurgent Violence (10/24)

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. *The Dictator's Handbook*. New York: Public Affairs, 2011. Chapter 8, "The People in Revolt," pp. 195-224. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970. Chapter 2.

Boix, Carles. "Civil wars and guerilla warfare in the contemporary world: toward a joint theory of motivations and opportunities." In Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro, and Tarek Masoud, eds. *Order, Conflict and Violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 197-218. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Chapters 1, 3.

Cohen, Dara Kay. *Rape during Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Chapter 1. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Berman, Eli, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro. *Small Wars, Big Data: The Information Revolution in Modern Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018. Chapter 3 (pp. 55-81).

### Week 10. State Violence (10/31)

Roessler, Philip G. "Donor-Induced Democratization and the Privatization of State Violence in Kenya and Rwanda." *Comparative Politics* 37, no. 2 (2005): 207-227.

Straus, Scott. "Order in disorder: a micro-comparative study of genocidal dynamics in Rwanda." In Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro, and Tarek Masoud, eds. *Order, Conflict and Violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 301-320. Available as an e-book from Pitt library.

Yanagizawa-Drott, David. "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129, i. 4 (2014): 1947-1994.

Goldhagen, Daniel J. 1997. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997. Chapters 7-8 (pp. 203-262).

## **Part III: Policy**

### Week 11. Communal Violence (11/7)

McCauley, John F. "Economic Development Strategies and Communal Violence in Africa: The Cases of Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 2 (2012): 182-211.

Paluck, Elizabeth Levy. "Reducing Intergroup Prejudice and Conflict Using the Media: A Field Experiment in Rwanda." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 96, no. 3 (2009): 574-587.

Webster, Daniel W. et al. "Evaluation of Baltimore's *Safe Streets* Program: Effects on Attitudes, Participants' Experiences, and Gun Violence." January 11, 2012. Available from:

<http://cureviolence.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Safe-Streets-full-evaluation.pdf>.

Green, Donald P., Anna Wilke, and Jasper Cooper. "Silence Begets Violence: A mass media experiment to prevent violence against women in rural Uganda." January 9, 2018. Working paper. Available from: [https://www.poverty-action.org/sites/default/files/publications/Green\\_et\\_al.pdf](https://www.poverty-action.org/sites/default/files/publications/Green_et_al.pdf).

#### Week 12. Criminal Violence (11/14)

Calderón, Gabriela, Gustavo Robles, Alberto Díaz-Cayeros, and Beatriz Magaloni. “The Beheading of Criminal Organizations and the Dynamics of Violence in Mexico.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 8 (2015): 1455-85.

Magaloni, Beatriz, Alberto Díaz-Cayeros, Aila M. Matanock, and Vidal Romero. “Living in Fear: The Dynamics of Extortion in Mexico’s Criminal Insurgency.” CDDRL Working Paper (2015).

Magaloni, Beatriz, Vanessa Melo, and Edgar Franco. “Killing in the Slums: An Impact Evaluation of Police Reform in Rio de Janeiro.” CDDRL Working Paper (2015).

Blattman, Chris, Julian C. Jamison, and Margaret Sheridan. “Reducing crime and violence: Experimental evidence from cognitive behavioral therapy in Liberia.” Working paper. Available from: <https://www.poverty-action.org/sites/default/files/publications/Reducing-crime-and-violence.pdf>.

#### Week 13. Insurgent Violence (11/28)

Berman, Eli, Joseph H. Felter, and Jacob N. Shapiro. *Small Wars, Big Data: The Information Revolution in Modern Conflict*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018. Chapter 5 (pp. 109-151).

Albertus, Michael and Oliver Kaplan. “Land Reform as a Counterinsurgency Policy: Evidence from Colombia.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, i. 2 (2013): 198-231.

Blattman, Christopher, Alexandra C. Hartman, and Robert A. Blair. “How to Promote Order and Property Rights under Weak Rule of Law? An Experiment in Changing Dispute Resolution Behavior through Community Education.” *American Political Science Review* 108, no. 1 (2014): 100-120.

Crost, Benjamin, Joseph H. Felter, and Patrick B. Johnston. “Conditional cash transfers, civil conflict and insurgent influence: Experimental evidence from the Philippines.” *Journal of Development Economics* 118 (2016): 171-182.

#### Week 14. State Violence (12/5)

Straus, Scott. *Fundamentals of Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention*. Washington, DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2016. Chapters 6-7.

Blair, Robert, Sabrina Karim, and Ben Morse. “Establishing the Rule of Law in Weak and War-Torn States: Evidence from a Field Experiment with the Liberian National Police.” Working paper, 2018. Available from: [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3095944](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3095944).

Banerjee, Abhijit, Raghendra Chattopadhyay, Esther Duflo, Daniel Keniston, and Nina Singh. “Improving Police Performance in Rajasthan, India: Experimental Evidence on Incentives, Managerial Autonomy and Training.” Working paper. Available from: [https://www.povertyactionlab.org/sites/default/files/publications/81\\_136\\_Improving-Police-Performance-in-Rajasthan\\_Oct2014.pdf](https://www.povertyactionlab.org/sites/default/files/publications/81_136_Improving-Police-Performance-in-Rajasthan_Oct2014.pdf).

#### Week 15. Final Exam (12/12)